



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

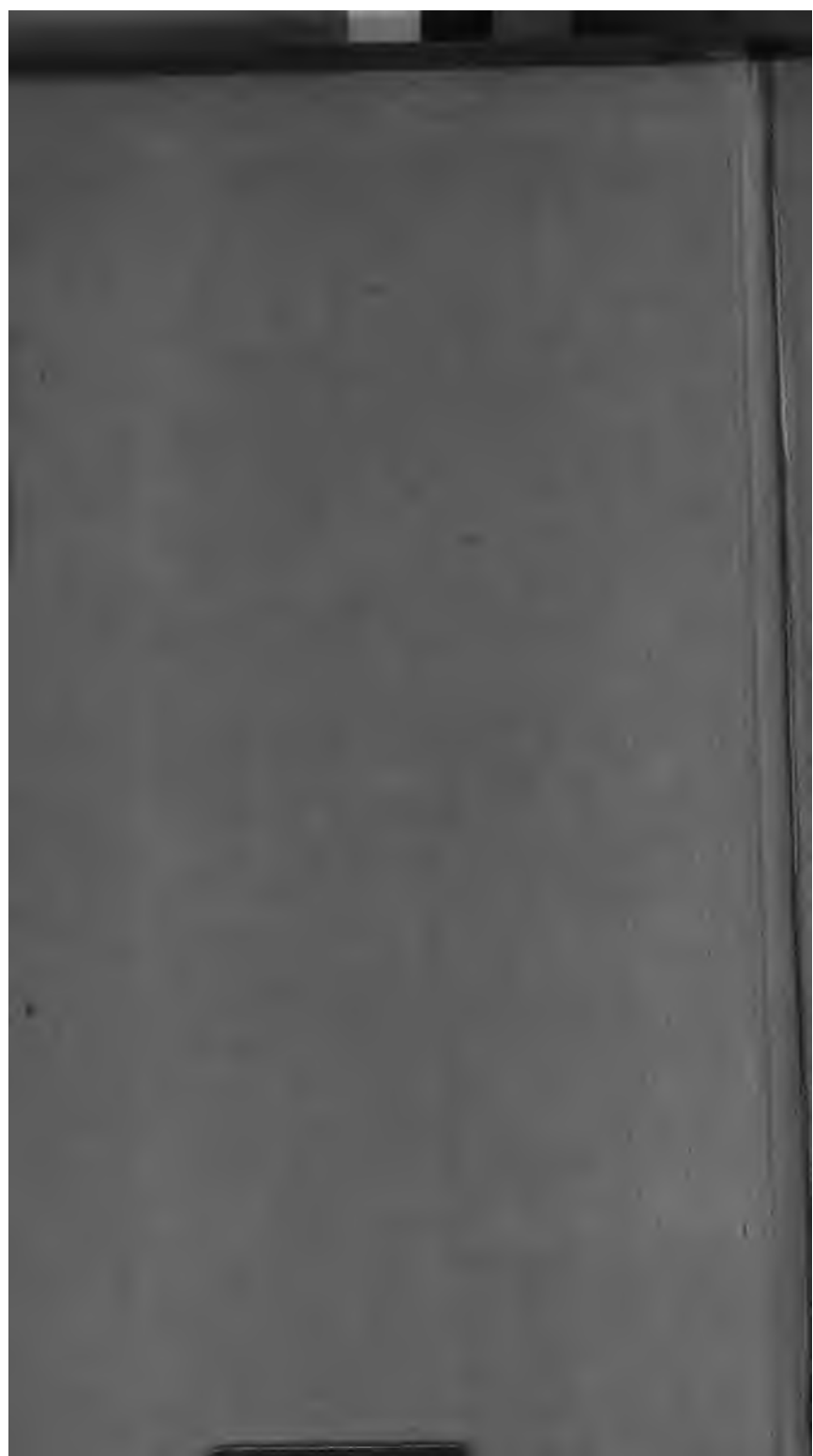
We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>











HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF SCOTLAND
FROM THE
INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY
TO THE
PERIOD OF THE DISRUPTION, MAY 18, 1843;

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY
ON THE PRINCIPLES AND CONSTITUTION OF THE
CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

BY THE
REV. W. M. HETHERINGTON, LL.D.,
AUTHOR OF "THE FULNESS OF TIME," "HISTORY OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY OF
DIVINES," ETC., ETC.

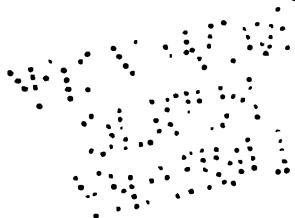
TO WHICH ARE ADDED APPENDICES CONTAINING
THE FIRST AND SECOND BOOKS OF DISCIPLINE,
AND VARIOUS HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

VOL. I.
SEVENTH EDITION.

JOHN JOHNSTONE,
15 PRINCES STREET, EDINBURGH; AND
26 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

M.DCCC.XLVIII.

ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.



Printed by J. JOHNSTONE, 104 High Street, Edinburgh.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
INTRODUCTORY ESSAY	ix
CHAPTER I.—FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO SCOTLAND TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION	1
CHAPTER II.—FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION TO THE MEET- ING OF THE FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY	3
CHAPTER III.—FROM THE FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY, IN 1560, TO THE YEAR 1592, AND THE GREAT CHARTER OF THE CHURCH	93
CHAPTER IV.—FROM THE GREAT CHARTER OF THE CHURCH, IN 1592, TO THE RATIFICATION OF THE FIVE ARTICLES OF PERTH, IN 1621	179
CHAPTER V.—FROM THE RATIFICATION OF THE FIVE ARTICLES OF PERTH, IN 1621, TO THE NATIONAL COVENANT, IN 1638	243
CHAPTER VI.—FROM THE SUBSCRIBING OF THE COVENANT, IN 1638, TO THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II., IN 1660	302
APPENDIX.	
NO. I. NOTE ON THE DEATH OF CARDINAL BEATON	401
NOTE ON THE DEATH OF RIZZIO	402
II. THE FIRST BOOK OF DISCIPLINE	406
THE SECOND BOOK OF DISCIPLINE	456
III. ACTS OF PARLIAMENT RECOGNISING THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, AND THE APPOINTMENT OF MINISTERS, ETC.	474
IV. PRINCIPLES, ACTS, AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, RESPECTING THE APPOINTMENT OF MINISTERS, AND THE LAW OF PATRONAGE	493

PREFACE.

THE want of a History of the Church of Scotland, at once concise and entire, has long been felt. Separate periods have been very fully treated of by several authors, leaving for their successors little to do but to compress the voluminous records which they had collected; and ample materials exist to fill up the intermediate chasms, and to continue the narrative down to the present times. But as no attempt has hitherto been made to compress the histories of these detached periods, to fill up the intermediate chasms, and to continue the narrative, it is a matter of considerable difficulty for any person who has not much leisure to spend, nor ready access to public libraries, to obtain a connected view of the Church of Scotland throughout its entire history. Several very serious disadvantages have resulted from the want of such a work; a great degree of ignorance has been allowed to prevail respecting the true principles and character of the Church of Scotland; her enemies have availed themselves of this ignorance to misrepresent her past conduct, to calumniate the characters of her Reformers and Martyrs, and to assail her present proceedings; while many of her zealous friends are without the means of vindicating the past, and defending the present; and numbers are remaining in a state of neutrality, liable to be misled, who require but accurate information to induce them at once to give their cordial support to the Church of their fathers. Nor can there be a doubt, that many are at present not merely neutral but hostile, who would become her strenuous defenders, if they possessed sufficient knowledge of her past and present history.

Impelled by these considerations, and by the strong persuasion, that by giving to the public a faithful record of the scriptural principles of the Church of Scotland, her sufferings in defence of the Redeemer's Headship and of Gospel truth and purity, and the mental, moral, and religious blessings which she has been instrumental in conferring on the kingdom, I should best aid in her vindication and defence, I have endeavoured to supply the long-felt want of a concise, continuous, and entire History of the Church of Scotland. I have not the presumption to imagine that my work will adequately supply the want. For reasons which seemed to me imperative, I have restricted myself within limits which prevent the possibility of giving more than a tolerably full outline of a subject requiring several volumes to do it justice. Much peculiarly interesting and instructive matter—both fitted to illustrate great principles, and characteristic of the interior life and private influence of the Presbyterian Church—has been unavoidably, and very reluctantly, withheld, that the continuity of the main outline might not be broken, nor the general impression weakened, by minute details.

References to authorities have been given in every matter of chief importance, except where these are already well known and universally admitted. It would have been easy to have adduced very many more; but while a superfluous array of references appears to me to savour of ostentation, and can be of little consequence to the general reader, for whom chiefly this work is intended; it is believed, that those who wish to prosecute their acquaintance with the subject, will find enough to authenticate every statement, and to direct them to sources where more minute details may be obtained. I have preferred to quote the testimony of opponents rather than that of friends, in many instances, as less liable to be disputed; and when several authorities support the same account, I have given the one most generally known, rather than the rarer, that the reader

might the more easily verify my statement, if so disposed. The edition of Knox's History of the Reformation to which reference is made, is that which Dr. M'Crie regarded as the most authentic. No pains have been spared in the investigation of every point respecting which conflicting opinions have been entertained; and, in forming my own judgment, I have been guided chiefly by the testimony of those who were amply acquainted with the events which they related, and whose characters give the highest value to their evidence.

With regard to the sentiments contained in the work, I cannot but be aware, that while stating my own feelings and opinions, what I have written will not be equally agreeable to all. I have no wish to give unnecessary offence to any; but in my opinion, no person ought to attempt to write history, who has not both an honest desire to ascertain the truth, and sufficient courage to state it freely and impartially, when ascertained. And it is perfectly impossible to write the history of the Church of Scotland, without relating events which cannot fail to excite strong moral indignation against the two systems by which that Church has, at different periods, been persecuted and oppressed. It has been my desire to abstain from unnecessary asperity of language, even when detailing acts of perfidy and cruelty, rarely equalled in the annals of persecution; not because I think that Scottish Prelacy has any peculiar claim to be leniently treated, but because the plain and simple statement of the truth will best display the spirit and character of that intolerant system.

Painful, indeed, has been the task of tracing the course of worldly policy and ecclesiastical corruption and despotism, which prevailed throughout the last century and the beginning of the present; and most reluctantly have I felt myself constrained to record the deeds which were done in Scotland during the long reign of Moderatism. But it was felt to be an imperative duty to do so, both as required by historical fidelity,

and as rendered peculiarly necessary by the present circumstances of the Church. It would be a very instructive chapter in the history of the errors which the spirit of the world has superinduced upon Christianity, to give a full view of the rise, progress, and complete development of the system which has been called Moderatism. I have not, however, sought to do so, further than appeared absolutely necessary for the purpose of displaying so much of its real essence and character as might sufficiently prove, that the true Presbyterian Church of Scotland is not justly chargeable with the actions of a secular system, which had its origin in hostile elements, which gradually usurped and long exercised over her the most cruel and oppressive tyranny, and whose whole procedure was one continuous endeavour to destroy her principles and subvert her constitution.

To those gentlemen who have kindly favoured me with the perusal of valuable books, to which I could not otherwise have easily obtained access, I take this opportunity of returning my grateful thanks. And I now lay my work before the public, in the hope, that what was undertaken solely from a strong conviction of duty to the Divine Head of the Church, to the Church of Scotland, and to my countrymen in general, may, through the blessing of God, be of some avail in removing ignorance and prejudice, correcting erroneous misrepresentations, and enabling the community to form an accurate conception of the real principles and character of the Church of Scotland.

W. M. H.

TORPHICHEN, 1843.

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

ON THE PRINCIPLES AND CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

THE Christian Church is not a self-originated and self-organized body. It did not spring from a voluntary association of men, uniting for the prosecution of some common cause, in such a form as they might think most fitted to promote the end in view. The Divine Word called it into being, breathed into it that spirit of life which gave it at once constitutional existence and energy for action, and then sent it forth on its sacred mission of love, mercy, and peace. Such being the origin of the Christian Church, we naturally and almost inevitably expect, that as it has but one Divine Author, and but one direct enterprise, it should have but one constituted form of existence; and we are liable to be somewhat startled and discomposed to find so many diversities, both in doctrine and in government. The diversities of government may be all comprised within the three following chief designations:—Episcopal, or rather Prelatic, Presbyterian, and Congregational. Each of these forms of Church government is regarded by its adherents as apostolical in its origin, and founded on the authority of Scripture, as they are accustomed respectively to argue. That these arguments cannot be all equally sound and valid is self-

evident; but it is not necessary to assume that those who employ them are aware of their inconclusiveness, or insufficiency to prove the points at issue. Human passion, interest, and prejudice, are very strong, and can bias imperceptibly the most candid minds which are under their influence. Men may, therefore, arrive at different conclusions from the same premises, without any direct or intentional violation of moral integrity. It were well that all who engage in controversial discussions respecting Church government would bear this in mind, so that they might conduct their argument without any impeachment of each other's veracity.

It has often been remarked, that the differences of opinion in the Christian Church are much more numerous, marked, and antagonistic, with regard to matters of government than they are with regard to matters of doctrine. Should three evangelical ministers, an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, and a Congregationalist, enter into a friendly discussion respecting any of the leading truths of Christianity, it would speedily appear that they were almost, if not entirely, unanimous in their faith and judgment; but should the conversation turn on Church government, they would at once and strongly differ in opinion. A very common explanation of this well-known fact is, that there is either no form of Church government instituted in the Scriptures, men being left to adopt whatever form may be most suited to the constitution of society in any country; or that the indications given in Scripture are too few and vague to determine the question, which must therefore be referred to the authority and practice of the primitive Church. This we regard as rather an evasion than a solution of the difficulty. We are inclined to look a little deeper for an answer to the question, why differences of opinion should be more numerous and con-

trusted in matters of Church government than in matters of doctrine. In doctrinal matters, the direct subject of inquiry is, the relation between God and man. There is in an inquiry so solemn little room for passion, interest, or prejudice. When conscience is profoundly stirred and overawed by the great questions that relate to the Divine law and man's responsibility, it will seldom vary much in the judgments which it will be constrained to pronounce. But in matters of Church government, the subject of inquiry is, to a very considerable extent, the relation between man and man. And although it ought to be a deeply solemnizing consideration that it is the relation between believing brethren, between spiritual men, still the personality of man is there; and that permits some degree of human passion, interest, and prejudice, to enter in and disturb the inquiry. When we take this view of the difference between these two subjects of inquiry, doctrine and government, we feel that we ought to expect a greater diversity of judgment in matters pertaining to government than in those pertaining to doctrine, though the statements of Scripture were equally clear and explicit on both subjects. We hold, indeed, that Scripture is sufficiently clear and explicit on the subject of Church government; and that there never would have been such diversities of opinion on that question as there are, had not human passion, interest, and prejudice, found easy entrance, and disturbed the primary constitution of the primitive Church, and the inquiries of Christians in all succeeding times.

But we have no intention of entering into the debateable and much debated regions of controversy. The preceding remarks are made for the purpose of showing why controversies on Church government have generally been so keen and

yet so fruitless, the blame of which rests on man, and not on Scripture. And they are intended also to introduce another consideration. Very commonly controversialists fail in doing justice to their opponents, and even to themselves, by hastily resolving to oppose what they have not taken the trouble previously to understand. We have often thought that the controversies between different Churches would be much more likely to reach an amicable conclusion, were these Churches to cease from assailing each other, and were each to frame and promulgate a fair, calm, and clear statement of those primary principles on which its judgment rested. Many an existing distinctive peculiarity would, we are persuaded, vanish in the process; and it might, perhaps, be ultimately found that even their chief distinctive differences were not hopelessly irreconcilable. The pleasing anticipation may be premature; we will not admit that it is altogether visionary. Let it, however, be an apology for attempting something of the kind suggested, in a brief introductory essay to the following history of the Church of Scotland. For it may be presumed that some will read this history who have little acquaintance with the distinctive principles and constitution of the Presbyterian system of Church government; and though we should not succeed in securing their approbation of that system, we may at least enable them to understand more fully the characteristic peculiarities of the events recorded in the course of the narrative.

The position which the Scottish Reformation was from the very first constrained to occupy, was one which rendered it necessary for the Reformers to look into the very heart of their enterprise, to adopt no principles but those on which they could peril life and all things, and to go forward with

unswerving directness of aim and firmness of purpose. They had little, or rather no, temptation to compromise; for they were not encumbered with human help. Faith, that knew not doubt or fear; sincerity, that could not stoop to evasions; and piety, that leaned for support on God alone—these were their only elements of strength and hope. It was not, therefore, strange that such men, in such a juncture, should direct their attention with absolute singleness of eye to the Word of God, and regard that as the only and supreme authority in all matters pertaining to religion. This they asserted, in simple but memorable words: “They took not their example from any Kirk in the world—no, not from Geneva;” but drew their plan from the Sacred Scriptures alone. This, then, must be regarded as the very essence of the Presbyterian system, its primary principle as a sacred theory—THE SUPREME AND ALL-SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY OF THE WORD OF GOD IN ALL MATTERS PERTAINING TO RELIGION. In the strength of this great principle they set aside at once, and without hesitation, not only all mere tradition, though it might claim the veneration due to remote antiquity, but also all the submissive deference usually yielded to the authority and example of ancient and established institutions. Romish controversialists might appeal to the Fathers; Scottish Presbyterians answered them from Scripture. Rome might arrogate her own authority, as the mother and mistress of Christendom, to use her own proud style; Scottish Reformers bowed to no authority but that of God speaking in his Word.

From this sacred and mighty principle there emanated another not less divine and powerful, which may be thus expressed: THE SOLE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST AS THE ONLY HEAD AND KING OF THE CHURCH—

understanding by the term Church, the company of believers comprising both ministers and people. By this principle the arrogant pretensions of Popery were directly met and set aside. Who, they reasoned, is this, that presumes to interpose his authority in matters of religion? The Sacred Scriptures reveal to us the Lord Jesus Christ as all our salvation and all our hope—as the Author and Finisher of our faith—as the Head of his spiritual body—the King of his spiritual kingdom, the Church; and they allow to no other this supreme position. But Scripture foretells that another, even Antichrist, will blasphemously claim that supremacy—will sit in the temple, and show himself as a god. This the Papal system alone has dared to do; the Papal system is therefore Antichrist. In this manner the directness of the view taken by the Scottish Reformers of the sole sovereignty of the Lord Jesus Christ, revealed to them with equal clearness the true character of Popery, and rendered the conflict with that apostasy a war of extermination. It had also another, but a closely allied, effect. It rendered the Presbyterian Church jealous of every encroachment on the divine prerogative of the Redeemer, whether that were made by an ecclesiastical or a civil power. To neither Pope, nor King, nor Parliament, would the Presbyterian Church yield one jot or tittle of what it believed to belong to the crown-rights of the Divine Redeemer. Hence its early, protracted, and continuous struggle against the Erastian form of the Antichristian principle, whether claimed by statesmen or parliaments, regents or kings. It is necessary to understand this principle, and to keep it closely and continuously in view, if we wish to understand the character and history of the true Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

The same great principle will furnish a true explanation



of one part of the proceedings of the Presbyterian Church which has often been misunderstood and misrepresented. It has been said, in disparagement of her character and conduct, that she was possessed by a blind hatred of Popery; and that her thorough-going Reformation was guided by the splenetic notion that to be as unlike Rome as possible was to be thoroughly reformed—that hers was the reformation of mere antipathy and extreme repulsion. Instead of this being the case, hers was the thorough reformation arising from the most profound respect for the supreme authority of the Sacred Scriptures alone, and the most devoted allegiance to the Lord Jesus Christ as her only Head and King.

Another kindred element arose out of the combination of the two principles already mentioned. Regarding the Sacred Scriptures as the supreme authority in all matters pertaining to religion, and the Lord Jesus Christ as the only Head and King of the Church, the Scottish Reformers deemed it reasonable to expect to find in the code of laws given by their Divine King enough to guide them in everything relating to his kingdom. But while they were men of undoubting faith, they were also men of strong intellect. Faith directed them to the Word of God as their only and all-sufficient rule; but that Word bade them “in understanding, be men.” They dared, therefore, to conclude, that Divine authority might be rightfully claimed, not only for the direct statements contained in the Scriptures, but also for whatsoever could be deduced from Scripture by just and necessary inference. Taking Scripture truths as axiomatic principles and admitted premises, they boldly and manfully exercised their reason in tracing out the consequences involved in, and flowing from, those truths. In this manner they were

enabled easily to dispense with all tradition and Church authority or precedent. They had access to the pure fountain itself, which they found to be inexhaustible; and they paid little regard to the streams polluted by Roman admixtures. While they thus rendered due homage to Scripture, they found it rich and fertile to their utmost need. They found it also an admirable incitement and reward to the exercise of free, masculine thought, in themselves and in the whole community. It compelled them both to search the Scriptures, and to think as none but free souls can think: it made them discerners of the times, skilled in knowing what Israel ought to do, and wise unto salvation.

The profound respect for the supreme authority of the Sacred Scriptures felt by the Scottish Reformers, and the earnest thoughtfulness and manly freedom of spirit with which they studied that code of laws given by their Divine King, directed them inevitably to the ready and full reception of whatever was therein contained. It was not difficult for such men to perceive, in the teaching of Scripture, that as the Church has no king but Christ, so it has no priest but Christ. This principle led them to regard the mass as idolatrous, and prayers to saints and angels as directly derogatory to the priestly office of the Redeemer. But they found that while there is no human or created priest, in one sense, in another every true believer is called on to present his whole being to God, as a willing sacrifice; and in that act is so far a priest. They found also that believers are all termed "kings and priests to God." Thus arose the great idea of spiritual liberty in its highest degree, and to its greatest extent. It taught them that all true believers are in the highest possible sense equal; that the Church, as a community, is not only a community of freemen, but a

royal and universal priesthood. They could not despise or enslave the Lord's freemen; they could not deprive of their sacred rights and privileges the Lord's royal priesthood. The company of believers they justly regarded as the Church, and ministers the divinely appointed office-bearers therein. But they found also in the Scriptures reason to conclude that the only authorized mode of appointing office-bearers was by the free choice and call of the Christian people; while it remained equally the duty of those already in the ministry to judge of the qualifications of parties so called, before ordaining them to that office.

The enlarged view of the true character of the Christian Church which they were thus led to take, placed before their minds a truly noble conception of its duties. They saw in it a scheme devised, organized, and appointed, by infinite wisdom and benevolence, for the very purpose of rescuing human nature from degradation and misery, and promoting its healthful and free development, enlightened and spiritualized. With these views it was impossible for them to tolerate the continuation of that ignorance in which the great mass of the people had previously been sunk. They felt it to be their urgent and imperative duty to provide for the people no partial or stinted measure of education, but the utmost amount which circumstances rendered practicable, and to place it within the reach, and press it on the acceptance, of the entire community. For thus only could they prepare a people who should be fitted to enjoy and exercise intelligently and wisely the high privileges awaiting them, so soon as they should be admitted to membership in the Church, and thereby rendered partakers of the rights and liberties of Christ's free and royal priesthood. The idea of a national and religious education arose

naturally out of the principles of the Presbyterian system, as itself derived from the Word of God.

Still another consequence followed from the same open and overflowing source. No person can read Scripture attentively without perceiving how earnestly it inculcates pity and compassion to the poor, and the ready relief of their necessities. The reverence entertained by the Presbyterian Church for the Word of God, and especially for the commands and the example of Jesus, directed attention early, strongly, and constantly to the poor. But it was not the attention of mere sympathetic sentimentality, neither was it the attention of temporizing expediency—it was the wise attention of enlightened Christianity; and it set itself to provide, not a partial and brief alleviation, but a remedial measure of a permanent nature. It strove to impress upon the wealthier part of the community their duty to supply the wants of their poorer neighbours; and it endeavoured to raise the poor out of that ignorance, degradation, and immorality, which form the combined cause of nearly all the poverty that exists. By thus eliciting, on the one hand, the charity of the affluent, and, on the other, the improved morality, intelligence, and self-respect of the poor, it succeeded in almost banishing pauperism from Scotland, and saved it for well-nigh three centuries from the oppressive and hardening consequences of a legalized system of poor-laws. It may be safely added, that had Scottish Presbyterianism been treated honourably and justly, no poor-law would ever have been required for Scotland.

The third leading principle of the Presbyterian system is, **THE OFFICIAL EQUALITY OF ALL ORDAINED MINISTERS.** This principle, also, was drawn directly from Scripture. It was in vain for any antagonist to plead the authority of Rome,

or the custom of many centuries, in behalf of bishops, and archbishops, and patriarchs, and a pope or universal bishop. They could not find, in the Bible, any such splendid, or rather cumbrous hierarchy, and they valued no other authority. But they did find that Christ had very pointedly censured his disciples when they sought which of them should be greatest, telling them to seek no such personal supremacy—not to be called masters, for one was their master, even Christ, and all they were brethren. They found also, that no such supremacy existed among the apostles, either of one over the rest, or of each over the Churches; while they found them designating themselves by the common term, Presbyters, and condemning one aspiring person, because he loved to have the pre-eminence. The Scottish Reformers, therefore, rejected the entire hierarchical system, regarding it as not only a merely human invention, but as also directly contrary to the institution framed by Christ himself, and certain to introduce pride and ambition into the Church. Adopting the Scripture term, Presbyters, to designate the divinely instituted office-bearers in the Church, they secured to their system the incalculable advantages of the combined energy of religious liberty and equality, well compacted order, alike free from tyranny and slavery, and the affectionate and manly feeling of mutual brotherhood. This official equality neither did prevent, nor was intended to prevent, the legitimate influence which superior abilities and piety will always secure to their possessor. On the contrary, it allowed the most ample scope for the beneficial employment of such qualities in the service of the Church, while it guarded against the possibility that any man, however gifted, should seize on a dangerous degree of ecclesiastical power. Such were the leading

principles which the Scottish Reformers obtained from their single-eyed, earnest, and fearless study of the Sacred Scriptures; and upon these principles they founded the Presbyterian system.

We proceed now to trace the ecclesiastical constitution and arrangements of the Presbyterian system, both as necessarily flowing from such principles, and as the necessary means of carrying them into effect. It has been already stated, that the Scottish Reformers directed their attention solely to the Word of God, as their only and supreme guide in all matters pertaining to religion. They were thus enabled to take, from the first, a clear and enlarged view of the character and duties of the Christian Church, or rather of Christianity. It would be more correct to say, that their object was to make Scotland a Christian nation, than it would be to say, that their object was to frame for Scotland a National Church. Their great aim was to bring the sacred and saving influence of "the blessed Evangel," as they expressed it, to bear upon the whole body of the people. For this purpose the organization termed a Church was necessary; but they cherished no narrow notions respecting a Church. They did not disturb themselves with special definitions respecting the Church, whether in its universal or in its more local character. Regarding a Church as a company of believers acting in concert, the term included all who could act in concert, whether belonging to a limited locality, or forming the body of a nation, or residing in neighbouring and friendly kingdoms. Still they regarded the evangelization of Scotland as their proper enterprise, and set themselves to achieve it by the combined energy which reason would have suggested, and the authority of Scripture war-

ranted. The first distinctive designation which they applied to themselves was, "The Congregation;" which, as they used it, was precisely synonymous with the phrase we have used, "The assembly of believers." This appellation was afterwards laid aside, and the word Kirk or Church employed; but from the first it meant the whole body of the Reformed, and was not restricted to such a number as could meet in one place of worship. When afterwards the term Congregation acquired the more limited meaning of the worshippers in one small locality, such as a parish, it did so by the force of allocation, not separation; and the whole company of believers throughout the kingdom still continued to form but one Church—one Christian community.

They looked to Scripture to ascertain in what manner the Christian community of Scotland should be constituted; and they believed they saw enough there for their direction. Following what they believed to be the Scripture model, they required that each congregation should be taught and governed by Presbyters; and that its secular affairs should be under the management of Deacons. The presbyters, or elders, were divided into those whose sole duty was to rule; and one in each congregation who combined the duties of ruling and teaching, and was therefore the pastor, or minister. To the congregation they assigned the right of choosing their own office-bearers; not, however, on the democratic principle that all power is inherent in and derived from the people, but because it rested on the authority of Scripture. On the same sacred authority, they assigned to those already in the ministry the right of trying the qualifications of those whom the people called, and of exercising their own deliberate judgment, whether they were duly qualified for that important office. Each office

evident; but it is not necessary to assume that those who employ them are aware of their inconclusiveness, or insufficiency to prove the points at issue. Human passion, interest, and prejudice, are very strong, and can bias imperceptibly the most candid minds which are under their influence. Men may, therefore, arrive at different conclusions from the same premises, without any direct or intentional violation of moral integrity. It were well that all who engage in controversial discussions respecting Church government would bear this in mind, so that they might conduct their argument without any impeachment of each other's veracity.

It has often been remarked, that the differences of opinion in the Christian Church are much more numerous, marked, and antagonistic, with regard to matters of government than they are with regard to matters of doctrine. Should three evangelical ministers, an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, and a Congregationalist, enter into a friendly discussion respecting any of the leading truths of Christianity, it would speedily appear that they were almost, if not entirely, unanimous in their faith and judgment; but should the conversation turn on Church government, they would at once and strongly differ in opinion. A very common explanation of this well-known fact is, that there is either no form of Church government instituted in the Scriptures, men being left to adopt whatever form may be most suited to the constitution of society in any country; or that the indications given in Scripture are too few and vague to determine the question, which must therefore be referred to the authority and practice of the primitive Church. This we regard as rather an evasion than a solution of the difficulty. We are inclined to look a little deeper for an answer to the question, why differences of opinion should be more numerous and con-

trusted in matters of Church government than in matters of doctrine. In doctrinal matters, the direct subject of inquiry is, the relation between God and man. There is in an inquiry so solemn little room for passion, interest, or prejudice. When conscience is profoundly stirred and overawed by the great questions that relate to the Divine law and man's responsibility, it will seldom vary much in the judgments which it will be constrained to pronounce. But in matters of Church government, the subject of inquiry is, to a very considerable extent, the relation between man and man. And although it ought to be a deeply solemnizing consideration that it is the relation between believing brethren, between spiritual men, still the personality of man is there; and that permits some degree of human passion, interest, and prejudice, to enter in and disturb the inquiry. When we take this view of the difference between these two subjects of inquiry, doctrine and government, we feel that we ought to expect a greater diversity of judgment in matters pertaining to government than in those pertaining to doctrine, though the statements of Scripture were equally clear and explicit on both subjects. We hold, indeed, that Scripture is sufficiently clear and explicit on the subject of Church government; and that there never would have been such diversities of opinion on that question as there are, had not human passion, interest, and prejudice, found easy entrance, and disturbed the primary constitution of the primitive Church, and the inquiries of Christians in all succeeding times.

But we have no intention of entering into the debateable and much debated regions of controversy. The preceding remarks are made for the purpose of showing why controversies on Church government have generally been so keen and

yet so fruitless, the blame of which rests on man, and not on Scripture. And they are intended also to introduce another consideration. Very commonly controversialists fail in doing justice to their opponents, and even to themselves, by hastily resolving to oppose what they have not taken the trouble previously to understand. We have often thought that the controversies between different Churches would be much more likely to reach an amicable conclusion, were these Churches to cease from assailing each other, and were each to frame and promulgate a fair, calm, and clear statement of those primary principles on which its judgment rested. Many an existing distinctive peculiarity would, we are persuaded, vanish in the process; and it might, perhaps, be ultimately found that even their chief distinctive differences were not hopelessly irreconcilable. The pleasing anticipation may be premature; we will not admit that it is altogether visionary. Let it, however, be an apology for attempting something of the kind suggested, in a brief introductory essay to the following history of the Church of Scotland. For it may be presumed that some will read this history who have little acquaintance with the distinctive principles and constitution of the Presbyterian system of Church government; and though we should not succeed in securing their approbation of that system, we may at least enable them to understand more fully the characteristic peculiarities of the events recorded in the course of the narrative.

The position which the Scottish Reformation was from the very first constrained to occupy, was one which rendered it necessary for the Reformers to look into the very heart of their enterprise, to adopt no principles but those on which they could peril life and all things, and to go forward with

unswerving directness of aim and firmness of purpose. They had little, or rather no, temptation to compromise; for they were not encumbered with human help. Faith, that knew not doubt or fear; sincerity, that could not stoop to evasions; and piety, that leaned for support on God alone—these were their only elements of strength and hope. It was not, therefore, strange that such men, in such a juncture, should direct their attention with absolute singleness of eye to the Word of God, and regard that as the only and supreme authority in all matters pertaining to religion. This they asserted, in simple but memorable words: “They took not their example from any Kirk in the world—no, not from Geneva;” but drew their plan from the Sacred Scriptures alone. This, then, must be regarded as the very essence of the Presbyterian system, its primary principle as a sacred theory—THE SUPREME AND ALL-SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY OF THE WORD OF GOD IN ALL MATTERS PERTAINING TO RELIGION. In the strength of this great principle they set aside at once, and without hesitation, not only all mere tradition, though it might claim the veneration due to remote antiquity, but also all the submissive deference usually yielded to the authority and example of ancient and established institutions. Romish controversialists might appeal to the Fathers; Scottish Presbyterians answered them from Scripture. Rome might arrogate her own authority, as the mother and mistress of Christendom, to use her own proud style; Scottish Reformers bowed to no authority but that of God speaking in his Word.

From this sacred and mighty principle there emanated another not less divine and powerful, which may be thus expressed: THE SOLE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST AS THE ONLY HEAD AND KING OF THE CHURCH—

understanding by the term Church, the company of believers comprising both ministers and people. By this principle the arrogant pretensions of Popery were directly met and set aside. Who, they reasoned, is this, that presumes to interpose his authority in matters of religion? The Sacred Scriptures reveal to us the Lord Jesus Christ as all our salvation and all our hope—as the Author and Finisher of our faith—as the Head of his spiritual body—the King of his spiritual kingdom, the Church; and they allow to no other this supreme position. But Scripture foretells that another, even Antichrist, will blasphemously claim that supremacy—will sit in the temple, and show himself as a god. This the Papal system alone has dared to do; the Papal system is therefore Antichrist. In this manner the directness of the view taken by the Scottish Reformers of the sole sovereignty of the Lord Jesus Christ, revealed to them with equal clearness the true character of Popery, and rendered the conflict with that apostasy a war of extermination. It had also another, but a closely allied, effect. It rendered the Presbyterian Church jealous of every encroachment on the divine prerogative of the Redeemer, whether that were made by an ecclesiastical or a civil power. To neither Pope, nor King, nor Parliament, would the Presbyterian Church yield one jot or tittle of what it believed to belong to the crown-rights of the Divine Redeemer. Hence its early, protracted, and continuous struggle against the Erastian form of the Antichristian principle, whether claimed by statesmen or parliaments, regents or kings. It is necessary to understand this principle, and to keep it closely and continuously in view, if we wish to understand the character and history of the true Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

The same great principle will furnish a true explanation

of one part of the proceedings of the Presbyterian Church which has often been misunderstood and misrepresented. It has been said, in disparagement of her character and conduct, that she was possessed by a blind hatred of Popery; and that her thorough-going Reformation was guided by the splenetic notion that to be as unlike Rome as possible was to be thoroughly reformed—that hers was the reformation of mere antipathy and extreme repulsion. Instead of this being the case, hers was the thorough reformation arising from the most profound respect for the supreme authority of the Sacred Scriptures alone, and the most devoted allegiance to the Lord Jesus Christ as her only Head and King.

Another kindred element arose out of the combination of the two principles already mentioned. Regarding the Sacred Scriptures as the supreme authority in all matters pertaining to religion, and the Lord Jesus Christ as the only Head and King of the Church, the Scottish Reformers deemed it reasonable to expect to find in the code of laws given by their Divine King enough to guide them in everything relating to his kingdom. But while they were men of undoubting faith, they were also men of strong intellect. Faith directed them to the Word of God as their only and all-sufficient rule; but that Word bade them “in understanding, be men.” They dared, therefore, to conclude, that Divine authority might be rightfully claimed, not only for the direct statements contained in the Scriptures, but also for whatsoever could be deduced from Scripture by just and necessary inference. Taking Scripture truths as axiomatic principles and admitted premises, they boldly and manfully exercised their reason in tracing out the consequences involved in, and flowing from, those truths. In this manner they were

enabled easily to dispense with all tradition and Church authority or precedent. They had access to the pure fountain itself, which they found to be inexhaustible; and they paid little regard to the streams polluted by Roman admixtures. While they thus rendered due homage to Scripture, they found it rich and fertile to their utmost need. They found it also an admirable incitement and reward to the exercise of free, masculine thought, in themselves and in the whole community. It compelled them both to search the Scriptures, and to think as none but free souls can think: it made them discerners of the times, skilled in knowing what Israel ought to do, and wise unto salvation.

The profound respect for the supreme authority of the Sacred Scriptures felt by the Scottish Reformers, and the earnest thoughtfulness and manly freedom of spirit with which they studied that code of laws given by their Divine King, directed them inevitably to the ready and full reception of whatever was therein contained. It was not difficult for such men to perceive, in the teaching of Scripture, that as the Church has no king but Christ, so it has no priest but Christ. This principle led them to regard the mass as idolatrous, and prayers to saints and angels as directly derogatory to the priestly office of the Redeemer. But they found that while there is no human or created priest, in one sense, in another every true believer is called on to present his whole being to God, as a willing sacrifice; and in that act is so far a priest. They found also that believers are all termed "kings and priests to God." Thus arose the great idea of spiritual liberty in its highest degree, and to its greatest extent. It taught them that all true believers are in the highest possible sense equal; that the Church, as a community, is not only a community of freemen, but a

royal and universal priesthood. They could not despise or enslave the Lord's freemen; they could not deprive of their sacred rights and privileges the Lord's royal priesthood. The company of believers they justly regarded as the Church, and ministers the divinely appointed office-bearers therein. But they found also in the Scriptures reason to conclude that the only authorized mode of appointing office-bearers was by the free choice and call of the Christian people; while it remained equally the duty of those already in the ministry to judge of the qualifications of parties so called, before ordaining them to that office.

The enlarged view of the true character of the Christian Church which they were thus led to take, placed before their minds a truly noble conception of its duties. They saw in it a scheme devised, organized, and appointed, by infinite wisdom and benevolence, for the very purpose of rescuing human nature from degradation and misery, and promoting its healthful and free development, enlightened and spiritualized. With these views it was impossible for them to tolerate the continuation of that ignorance in which the great mass of the people had previously been sunk. They felt it to be their urgent and imperative duty to provide for the people no partial or stinted measure of education, but the utmost amount which circumstances rendered practicable, and to place it within the reach, and press it on the acceptance, of the entire community. For thus only could they prepare a people who should be fitted to enjoy and exercise intelligently and wisely the high privileges awaiting them, so soon as they should be admitted to membership in the Church, and thereby rendered partakers of the rights and liberties of Christ's free and royal priesthood. The idea of a national and religious education arose

naturally out of the principles of the Presbyterian system, as itself derived from the Word of God.

Still another consequence followed from the same open and overflowing source. No person can read Scripture attentively without perceiving how earnestly it inculcates pity and compassion to the poor, and the ready relief of their necessities. The reverence entertained by the Presbyterian Church for the Word of God, and especially for the commands and the example of Jesus, directed attention early, strongly, and constantly to the poor. But it was not the attention of mere sympathetic sentimentality, neither was it the attention of temporizing expediency—it was the wise attention of enlightened Christianity; and it set itself to provide, not a partial and brief alleviation, but a remedial measure of a permanent nature. It strove to impress upon the wealthier part of the community their duty to supply the wants of their poorer neighbours; and it endeavoured to raise the poor out of that ignorance, degradation, and immorality, which form the combined cause of nearly all the poverty that exists. By thus eliciting, on the one hand, the charity of the affluent, and, on the other, the improved morality, intelligence, and self-respect of the poor, it succeeded in almost banishing pauperism from Scotland, and saved it for well-nigh three centuries from the oppressive and hardening consequences of a legalized system of poor-laws. It may be safely added, that had Scottish Presbyterianism been treated honourably and justly, no poor-law would ever have been required for Scotland.

The third leading principle of the Presbyterian system is, **THE OFFICIAL EQUALITY OF ALL ORDAINED MINISTERS.** This principle, also, was drawn directly from Scripture. It was in vain for any antagonist to plead the authority of Rome,

or the custom of many centuries, in behalf of bishops, and archbishops, and patriarchs, and a pope or universal bishop. They could not find, in the Bible, any such splendid, or rather cumbrous hierarchy, and they valued no other authority. But they did find that Christ had very pointedly censured his disciples when they sought which of them should be greatest, telling them to seek no such personal supremacy—not to be called masters, for one was their master, even Christ, and all they were brethren. They found also, that no such supremacy existed among the apostles, either of one over the rest, or of each over the Churches; while they found them designating themselves by the common term, Presbyters, and condemning one aspiring person, because he loved to have the pre-eminence. The Scottish Reformers, therefore, rejected the entire hierarchical system, regarding it as not only a merely human invention, but as also directly contrary to the institution framed by Christ himself, and certain to introduce pride and ambition into the Church. Adopting the Scripture term, Presbyters, to designate the divinely instituted office-bearers in the Church, they secured to their system the incalculable advantages of the combined energy of religious liberty and equality, well compacted order, alike free from tyranny and slavery, and the affectionate and manly feeling of mutual brotherhood. This official equality neither did prevent, nor was intended to prevent, the legitimate influence which superior abilities and piety will always secure to their possessor. On the contrary, it allowed the most ample scope for the beneficial employment of such qualities in the service of the Church, while it guarded against the possibility that any man, however gifted, should seize on a dangerous degree of ecclesiastical power. Such were the leading

principles which the Scottish Reformers obtained from their single-eyed, earnest, and fearless study of the Sacred Scriptures; and upon these principles they founded the Presbyterian system.

We proceed now to trace the ecclesiastical constitution and arrangements of the Presbyterian system, both as necessarily flowing from such principles, and as the necessary means of carrying them into effect. It has been already stated, that the Scottish Reformers directed their attention solely to the Word of God, as their only and supreme guide in all matters pertaining to religion. They were thus enabled to take, from the first, a clear and enlarged view of the character and duties of the Christian Church, or rather of Christianity. It would be more correct to say, that their object was to make Scotland a Christian nation, than it would be to say, that their object was to frame for Scotland a National Church. Their great aim was to bring the sacred and saving influence of "the blessed Evangel," as they expressed it, to bear upon the whole body of the people. For this purpose the organization termed a Church was necessary; but they cherished no narrow notions respecting a Church. They did not disturb themselves with special definitions respecting the Church, whether in its universal or in its more local character. Regarding a Church as a company of believers acting in concert, the term included all who could act in concert, whether belonging to a limited locality, or forming the body of a nation, or residing in neighbouring and friendly kingdoms. Still they regarded the evangelization of Scotland as their proper enterprise, and set themselves to achieve it by the combined energy which reason would have suggested, and the authority of Scripture war-

ranted. The first distinctive designation which they applied to themselves was, "The Congregation;" which, as they used it, was precisely synonymous with the phrase we have used, "The assembly of believers." This appellation was afterwards laid aside, and the word Kirk or Church employed; but from the first it meant the whole body of the Reformed, and was not restricted to such a number as could meet in one place of worship. When afterwards the term Congregation acquired the more limited meaning of the worshippers in one small locality, such as a parish, it did so by the force of allocation, not separation; and the whole company of believers throughout the kingdom still continued to form but one Church—one Christian community.

They looked to Scripture to ascertain in what manner the Christian community of Scotland should be constituted; and they believed they saw enough there for their direction. Following what they believed to be the Scripture model, they required that each congregation should be taught and governed by Presbyters; and that its secular affairs should be under the management of Deacons. The presbyters, or elders, were divided into those whose sole duty was to rule; and one in each congregation who combined the duties of ruling and teaching, and was therefore the pastor, or minister. To the congregation they assigned the right of choosing their own office-bearers; not, however, on the democratic principle that all power is inherent in and derived from the people, but because it rested on the authority of Scripture. On the same sacred authority, they assigned to those already in the ministry the right of trying the qualifications of those whom the people called, and of exercising their own deliberate judgment, whether they were duly qualified for that important office. Each office

was held to include all beneath it; and the basis of them all was the fact of being in communion with the Church as a member, admitted to the full enjoyment of all Church privileges. The office of the deacon included membership, for no man could be a deacon who was not a member; that of elder included the deaconship, for every elder might act as a deacon; and that of pastor included the whole, for every pastor or minister was also an elder and exercised rule, might act as a deacon, and must necessarily be a member. There was thus at once ample freedom, and due subordination, while there could not be systematic tyranny. For since the right of choosing their office-bearers was viewed as belonging to the company of believers by Divine right, no man could be intruded, or forced upon them without their consent—to attempt it were to sin against Christ's mediatorial sovereignty, from which this right was derived to his freemen. And since Scripture had given directions respecting the qualifications of office-bearers, and the right of ordination resided in the ministry, they could not be compelled to ordain any man till they were satisfied with regard to his fitness for the office. There resided in neither of these parties any power to compel the other; but in any disputed case, each was entitled to appeal to the decision of a superior ecclesiastical court.

The primary ecclesiastical court is the KIRK-SESSION, or court of elders; for as the duty of the deacons is entirely secular, it cannot with strict propriety be called an ecclesiastical court. The session is composed of the minister and elders. No meeting of the session can be held unless there be a minister present to preside; for its president, or moderator, must always be a minister. The smallest number of which a session can consist is a minister and two elders. In

doubtful cases, when differences of opinion exist, the judgment of the session is determined by a vote. Should the minister be in the minority, he cannot reverse or stop the decision by his own authority, though he may, as may any minority, or any single member of the court, carry the question, by appeal, to the presbytery. In this, again, the wise combination of liberty and subordination appears. The minister cannot domineer over the elders by his superior authority, for they can at any time outvote him by their superior number; the elders cannot domineer over the minister by their superior number, for a session cannot be held without him present and presiding; and either party can at once appeal to the presbytery for the redress of any thing which they may deem wrong. And as the elders are necessarily chosen by the congregation, it may be truly said that such a thing as clerical domination is absolutely impossible in the Presbyterian system. Any party may neglect its duty and its interests, and may sustain injury in consequence of its neglect; but the blame is its own, and not that of the system, which had provided sufficient means of protection, had they not been neglected.

The next ecclesiastical court is the PRESBYTERY. The number of congregations which constitute a presbytery is indefinite; but it cannot be under three, and may be above thirty—the average may be stated as from a dozen to twenty. A presbytery consists of all the ministers within the bounds of a certain district, of the professors of divinity in any university within these bounds, and of representative elders from the kirk-sessions in the district. Each session has the right of sending one elder, to act as a member of presbytery, half-yearly; so that where there is no university, nor collegiate charge, the constitutional number

of ministers and elders is equal. The moderator, or president, must be a minister, who is chosen to that position twice a-year. As a minister must be moderator, and as the moderator cannot vote in any disputed question unless there be an equality, there may always be a majority of one on the part of the elders, should the whole of both ministers and elders be present and take opposite sides. Thus, also, it appears that there cannot be clerical domination in a full meeting of presbytery; and it is their own fault if the elders be not present at every meeting. It is the duty of the presbytery to take cognizance of all matters that affect the state of religion within its bounds, superintending generally and equally the conduct of ministers and of congregations, deciding cases that come from kirk-sessions by appeal, and originating actions affecting the character and status of ministers.

The PROVINCIAL SYNOD is the next ecclesiastical court, superior to the presbytery. A synod contains not less than three presbyteries, and seldom more than five or six. Every minister of all the presbyteries within the bounds of the synod is a member of that court; and the same elder who represented the session in the presbytery during the preceding half-year, is also a member of the synod. The constitutional number of ministers and elders is, therefore, equal; and since a minister must preside as moderator, there could be a majority of one on the part of the elders in any case in which different views were entertained by the whole members of each class. Neighbouring synods correspond with each other by sending one minister and one elder to sit, deliberate, and vote with the original members of the synod to which they are sent. But this does not alter the proportion of the two classes of which the synod

is constituted. It is the duty of the synod to superintend the proceedings of all the presbyteries within its bounds; to hear and adjudicate all cases that may be brought before it by appeal or reference; and to call for and inspect the records of the several presbyteries, that it may have a full view of all that has taken place; from which inspection it may spontaneously originate a case and decide it, should there appear to be a sufficient reason. In this manner it takes cognizance of every thing within its bounds that can affect the interests of morality and religion; exercising the power of reviewing and controlling the proceedings of the inferior court, so far as may be necessary.

The GENERAL ASSEMBLY is the supreme ecclesiastical court. It is composed of commissioners from all the presbyteries in the kingdom, as representatives of those presbyteries, the number of commissioners sent from each varying in proportion to the numerical size of the presbytery. In the Established Church there are more ministers than elders; but in the Free Church, the numbers of each are equal, elders and ministers being returned from each presbytery in equal proportion. The entire number of members of which the General Assembly is composed is indeterminate, depending upon the increase of the Church as producing a larger number of representatives from those presbyteries where the increase may have taken place; but it may be estimated as not under three hundred, and from that to three hundred and fifty. The moderator of the General Assembly is almost always a minister, though this has not been invariably the case. The General Assembly forms the ultimate court of review, no appeal being competent from its decisions in any matter within its own province—that is, in any spiritual matter. Such, at least, *was*

the case in the Church of Scotland, the law being expressly, that "by them the case being decided, shall take end as they decern and declare;" but it may well be doubted whether this be the case in the Establishment now, though it still is so in the Free Church. In addition to the power of the General Assembly to decide all matters that are brought up to it from inferior courts, it can, by its own inherent right of superintendence and control, require the books of the inferior judicatories to be produced, and from their inspection originate such measures as may seem necessary for correcting error, redressing wrong, enforcing the observance of general rules, and promoting the religious welfare of the people throughout the entire kingdom. The General Assembly possesses also not only a judicial but a legislative power, and can enact ecclesiastical laws on matters of general importance, which are binding upon all the members and judicatories of the Church. The proposal to make a new law, or repeal an old one, is, in ecclesiastical language, termed an *overture*, and may originate in either presbytery or synod, by which it is transmitted to the Assembly. Should it be approved of by the General Assembly, it does not at once become law, but must be sent, in accordance with what is called the *Barrier Act*, to the several presbyteries, for their consideration. They are, at the same time, enjoined to transmit their opinion to the next General Assembly; and if it be then found that a majority of the presbyteries have concurred, it becomes a standing law. The object of this method of procedure is to guard against too hasty legislation, and to secure the fullest possible amount of approbation before any enactment can become permanently binding. But should the case be of urgent importance, the overture from the Assembly to the presby-

teries may be rendered an *Interim Act*, having the full force of law till the meeting of next Assembly. By the Barrier Act the danger of rash legislation is prevented; and by the device of an Interim Act provision is made against any injury which might arise from delay in a specially urgent emergency.

The advantages arising from a series of judicatories, each superior to the other in authority, and comprising a greater number of members, must be very obvious. Should any person consider himself aggrieved by the decision of an inferior court, he can at once carry his case by appeal to a higher body, where it is both heard by a greater number of judges, and by a court free from any such local feelings and prejudices as might have biassed the decision of those by whom it was first heard. And when it reaches the General Assembly, as any case may do, it will be judged by the representatives of the whole Church, from all parts of the kingdom—than which it is scarcely possible to imagine a more impartial tribunal. No arrangement was ever framed more calculated to guard against error and injury, and to secure the utmost possible amount of religious liberty. But we do not claim for the Scottish Reformers the merit of having, by their own superior wisdom, devised a scheme so nearly perfect. They obtained it, as they did every other religious principle and element, from the Sacred Scriptures; in which they believed that they found both precedent and authority for General Synods, or Assemblies, to hear appeals and references, and to pass enactments judicially and legislatively binding on the whole Church. And by providing that provincial synods should meet half-yearly, and the General Assembly at least once a-year, they provided that there could not be any very lengthened delay between the

occurrence of a wrong, or an injury, and the means of obtaining redress, or of framing a remedial measure. Thus, both Scripture authority and enlightened views of freedom and justice are combined in the system of Presbyterian Church government.

The subject of discipline necessarily engages a large share of the attention of these ecclesiastical judicatories. Nearly all cases of discipline originate in the session; for it is the direct and primary duty of the session to decide respecting the characters and religious knowledge of those who apply for admission to membership; and also to take cognizance of the conduct and character of existing members, and to see that their behaviour is consistent with their religious profession. Every violation of the pure and holy precepts of the Gospel subjects the delinquent to be examined and judged by the session. Should the charge be proved, the session may, in the exercise of its disciplinary authority, inflict such a degree of censure as the demerit of the party may deserve. The kinds of censure are generally admonition in presence of the session, temporary suspension from the enjoyment of Church privileges, and absolute excommunication, in the case of aggravated offences and impenitent offenders. In this, too, the Presbyterian Church follows the authority and example of Scripture. And regarding discipline as a power for edification, and not for destruction, it does not regard the mere infliction of punishment as its end, but the reclaiming of the offender. For this reason it strives to temper judgment with mercy; and with equal kindness and wisdom seeks every opportunity and means of warning, admonishing, instructing, and exhorting the erring party, that he may be brought to see the nature of his criminality; to humble himself before God; to seek repentance

and forgiveness through the merits and intercession of the Redeemer; and by the manifestation of an external, prove the reality of an internal change, in virtue of which he may be again admitted to the enjoyment of Church privileges. It never was the theory of the Church of Scotland that disciplinary censure could, in its own nature, affect any man's person, property, or position in society, except in cases where the property and position were ecclesiastical. But the Church did hold, that the State would judge wisely, if it judged that an open and hardened violator of the laws of God was not a fit person to make or administer the laws of man; and she did not hesitate to remonstrate when flagrant criminals were intrusted with high civil power, and employed in matters which none but men of sacred principles and strict integrity could rightly conduct. For this she has been often branded with the reproach of bigotry and intolerance, and her discipline condemned as oppressively severe. If, however, her principles and conduct be tried by the Word of God, it will be found that she erred more by falling beneath, than by attempting to rise above, that perfect standard.

With regard to public worship, the Presbyterian system is characterized by great simplicity and plainness. Many have censured the Presbyterian mode of worship as too plain—as not availing itself enough of those external means which tend to excite reverential emotion. But in this point, also, it took for its rule the simplicity of the Scriptures. The great idea presented in the Gospel is spiritual worship, free alike from multitudinous forms that cumber memory and distract the mind, and from a gorgeous apparatus that dazzles and beguiles the senses. Its object is to direct the eye of faith to the Saviour alone, and to fill the mind with

nothing but sacred truth. Such is scriptural simplicity in worship and in instruction; and this perfect example the Presbyterian Church strove closely to follow. Praise, prayer, and preaching, all simple, all direct, all spiritual, all from the heart, all for God's glory and man's salvation, were the sole elements and aim of Presbyterian worship. This was its idea of what public worship ought to be; because this was all for which the Gospel record gave authority. And the Scottish Reformers firmly held that will-worship was sinful and pernicious; that God alone could prescribe what mode of worship would be acceptable in his sight; and that it was equally dangerous to add to, or to take from, whatsoever God had commanded. They had seen too much of the ignorance, folly, and crime prevalent among those who were addicted to the sensuous and emotional worship of Rome, to attach much value to mere form and show in matters of religion. And when they turned to the pure and simple worship of the New Testament, they beheld in it the majestic simplicity of the clear blue heavens in their cloudless glory. They felt, therefore, that they were rendering homage to the God of heaven best, when they were worshipping him after the example of the Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles. No other defence for the plainness and simplicity of their mode of worship would they have offered; and no other defence does any true Presbyterian think it can require—perhaps it were more correct to say, in this very simplicity and plainness, so directly scriptural, consists its greatest merit. And it may be safely said, that in no other system has there been produced a greater amount of religious knowledge, strong faith, and practical piety throughout the entire body of worshippers.

To reform and elevate mankind, and to glorify God, is a summary statement of the object for which the Christian Church was instituted. And as the accomplishment of such an object requires prolonged exertion during successive generations, it must be carried on with the steady regularity and sustained perseverance of a system. Christianity, in its universal aspect, is the Gospel system; and each several Church is a peculiarly systematized portion of Christianity. The success of any Church in accomplishing the object for which it was instituted may be fairly regarded as a test of the excellence of its systematic arrangements; or, these arrangements themselves may be examined, with the view of ascertaining their adaptation to the accomplishment of the end for which the Church was instituted. From neither of these tests need the Presbyterian system shrink.

The brief outline we have given may suffice to show how perfectly such a system is adapted to the diffusion of Gospel truth and Gospel influence. By the very necessity of its constitution it must seek the cultivation of the whole community, through the entire range of personal, family, social, and national capacities and energies. It cannot afford to permit any of its adherents to remain uninstructed and unreformed; because there lies before them all the prospect of their becoming entitled to the exercise of important privileges, affecting both the government and the discipline of the Church, the choice of all office-bearers being vested in the members; and upon the judicious exercise of those privileges must largely depend the welfare of the Church, both locally and in its collective and national condition. The religious instruction of the young must, therefore, be the primary duty of such a Church;

and no Church has ever set itself so systematically and perseveringly to the discharge of that duty as the Presbyterian Church. Family religion is the basis of all social religion. In proportion as households attend to the worship of God, will neighbourhoods, and villages, and towns do the same; while children and servants will be trained to regular habits, both of personal and social worship. The Presbyterian system has always directed special attention to this important department, and its beneficial effects have been known and admitted by all. Few sounds can be imagined more sweet and heavenly, than the sound of praise and prayer, at the close of evening or at early dawn, issuing from the lowly roof of a humble cottage, where some pious, though toil-worn peasant, with his little family-flock around him, is breathing forth his fervent thanksgivings and adorations to the God of all the families of the true Israel. Such was the characteristic glory of Scotland once; and if that glory has been dimmed, it has been caused by the introduction into the Presbyterian system of secular elements by a complicated and prolonged course of fraud and violence, thereby vitiating the system and preventing its proper working and development.

The success of the Presbyterian system in accomplishing the object for which it was instituted, is proved by the whole history of that system in Scotland. Let any one adequately acquainted with the state of the Scottish people before the Reformation, direct his attention to their condition one generation after that event. Their military daring and frequent feuds have subsided into the most calm and well regulated peacefulness; but still they are men whom it would not be wise to rouse to a conflict. Such a conflict does arise—a conflict of principles; and they are immediately seen knit together as one man in a solemn and sacred bond,

with them, or into which Christianity itself naturally tended to mould a society of single-hearted believers.

The first definite accounts which have reached us respecting the Culdees are those which relate to Columba, who is said to have been a native of Ireland, and of royal extraction. He is reported to have founded the monastery, or rather abbey, of Iona, in the year 563, and to have been himself the first abbot. He took with him, we are told, from Ireland to Iona, twelve companions, over whom he possessed no other kind of superiority than that of being president for life. Neither the office nor the designation of bishop, in its Prelatical sense, appears to have been known among them. The institution of Iona formed, in truth, a regular presbytery, as it has long existed in Scotland, with this slight difference, that the presidency, or what we term the moderatorship, was permanently enjoyed by the abbot, whom even Bede terms the "presbyter-abbot." Upon the death of this permanent president, or presbyter-abbot, the remaining presbyter-monks met and chose a successor from among themselves, to whom was accordingly given the permanent presidency, but without any such rite as that of consecration, or anything which could indicate elevation to an office essentially superior in itself. He was, in fact, nothing more than "the first among equals," placed so by the choice of his brethren, for the purpose of maintaining order in their meetings together for deliberation and consultation. This peculiarity was well known to the venerable Bede, who terms it an "unusual constitution" (*ordo inusitatus*), as, indeed, it must have appeared to one who had been himself accustomed to the constitution of a diocesan and Prelatic Episcopacy.

It deserves to be remarked, that the number of the council or college of presbyter-monks of Iona was fixed at twelve; and that when the Culdees formed new settlements, they adhered to the same number. This was, in all probability, caused by their veneration for the primitive apostolic council of twelve; and indicates, either that the Culdees must have reached Scotland in a very early age, while apostolic forms were still uncorrupted and Prelacy unknown; or that

ginning to spread over our mountains, tinging the grey memorials of our martyred forefathers? But we check this strain of thought, that we may not needlessly prolong this introductory outline of the principles and constitution of the Church of Scotland. Enough, we trust, has been stated to point out what these principles really are; why the people of Scotland, whom they rescued from enslaved degradation and made intelligently free, have always clung to them with such strong and loving pertinacity; and how a clear conception of them is necessary, in order to understand the history of Scotland and Scotland's Church. The candid and attentive reader of the following pages will be able for himself to verify, if not the truthfulness of those principles, and their close agreement with Scripture, at least their living warmth, sincerity, and power.

HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO SCOTLAND, TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION.

Introductory Remarks—Statement of General Principles involved in all Church History—Divine Truth infused into the Social System—Opposition from Man's Fallen Nature—Characteristic Principles of different Churches—Of the Church of Scotland—Introduction of Christianity into Scotland—The Culdees—Peculiarities of their System—Introduced into England—Augustine the Monk—He and his followers oppose the Culdees—They retire to Scotland—The Prelatic system of Rome introduced—The Culdees at length Overborne and Suppressed—The Leading Tenets of the Culdees—Progress of Popery—Its Wealth and Power—State of Scotland at the Commencement of the Reformation.

THERE are certain general principles involved in all Church history, greatly more profound in their character and important in their consequences than those which appear in, or can be deduced from, the records of civil history. The civil historian has to deal with man merely as the mortal inhabitant of this world; and, however deeply his philosophical knowledge of the human mind may enable him to penetrate into those undeclared motives by which sovereigns and statesmen are often influenced, and the affairs of nations controlled, there is still one department, and that the mightiest of all, into which it is not his province to enter. He may unravel the twisted intrigues of mere worldly policy; he may detect and confute the sophistries of worldly

wisdom; but, except he be something more than a philosophical historian, he will remain utterly unable to understand the meaning and the power of conscience, influenced by religion, and impelling men frequently to act directly contrary to everything which he would deem politic and expedient. Not only this class of motives, but the course of events also, will often be found to lie equally beyond his reach adequately to comprehend and explain. He will often find means and arrangements, apparently the wisest and most sufficient, utterly fail of accomplishing the proposed end; while others, which seem ill advised and feeble, will be crowned with the most remarkable success. Frequently, therefore, must he content himself with recording the course of events, of which the impelling causes and controlling agencies are to him altogether unknown. Man as he is, in short, impelled by the passions and allured by the interests of his known and common nature—circumscribed, as he at present appears, within the limits of space and time, of his earthly pursuits and mortal life—forms the object of the civil historian's important yet incomplete researches.

But Church history has to deal with the deeds and characters of men in that very department into which the civil historian cannot enter. It views man as a moral and spiritual being, fallen from his original condition of purity and happiness, the slave of guilty passions, degraded by low and grovelling pursuits, and blinded by inveterate prejudices; yet capable of recovery from his depraved and miserable condition, and at present under a dispensation divinely fitted to restore him to more than the purity and elevation from which he fell. He is seen, therefore, as constantly impelled by the one or the other of two contending influences, directly hostile to each other;—the one, the influence of his fallen and corrupt nature, striving to perpetuate all its own evil tendencies, and to impede and pervert all the efforts of its opponent; the other, the influence of revealed religion, of Christianity, striving to expel corruption, remove prejudices, and heal the moral maladies of the soul, by the infusion of the new and sacred principles of eternal truth. Church history has, therefore, for its peculiar province, the

infusion into the soul of fallen man of the sacred principles of divine revealed truth—their influence in the social system, as they strive to pervade and mould it anew; the opposition which they meet with from the inherent depravity of the heart; the struggles of these contending influences of good and evil, of the world and religion; the convulsions occasionally thereby produced; and the changes which take place in the aspect and structure of society, as the one or the other, from time to time, obtains ascendancy, puts forth its power, and exhibits its native character. It is thus evident that the history of the Church of any land is the history of the moral and spiritual life of that land; and that it claims, as its own peculiar domain, that very region of moral and spiritual principles and motives into which the secular historian, as such, cannot even enter, and yet without some knowledge of which, much of what is most important in the history of every nation can never be understood and explained.

In tracing the Church history of any country, we must expect to meet with much that we must both deplore and condemn. For although the principles which Christianity introduces into the soul of man, and thereby into the social system, are in themselves absolutely perfect, yet they are rarely perfectly received, and never have been perfectly developed. Divine truth does not, indeed, contract any portion of human error by entering into the mind of man; but the depraved and prejudiced human mind obtains in general only a partial reception and distorted view of its great principles. The inevitable consequence is, that its genuine effects are very greatly impaired by the disturbing influence of human depravity and prejudice. Some of the most important religious principles are frequently obscured, because they have either been imperfectly understood, or are so opposed to the natural predilections of fallen man as to be disliked, and therefore perverted. They do, indeed, re-appear from time to time, as peculiar junctures, under the guiding of Divine Providence, call them forth; until their true character and value being thus forced upon the perception of the general mind, they are at length received, and opportunity thereby given for the similar process of development

to others, which had been equally neglected or opposed. This is the case, whether such principles have direct reference to the government, the doctrine, or the discipline of the Christian Church, as might easily be shown from the general records of Church history.

There is also a necessary continuity of character, as of being, in the life and history of any Church; and that character can never be rightly understood, however familiar we may be with the details of its general history, unless we have a clear and true conception of those leading principles which have always formed the master-element of its essential existence. By keeping them steadily in view, we shall be able to trace distinctly all the various changes and alterations of its course, marking and understanding not merely those external events which are manifest to the world, but those unseen influences which move, and mould, and animate the whole. Even in periods of comparative stagnation, when there seems to be a cessation of all active and vital impulses, the knowledge of what forms the essential characteristics of a national Church may enable us to detect the otherwise imperceptible progress of a deep and calm under-current, preparing for some new and mighty development of silently-ripened energies, by which the whole structure of society may be convulsed, and constrained to assume a new aspect, more in conformity with the character of its inward moral and religious life.

Every person who has paid much attention to Church history must be aware that, of the great leading principles of Christianity, some have been held in peculiar reverence, and defended with peculiar determination, by one National Church, and some by another; and from this has arisen in each that distinctive characteristic by which the various portions of the Church general maintain their individuality, notwithstanding their common resemblance. It would require too wide a survey, and perhaps involve a discussion too vague, to point out the distinctive characteristics of the chief National Churches throughout the Christian world; but there can be little difficulty in making specific mention of that great Christian principle which the Church of Scot-

land has always striven to realize and defend, namely, THAT THE LORD JESUS CHRIST IS THE ONLY HEAD AND KING OF THE CHURCH : whence it follows, by necessary consequence, THAT ITS GOVERNMENT IS DERIVED FROM HIM ALONE, AND IS DISTINCT FROM, AND IS NOT SUBORDINATE IN ITS OWN PROVINCE TO, THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE. The very remoteness of Scotland from Rome, the seat first of imperial and subsequently of ecclesiastical power, tended to allow for a time a more free development of that great principle, and of its legitimate consequences, than would have been possible had it been more accessible to the influence of Roman supremacy. It might, perhaps, be thought by some, that the Presbyterian form of Church government, rather than the great principle of the sole sovereignty of Christ, has been, and is, the characteristic tenet of the Church of Scotland. But it requires only a little deeper investigation, or profounder thought, to enable any impartial and unprejudiced person to see, that the great principle of Christ's sole sovereignty must prohibit the Church which holds it from the adoption of any merely human inventions or arrangements in that form of government which he has given to the Church, his free spiritual kingdom, of which the Holy Scriptures contain the only authoritative enactment and declaration.

It is not our purpose to enter here into the controversy respecting forms of Church government, further than merely to state our full conviction, that it can be proved, and often has been proved, that the Episcopalian, or rather let us term it now, and throughout this work, the Prelatic form of Church government, is one of merely human invention, whilst the Presbyterian is of divine origin and authority, and, consequently, is that which would of necessity be adopted and retained by any Church which held as its leading principle the sole headship and kingly dominion of the Lord Jesus Christ. But it is enough at present merely to have stated these general principles, and suggested their application. If the candid reader will bear them in mind during his perusal of the following pages, he will soon be able to decide for himself respecting their truth and their importance.

The first introduction of Christianity into Scotland cannot, it appears, be now exactly ascertained. It would be in vain to refer to the legendary records of ancient Scottish kings, given by some of our historians, as furnishing authoritative information respecting the events of a period so far beyond the boundaries of our nation's authentic annals. Perhaps the earliest indication that the light of Christianity had begun to dawn upon the remote regions of Caledonia that can at all be depended upon, may be found in the words of Tertullian, who asserts, that "those parts of Britain which were inaccessible to the Romans had become subject to Christ." And although we are not to attach to the fervid language of a rhetorician the same degree of credit which we yield to the direct statements of a historian, yet, remembering the extreme rapidity with which Christianity was propagated throughout the Roman Empire in the apostolic age, it is by no means improbable that it should have reached Britain, and even penetrated to the mountains of Caledonia, before the close of the second century. The violence of the persecutions which raged in every part of Rome's dominions during the third century may readily be supposed to have driven many of the Christians beyond the boundaries of the empire, and thus to have aided indirectly in the diffusion of the Gospel, and especially to have promoted its introduction into the territories of unsubdued nations. Many of those persecuted Christians may then have found a refuge among the unconquered districts of Scotland and Ireland, where they would, of course, endeavour to instruct the rude but not inhospitable natives in the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus.

In what manner these early Christian refugees commenced what may be termed their missionary labours among the Scots and Picts; and whether, as some authors assert, the greater number of them resorted to Ireland, and there assembling themselves together, resumed the form of primitive ecclesiastical government to which they had been accustomed; are questions into which it would be fruitless to inquire, it being now almost impossible to arrive at any certainty on these points. The records of those remote

times are so obscure and contradictory, that they rather furnish material for conjecture, than data from which any satisfactory inferences may be drawn. There are, however, a few points on which all ancient records seem to agree. These, therefore, we may assume as generally admitted facts, although party writers have endeavoured to deduce from them the most opposite conclusions; and while we do not venture to claim for ourselves absolute impartiality and freedom from all biasing predilections, we shall do our utmost to guard against the influence of prejudices; to state nothing but what we believe, after very careful investigation, to be the truth; and to frame no inferences but what seem to us to be natural, direct, and inevitable.

There is reason to believe, as has been already stated, that the knowledge of Christianity was to some extent communicated to the people of Scotland and Ireland as early as towards the close of the second, and more especially during the third, century of the Christian era, in the times of those fierce persecutions which, while they were meant to exterminate, were actually overruled to promote the progress of, the Christian religion. There is no reason, however, to think that those persecuted and banished Christians attempted at that early period to construct any distinct frame of ecclesiastical government. They seem rather to have dwelt in comparatively isolated solitude, each in his own retreat, and each communicating to his own immediate neighbours as much instruction as he could impart, or they could be persuaded to receive. If any dependence may be placed upon the fabulous records of those ages, there were too many convulsions and semi-revolutions in both Scotland and Ireland, caused by the contentions of rival races and petty monarchies, to have permitted the construction of any regular form of Church government; so that for a considerable period, while Christianity was gradually pervading both countries, it was doing so almost imperceptibly, through the exertions of individuals, without system and without combination, further than that invisible but strong harmony which is caused by identity of principle and aim. In this manner Christianity might have been, and indeed

appears to have been, propagated extensively throughout the British Isles, before it began to assume the external aspect of a Church, with a regular system and form of government. But when persecution ceased, in consequence of the fall of Paganism before the progress of Christianity, and Rome began to be regarded as the central seat of ecclesiastical government, the Bishop of Rome very early assumed a sort of supremacy over the whole Christian Church, and took it upon him to interfere with the arrangements of the whole Christian world. To this, in all probability, we owe the visit of Palladius, about the object and consequences of which so much fruitless controversy has arisen.

According to Archbishop Ussher, Palladius was sent from Rome "to the Scots believing on Christ," in the year 431, by Celestine, at that time Bishop of Rome, as their "first bishop" (*primus episcopus*).^{*} Some writers assert, that by the word "*Scots*" we are to understand the Irish to be meant; and are further to learn, that Palladius was sent to be *Primate* of Ireland! It is not necessary to waste space in the discussion of assertions which contain their own refutation in their absurdity. Whatever else may have been among the secret objects of the Roman Bishop Celestine in the mission of Palladius, it appears sufficiently evident, from the above-quoted expression, that the chief one was to introduce Episcopal government among the Scottish and Irish Christians; whence it clearly follows, that previously no such form of ecclesiastical government was known, if indeed there did exist previously either organization or government at all, beyond the mental harmony which subsisted among those who held one faith, were animated by one Spirit, trusted in one Saviour, and worshipped one God.

Whether the mission of Palladius were chiefly to Ireland or not, it may not now be possible to determine with certainty; but there is reason to believe that he not only visited Scotland, but that he died there, at Fordoun, in the Mearns.[†] The very common opinion that Palladius was sent expressly to refute the errors of Pelagius, which are said to have be-

^{*} Ussher, *Primord.*, p. 801. See also Jamieson's *History of the Culdees*, pp. 7, 8.

[†] Jamieson's *Hist. Culd.*, p. 9.

come prevalent among the British Christians, we are disposed to regard as without sufficient foundation. The Pelagian heresy was scarcely known till the year 412, and that chiefly among the African Churches; and it is not at all likely that it had even reached, much less made extensive progress among, the simple-minded Christians of Scotland and Ireland, before the year in which the mission of Palladius is recorded to have taken place.

Nothing certain is known respecting the direct effects produced by the mission of Palladius. It is, indeed, stated by Marianus Scotus, that after him St Patrick was consecrated by Celestine, and sent as archbishop to Ireland, where, in the course of forty years, he converted the whole island to the faith;* but this account cannot be relied on, in consequence of its opposition to other and more authentic records. There is no proof whatever that St Patrick had any connection with Rome; while there is strong reason to believe that he was a native of Scotland, and that the Christianity which he communicated to Ireland was, both in forms and doctrines, what he had himself been taught by his Scottish instructors. What the form of Church government was which St Patrick instituted in Ireland, appears very plainly, even from the statement of Archbishop Ussher. "We read," says that learned and candid prelate—"we read in Nennius, that at the beginning St Patrick founded three hundred and sixty-five churches, and ordained three hundred and sixty-five bishops, besides three thousand presbyters" (or elders).† What kind of *bishops* these were is sufficiently apparent from the fact that there was one for each church, and also from the number of the elders—about eight to each bishop. It was, in short, manifestly the same institution which ultimately became the Presbyterian Church of Scotland—a parish minister, with his session of elders, in each church and parish that had received the Gospel. But it is time to quit the regions of dark and half-fabulous antiquity, and to direct our attention to what, though still obscure, has been brought

* Jamieson's Hist. Culd., p. 8.

† Discourse on the Religion of the Irish and British, p. 77.

into somewhat of a more definite form, by those writers who have preserved to us an outline of the aspect of primitive Christianity in Scotland, in the remarks they have made on the Culdees.

It is not our intention to investigate at any length the questions which have been so long agitated respecting the origin, the doctrines, and the form of Church government of the Culdees, but rather to state briefly and consecutively all that is clearly known concerning them.

The name Culdees appears to have been given to those Christians who fled from persecution, and sought refuge in those districts of Scotland which were beyond the limits of the Roman Empire. Different explanations have been suggested of the name itself; some deriving it from Latin, and assuming it to have been an abbreviation of *Cultores Dei*—worshippers of God; others from the Gaelic expression, *Gille De*—servants of God; and others from the Gaelic *Cuil* or *Ceal*—a sheltered place, a retreat. We would combine the two latter opinions, and suppose that the Culdees derived their name from the union of these two facts in their early history, namely, that they were refugees, and dwelt generally in comparatively secret retreats and hiding-places; and that they were known to be in a peculiar manner servants of God. Their early possession of the island of Iona, and concentration there as their chief seat, we would regard also as the result of a combination of circumstances. The same necessity which drove them to Scotland would impel them to seek some tolerably secure place of refuge, to which they could at all times retreat from danger. The marked and important intercourse between the Dalriad Scots and the Irish, which subsisted at that period, would point out some interjacent island as affording easy access to either country and people. For these reasons Iona would readily recommend itself to them, as at once a safe retreat, even from its insignificance in point of size, and at the same time allowing free and convenient intercourse with Picts, Scots, and Irish. It thus became their chief residence; and in it first appeared that form of ecclesiastical government, the rudimental principles of which they had either brought

with them, or into which Christianity itself naturally tended to mould a society of single-hearted believers.

The first definite accounts which have reached us respecting the Culdees are those which relate to Columba, who is said to have been a native of Ireland, and of royal extraction. He is reported to have founded the monastery, or rather abbey, of Iona, in the year 563, and to have been himself the first abbot. He took with him, we are told, from Ireland to Iona, twelve companions, over whom he possessed no other kind of superiority than that of being president for life. Neither the office nor the designation of bishop, in its Prelatical sense, appears to have been known among them. The institution of Iona formed, in truth, a regular presbytery, as it has long existed in Scotland, with this slight difference, that the presidency, or what we term the moderatorship, was permanently enjoyed by the abbot, whom even Bede terms the "presbyter-abbot." Upon the death of this permanent president, or presbyter-abbot, the remaining presbyter-monks met and chose a successor from among themselves, to whom was accordingly given the permanent presidency, but without any such rite as that of consecration, or anything which could indicate elevation to an office essentially superior in itself. He was, in fact, nothing more than "the first among equals," placed so by the choice of his brethren, for the purpose of maintaining order in their meetings together for deliberation and consultation. This peculiarity was well known to the venerable Bede, who terms it an "unusual constitution" (*ordo inusitatus*), as, indeed, it must have appeared to one who had been himself accustomed to the constitution of a diocesan and Prelatic Episcopacy.

It deserves to be remarked, that the number of the council or college of presbyter-monks of Iona was fixed at twelve; and that when the Culdees formed new settlements, they adhered to the same number. This was, in all probability, caused by their veneration for the primitive apostolic council of twelve; and indicates, either that the Culdees must have reached Scotland in a very early age, while apostolic forms were still uncorrupted and Prelacy unknown; or that

they followed the Sacred Scriptures as closely as possible, regarding them as the only and the sufficient standard of both faith and ecclesiastical government. We find them also appealing to the authority of the Apostle John, in their controversy with the Romanized English clergy respecting Easter, which indicates both the earliness of their origin, and the quarter whence they derived their tenets and their institutions. An additional proof of their early origin and unperverted belief and practice appears in the fact, that though generally termed monks by ecclesiastical writers of that age, to whom the term had become familiar, they did not hold the tenet of monastic celibacy, but were married men, and were even frequently succeeded in their official station and duties by their own sons. From this we can scarcely avoid drawing the conclusion, that those who held a form of Christianity so primitive, so simple, and so pure, must have branched off from the central regions and stem of the Christian Church at a very early period indeed—almost before any corruption had begun to disfigure the institutions, and pollute the doctrines and customs, of the apostles. For these and other reasons the second century seems not too early a date to assign to the origin of Christianity in Scotland.

Little is known respecting the progress made by the Culdees in propagating Christianity among the Scots and Picts, impeded as their efforts must have been by the almost incessant hostilities in which these tribes were engaged. That they did make some progress, however, is certain, from the various semi-monastic settlements which they formed in the districts inhabited by each people, as at Dunkeld, Abernethy, Arbroath, Brechin, Monimusk, &c. It deserves to be noted, also, that in each of these settlements the Culdees retained the institutions of Iona already specified, namely, a council of twelve presbyter-monks, with a life-president, or presbyter-abbot, chosen from among their own number by themselves, and continuing of the same order, than which they acknowledged no higher.

Although the intestine feuds of the Scots and Picts must have greatly retarded the progress of Christianity among

them, yet their neighbours of the southern part of the island were in a much worse condition. It is well known, that on the final departure of the Romans from Britain, the enfeebled Britons applied to the Saxons for aid against the invasions of the Scots and Picts; and were themselves, after a protracted and bloody struggle, completely subdued by their faithless auxiliaries. The effect of these devastating wars was the complete ascendancy of the Saxons in England, and the entire extinction of Christianity in the territories upon which they had seized; the remainder of the British race, with what of Christianity survived among them, being driven into the mountain fastnesses of Wales, where, accordingly, the relics of the primitive Culdee system continued for a considerable time to exist. *

At length there came a period of comparative tranquillity; and the Christianity which had been preserved in the northern regions began to find its way southward. Bede informs us that Oswald, king of the Northumbrian Saxons, had been himself educated at Iona; and immediately upon his obtaining the sovereignty, he sent to the Scottish elders (*magjores natu*), requesting them to send him what would now be termed an ordained minister (*antistes*), by whose doctrine and ministry his subjects might be instructed in the Christian faith. † From this period and downwards, the Culdees prosecuted their missionary labours among the Saxons with great activity. At first their success was but indifferent. Cormac, their first missionary, was a man of austere manners, and failed to render himself and his ministry acceptable to the rude and warlike Saxons. They next sent Aidan, one of the presbyter-monks of Iona, having first ordained him as a preaching presbyter. He formed a settlement at Lindisfarne, constructing it upon the model of that at Iona; and it became a new salient point, from which Christianity might make its aggressive movements into England. Such, nevertheless, was the veneration entertained for Iona, and such also, in all probability, its superiority in the means of instructing aspirants for the Christian ministry, that several

* Keith, Preface, pp. viii. and xv.; Jamieson, Hist. Culd., pp. 85, 359.

† Bede, Hist., lib. iii., c. 17; Jamieson, Hist. Culd., pp. 36, 37.

of the immediate successors of Aidan in the presbyter-abbotship of Lindisfarne, were sent thither from the primitive seat of the Culdees.

But while the simple primitive Christianity of the Culdees was making rapid progress among the Pagan Saxons, a more formidable opposition was preparing to meet it. The attention of Pope Gregory the Great was accidentally directed to Britain; and he sent Augustine the Monk, with forty missionary attendants, to attempt the conversion of the Saxons. The imposing pomp, and the keen subtilty and artifice, of the Italian monk and his associates, speedily acquired an ascendancy which the simple Culdee presbyters could not gainstand. The controversy respecting the proper time for observing Easter, and other points of form and ceremony in which the Culdees differed from the Roman Church, was formally begun by Augustine, in a synod held by him in the year 603. This was the commencement of the corruption and tyranny of the Romish Church in Britain. The Romish party continued to advance, employing all the craft and despotism with which they were so familiar, and bearing down their opponents; and in a synod held at Whitby in the year 662, for the purpose of deciding the controversy, Colman, at that time presbyter-abbot (termed also, in conformity with the names then become prevalent, bishop) of Lindisfarne, was overborne by the arrogant manner and confident assertions which his opponent Wilfrid had learned at Rome: but rather than abandon the tenets which he had been taught by his elders, as he termed them, he relinquished his position at Lindisfarne, and returned to Iona.

From this time forward the Romish influence made rapid aggressive progress. The adaptation of the Romish system to the natural pride and ambition of man, lent it a mighty impulse; and the Culdees were either allured to exchange their presbyter-abbot for a Prelatic and diocesan bishop, or compelled to abandon their settlements and return to Scotland. Indeed, the name bishop was often applied to the presbyter-abbot of the Culdees by the writers of that period; and so far as it was applied in its primitive sense, it was his due, there being no distinction between an *ordained*

presbyter and a *scriptural bishop*. Still, their difference from the Romish diocesan bishop, or prelate, was marked even by those writers, in the peculiar appellation, “bishops of the Scots,” by which they were designated.

It is not our intention to trace minutely the encroachments of the Prelatic Romish party, as they not only expelled the Culdees from England, but also, following up the ever-intolerant policy of Rome, assailed them in Scotland itself, and ceased not their hostile efforts till they procured their final suppression. It deserves, however, to be peculiarly noted, that what chiefly excited the hostility of the Romish party was the want of Prelacy among the Culdees, even more than their differing in other points from the superstitious rites and ceremonies of Popery; and that the introduction of Prelacy was the direct means by which the pure scriptural system of worship and government held by the early Scottish Church was at last overthrown. Nor let it pass unmarked, that England’s influence and example were the direct causes of the corruption and subversion of Scotland’s more ancient and purer faith. This might be rendered evident, beyond the possibility of contradiction, did our limits permit us to trace minutely the successive events which led to this disastrous result; such as, the residence for a time in England of some of our most powerful kings, especially Malcolm Canmore, and David I., who, returning to Scotland with their minds filled with prejudices in behalf of the pomp and splendour of the English Prelacy, made it their most strenuous endeavour to erect buildings, and organize and endow a hierarchy, which might vie in dignity and grandeur with those of their more wealthy neighbours. The ruinous effects were soon apparent. In vain did the best of the Scottish clergy oppose these innovations—their more ambitious brethren were but too ready to grasp at the proffered wealth and honour; and at length, to save themselves from the usurpations of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who strove to assert supremacy over the Scottish Church, they yielded up their spiritual liberty to the Roman pontiff, in the year 1176.

It can scarcely fail to strike every thoughtful reader, that

the history of the Culdees presents, in its main outline, very close resemblance to the general aspect and characteristic incidents subsequently exhibited in the history of the Church of Scotland, at and since the time of the Reformation. When left to itself, and free from external influence the Scottish Church has always been remarkable for its simplicity of forms and purity of doctrine, taking the Word of God as its sole rule and guide in both; the wealthier and more worldly Church of England has always hated and sought to overthrow a Church which contrasted so strongly with its own external pomp and internal corruption and inefficiency; and the monarchs and nobility of Scotland, becoming Anglicised, have striven to introduce forms of worship, and a system of despotic ecclesiastical government and corrupt doctrine, equally opposed to the simplicity and purity of the Scriptures, and to the grave, manly, and free spirit of the Scottish people.

It is at all times a melancholy task to trace the progress of a persecuted, oppressed, and falling cause, whether the cause be of religious or of civil liberty, which, indeed, generally suffer together and alike. We shall, therefore, very briefly state the most marked incidents in the suppression and extinction of the Culdees. After the Synod of Whitby in the year 662, the Culdees generally either retired from England, or submitted to the institutions and doctrines of Rome, which from that time forward held supreme ascendancy among the English. Soon after that period arose the furious contests between the Scots and Picts, which ended in the complete overthrow of the latter, and their entire national extinction, the conquered and the conquerors becoming so thoroughly blended together, that the Picts ceased to be known as a separate people. It appears that during these wars the Culdees suffered severely. The annals of Ulster state that, in the year 716, "the family of Iona was expelled beyond Drum-Albin, by Nectan, king of the Picts." This seems to have been connected with an attempt by Nectan to introduce the forms of the Anglican Church into his dominions; as we find that a Saxon priest, Ecgberht, was at the same time placed in Iona; while the Pictish king applied to

Ceolfrid, abbot of Girvey, for architects to erect a church after the Roman manner. It was probably his intention to transfer the chief seat of ecclesiastical government from Iona to Abernethy, his own capital, whereby he might expect that his personal influence would enable him to accomplish his intended religious innovations.

The premature death of Nectan put an end to these attempts; and Iona recovered its shaken supremacy, and enjoyed about sixty years of comparative tranquillity. But a more terrible enemy appeared. The Danes and Norwegians began their piratical invasions of the Western Isles; and in 801, Iona itself was burned, and a great number of the Culdees slain, by these fierce invaders. About the year 877, the Culdees of Iona fled from another Danish invasion to Ireland, carrying with them the relics of Columba. Still a considerable number of the Culdees continued to cleave to the long-hallowed abode of their ancestors, though now sadly shorn of its ancient splendour. But their perils and sufferings continued; and in 985, the Danes again pillaged the monastery, and killed the abbot, with fifteen of his presbyters. In 1059, the monastery was destroyed by fire; but still the devoted Culdees lingered among the scathed ruins of their venerated Iona. A large body of them, indeed, appear to have sought refuge in Dunkeld, where they endeavoured to perpetuate their simple scriptural institutions; but Iona continued to be inhabited by Culdees till the year 1203, when "Ceallach built a monastery, in opposition to the learned of the place." * Thus the Romish usurping power seized upon the very citadel: and this seems effectually to have driven the remains of the persecuted Culdees from Iona, which they never again recovered. The only further accounts of them which can be gleaned from incidental notices, represent them as scattered throughout the districts of the western counties of Scotland, especially in Kyle and Cunningham; where, though their name soon became extinct, their tenets were preserved in a great measure pure from Papal corruption, till about the time that the Lollards, the followers of Wickliffe, and of Jerome

* Jamieson's Hist. Culd., p. 301.

and Huss, appeared, like the faint day-break of the Reformation.

Although we have traced chiefly the fortunes of the original settlement of the Culdees at Iona, it must not be forgotten that there were many other similar settlements of them in Scotland; and that in later times some of these were even more prominently the scenes of contest with the encroaching Anglo-Roman Church than was Iona, and maintained the conflict for a longer period. In the year 1176, the Abbot of Dunkeld permitted himself to be made a diocesan bishop. It was not till the year 1230, or about that time, that the Culdees of Monimusk were deprived of their peculiar privileges; and in the year 1297, the Culdees of St Andrews made the last attempt at resisting the usurpations of the bishop of that see, by an ineffectual appeal to Rome. This, therefore, may be taken as the date of the final suppression, by Prelatic and Papal fraud and tyranny, of the primitive, scriptural, and Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

Before concluding this brief sketch of the Culdees, it may be expedient to state the main points of doctrine and ritual, as well as of ecclesiastical government, in which they differed from the corrupt Church of Rome. For although Bede and other writers make most mention of the disputes and controversies respecting the celebration of Easter, and the peculiar form of the clerical tonsure, and such like idle fooleries, from which some have hastily concluded that there was, after all, nothing but the most trifling and unessential distinctions between the Culdees and their Anglo-Roman opponents; yet a closer examination may enable us to discover, what a little more reflection would have led us to conjecture, that they differed in some points of vital importance, although the Popish and Prelatic party, with their usual cunning, contrived to make the public aspect of the controversy one of mere rites and ceremonies. It may, indeed, be here stated as an axiomatic principle, which we shall have frequent occasion of applying and verifying, that the opposers of pure religion never venture to assail what is manifestly sacred, if they can obtain the slightest hold of what is merely ritual or civil. From incidental notices, however, it

maybe gathered that the Culdees were opposed to the Church of Rome in such essential doctrines as the following:—

They rejected that dark and tyrannical tenet of Popery, *auricular confession*, and also its natural sequents, *penance* and *authoritative absolution*; confessing their sins to God alone, as believing that he alone could forgive sins.

They opposed the idolatrous doctrine of *the real presence*, or *transubstantiation*; holding the sacrament of the Lord's supper to be indeed a sealing ordinance and an appointed means of grace to all faithful receivers, but at the same time in its own nature essentially commemorative.

They rejected and opposed the *idolatrous worship* of *angels*, and *saints*, and *relics*, and all those peculiar superstitious practices by means of which the Romish Church so grossly imposed upon credulous ignorance, and promoted its own wealth and influence; and so sensitive do they appear to have been in their apprehension of the danger lest idolatry should creep into their pure system, that they would not permit any of their churches to be dedicated to, or designated by the name of, any saint or angel.

They neither admitted *praying to saints for their intercession*, nor *prayers for the dead*. "For they were persuaded that, while we are in the present world, we may help each other either by our prayers or by our counsels; but when we come before the tribunal of Christ, neither Job, nor Daniel, nor Noah, can intercede for any one, but every one must bear his own burden;"—so scriptural were their views on these points.

They strenuously denied the Popish doctrine of *works of supererogation*; utterly disclaiming all merit of their own, and hoping for salvation solely from the mercy of God, through faith in Jesus Christ; stating as their view of that essential point of Christian doctrine, "that the faithful man does not live by righteousness, but the righteous man by faith."

It has been already shown that the ecclesiastical constitution and government of the Culdees was diametrically opposed to Prelatic Episcopacy; and it ought to be stated, both as a consequence and as an additional proof, that they were unacquainted with the Episcopal rite of *confirmation*.

And, as an additional proof of their freedom from superstitious usages of merely human invention, they, in the sacrament of baptism, made use of any water that was conveniently at hand, as did the apostles, rejecting the "consecrated chrism" introduced by the Romanists, and still retained wherever Popish and Prelatic institutions prevail.*

When to the preceding doctrinal tenets of the Culdees we add their freedom from the pernicious system of an unmarried priesthood, their repugnance to the lordly rule of a diocesan Prelacy, and the scriptural simplicity of their Presbyterian form of Church government, we cannot fail to be struck with the close resemblance which they bear to the authoritative doctrines and institutions of the Word of God; to the opinions and desires of the great men of the Reformation—of Luther and Melancthon, Calvin and Beza, Cranmer and Ridley, Knox and Melville; and to the constitutional confession and government of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. And we have been at some pains to extricate, as far as may now be done, the tenets of our old ancestral faith from the confused and faded records of bygone ages, because we regarded that as the best method of ascertaining what were the actual life-germs and essential principles of that primitive, apostolic, and scriptural form of Christianity which was so early enjoyed by our fathers; and because we are persuaded that, however much externally overborne by the corrupt Prelatic Church of Rome, its influence never perished, but, after having for a season lain concealed, yet not unfelt, within the strong and independent heart of Scotland, while the fierce storms of English invasion and civil broils were sweeping over and devastating the land, it sprang again into energetic action, when the voice of Reformation went forth, awakening Europe, and became the moving and moulding life-power of our reformed, or rather resuscitated, national Church.

We have given the outline of all that is with any degree of certainty known respecting the Culdees, in one continued narrative, for the purpose of presenting it to the reader in

* For authorities in proof of the preceding statement of the differences between the Culdees and the Romish Churches, see Jamieson's Hist. Culd., chap. 10.

the most intelligible form, unbroken by reference to contemporaneous events. But some of these demand a portion of our attention, before proceeding with the main course of our narrative. The chief of these we shall now proceed to state with all practicable brevity.

It has been already stated, that the Christianizing labours of the Culdees were met and borne back from England by the efforts of the Romish Church, which even then was greatly corrupted; and also, that the system established in England speedily began to be imitated by our own somewhat Anglicized sovereigns and clergy. But it must be observed, that neither king nor clergy had the slightest intention of subjecting the Church of Scotland to that of England. Indeed, there occur some noble instances of the determined manner in which the Scottish kings repelled the aggressions of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, when endeavouring to extend their supremacy over the Church of Scotland; in particular the conduct of Alexander I., in the contest which arose in 1109, is deserving of the highest approbation. Yet this monarch was, in these attempts at usurpation by the English archbishops, only reaping the fruit of his own innovations, as it was by him chiefly that bishoprics were first erected in Scotland.

During the reign of his successor, David I., Popery obtained complete footing in Scotland, by the erection of an immense number of monasteries and abbeya, and the vast wealth which these scenes of corruption speedily acquired. Still, however, the Church of Scotland maintained its independence, refusing to submit to the dictation of that of England. Even after that unfortunate defeat which threw William the Lion into the power of the English monarch, and after he had consented to surrender the independence of the kingdom, that he might regain his personal liberty, the Scottish clergy refused to submit to equal degradation. The Archbishop of York was now the claimant for this supremacy; and in the year 1176, an assembly of the English and Scottish clergy was held at Northampton, on a citation for that purpose by the pope's legate. It would appear that Prelacy had already begun to do its work, in

producing a mean spirit of subserviency ; for not one of the Scottish prelates ventured to oppose the arrogant claim of the Archbishop of York. But a young canon named Gilbert Murray rose and addressed the assembled dignitaries, in a tone of bold and manly independence worthy of his country and his cause, repelling the arrogant pretensions of the arch-bishop, and asserting the freedom of the Church of Scotland.* The result was an appeal to Rome, and the declaration, by a Papal bull, of the independence of Scotland, in all matters ecclesiastical, of any other power than the pope or his legate. Although this incident proves that the national spirit of a Scot was still stronger in some than the unnationalizing spirit of Popery, yet the result was productive to the country of an evil scarcely, if at all, less than that which it was intended to repel. It unquestionably tended to increase the intercourse between the Scottish ecclesiastics and Rome, and thereby to introduce more rapidly, and to diffuse more widely, the pernicious errors of Popery.

That the Romish system, thus unhappily introduced, made rapid progress, and speedily became prevalent throughout the kingdom, cannot be doubted ; but the records of these times are so meagre, that no specific details can be given. During the fierce wars by which Scotland was devastated, in consequence of the attempts of Edward I. of England to annex it to his own dominions, it may well be supposed that little opportunity existed for either the improvement of religious institutions, or their temporal aggrandizement. But soon after Scotland had secured its national independence, we find fresh indications of the growing power, wealth, and profligacy of the clergy. So early, indeed, as the reign of Malcolm II., which began in 1004, the ecclesiastical courts had obtained the sole right of judging in all matters pertaining to dowries and testaments ; and also the passing of a law, that all men might bequeath property to the Church.† This soon became a fertile source of gain ; ignorant people being persuaded by the wily priests, that by such bequests they might secure the salvation of their souls, whatever

* Jamieson's Hist. Culd., pp. 240-244 ; Spotswood, p. 38.

† Regiam Majestatem, pp. 11, 66.

might have been the criminality of their course of life. Besides, while the priesthood were by these means acquiring great wealth, they possessed the only education which existed in the country, and were by no means desirous of communicating it to either the nobility or the common people. They thus became indispensable in the management of all public matters, and soon engrossed the chief official stations in the kingdom. That some of them discharged the duties of these stations with decided ability, need not be denied; but that they at the same time neglected their sacred duties, and allowed the country to remain in a state of great ignorance and barbarism, is equally certain.

In the meantime the social structure of Scotland had gradually reached the last stage of development of which such a system was capable. The feudal system had been superinduced upon the patriarchal or clan system. Those of the great barons who were of Norman extraction, comprising nearly all the Lowland nobility, maintained the feudal system in all its stern, inflexible despotism. The sovereign they regarded as but the highest of their own order, to whom they owed a merely nominal or formal allegiance; each other they viewed as rivals, against whom they might wage open war or frame machinations, as seemed the safest policy; and the people they considered as mere serfs, born to obey, and toil, and bleed, as each haughty tyrant might be pleased to command. In the Highlands the system of clanship prevailed; in which, though the system itself was perfectly despotic, yet it was somewhat mitigated by the idea essential to it, that there subsisted a family relationship between the chief and every clansman; so that, in theory at least, the tie was one of nature's formation, the authority that of a father, and the obedience that of children. In both the feudal and the clan systems the tendency was to divide the nation, or to keep it divided, into a number of jealous and conflicting sections, and to render it a constant scene of strife, anarchy, and blood, such as neither the power of the king, which was little more than nominal, nor the supremacy of the laws, which was scarcely recognised except in theory, was able to restrain. The condition

of the body of the people, exposed to the wild violence of factious and implacable nobles, may be more easily imagined than described. Nor is it our purpose to do more than merely suggest the public aspect of affairs in Scotland previous to the Reformation, leaving its minuter delineation to the professedly civil historian, to whom that province belongs.

Reference has already been made to the excessive grants of land and other wealth bestowed upon the Romanized clergy by several of the Scottish kings, especially by David I., and the encouragement thereby given to that avaricious class of men. We have also seen that the ruin of the more ancient and purer faith and discipline of the Culdees was effected by the same instrumentality—prelates, abbots, and Church dignitaries of every name and order, alike detesting a system the simplicity and purity of which formed a strong and manifest condemnation of their own. At the same time we are not unaware that, although the encouragement given to the Popish system may have at first arisen in a great measure from religious motives operating on minds comparatively ignorant, there may have been not a little of an influence very different in character, by which the Scottish kings were induced to promote the wealth and power of the clergy. They may have regarded the ecclesiastical body as the most likely counterbalance to the exorbitant power of the feudal nobility which could be organized. And it must be admitted, that in many instances the prelates of the Church did lend important assistance to the sovereign, and also exercised some influence in imparting civilisation to the community. Let it be observed, also, that to whatever extent the prelates did counteract the nobility, to that extent they provoked the jealousy of these proud and overbearing men, who were not unlikely to remember past hostilities in a day of retribution, even though that retribution had begun on far other and holier grounds. The enormous wealth which the all-grasping Romish Church had acquired, while it confirmed the influence of that Church, tended equally to increase the bitter hatred of the nobility, who both envied and scorned the wealth and the luxurious

indulgence of the pampered priesthood. The existence of this feeling, and its baneful consequences, we shall have ample occasion hereafter to display.

But instead of continuing our own observations, we cannot better conclude this introductory chapter than by copying, from Dr M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, the following account of the state of religion in Scotland before the Reformation:—

“The corruptions by which the Christian religion was universally disfigured before the Reformation, had grown to a greater height in Scotland than in any other nation within the pale of the Western Church. Superstition and religious imposture, in their grossest forms, gained an easy admission among a rude and ignorant people. By means of these, the clergy attained to an exorbitant degree of opulence and power, which were accompanied, as they always have been, with the corruption of their order, and of the whole system of religion.

“The full half of the wealth of the nation belonged to the clergy; and the greater part of this was in the hands of a few individuals, who had the command of the whole body. Avarice, ambition, and the love of secular pomp, reigned among the superior orders. Bishops and abbots rivalled the first nobility in magnificence, and preceded them in honours; they were privy-councillors, and lords of Session as well as of Parliament, and had long engrossed the principal offices of State. A vacant bishopric or abbacy called forth powerful competitors, who contended for it as for a principality or petty kingdom: it was obtained by similar arts, and not unfrequently taken possession of by the same weapons. Inferior benefices were openly put to sale, or bestowed on the illiterate and unworthy minions of courtiers, on dice-players, strolling bards, and the bastards of bishops. Pluralities were multiplied without bounds; and benefices given *in commendam*, were kept vacant during the life of the commendator, nay, sometimes during several lives; so that extensive parishes were frequently deprived, for a long course of years, of all religious services—if a deprivation it could be called, at a time when the cure of souls was no longer regarded as attached to livings originally endowed for that purpose. The bishops never on any occasion condescended to preach;

indeed, I scarcely recollect an instance of it mentioned in history, from the erection of the regular Scottish Episcopacy, down to the era of the Reformation. The practice had even gone into desuetude among all the secular clergy, and was devolved wholly on the mendicant monks, who employed it for the most mercenary purposes.

“ The lives of the clergy, exempted from secular jurisdiction, and corrupted by wealth and idleness, were become a scandal to religion, and an outrage on decency. While they professed chastity, and prohibited, under the severest penalties, any of the ecclesiastical order from contracting lawful wedlock, the bishops set an example of the most shameless profligacy before the inferior clergy — avowedly kept their harlots, provided their natural sons with benefices, and gave their daughters in marriage to the sons of the nobility and principal gentry, many of whom were so mean as to contaminate the blood of their families by such base alliances, for the sake of the rich dowries which they brought.

“ Through the blind devotion and munificence of princes and nobles, monasteries, those nurseries of superstition and idleness, had greatly multiplied in the nation; and though they had universally degenerated, and were notoriously become the haunts of lewdness and debauchery, it was deemed impious and sacrilegious to reduce their number, abridge their privileges, or alienate their funds. The kingdom swarmed with ignorant, idle, luxurious monks, who, like locusts, devoured the fruits of the earth, and filled the air with pestilential infection; with friars, white, black, and gray; canons regular and of St Anthony, Carmelites, Carthusians, Cordeliers, Dominicans, Franciscan Conventuals and Observantines, Jacobins, Premonstratensians, Monks of Tyrone and of Vallis Caulium, and Hospitallers or Holy Knights of St John of Jerusalem; nuns of St Austin, St Clair, St Scholastica, and St Catherine of Sienna; with canonesses of various clans.

“ The ignorance of the clergy respecting religion was as gross as the dissoluteness of their morals. Even bishops were not ashamed to confess that they were unacquainted with the canon of their faith, and had never read any part

of the Sacred Scriptures, except what they met with in their Missals. Under such masters the people perished for lack of knowledge. That Book which was able to make them wise unto salvation, and intended to be equally accessible to 'Jew and Greek, Barbarian and Scythian, bond and free,' was locked up from them, and the use of it in their own tongue prohibited under the heaviest penalties. The religious service was mumbled over in a dead language, which many of the priests did not understand, and some of them could scarcely read; and the greatest care was taken to prevent even catechisms, composed and approved by the clergy, from coming into the hands of the laity.

"Scotland, from her local situation, had been less exposed to disturbance from the encroaching ambition, the vexatious exactions, and fulminating anathemas of the Vatican court, than the countries in the immediate vicinity of Rome. But from the same cause, it was more easy for the domestic clergy to keep up in the minds of the people that excessive veneration for the Holy See which could not be long felt by those who had the opportunity of witnessing its vices and worldly politics. The burdens which attended a state of dependence upon a remote foreign jurisdiction was severely felt. Though the popes did not enjoy the power of presenting to the Scottish prelacies, they wanted not numerous pretexts for interfering with them. The most important causes of a civil nature which the ecclesiastical courts had contrived to bring within their jurisdiction, were frequently carried to Rome. Large sums of money were annually exported out of the kingdom, for the confirmation of benefices, the conducting of appeals, and many other purposes; in exchange for which were received leaden bulls, woollen palls, wooden images, old bones, and similar articles of precious consecrated mummary.

"Of the doctrine of Christianity almost nothing remained but the name. Instead of being directed to offer up their adorations to one God, the people were taught to divide them among an innumerable company of inferior divinities. A plurality of mediators shared the honour of procuring the divine favour with the 'one Mediator between God and

man; and more petitions were presented to the Virgin Mary, and other saints, than to 'Him whom the Father heareth always.' The sacrifice of the mass was represented as procuring forgiveness of sins to the living and the dead, to the infinite disparagement of the sacrifice by which Jesus Christ expiated sin and procured everlasting redemption; and the consciences of men were withdrawn from faith in the merits of their Saviour, to a delusive reliance upon priestly absolutions, Papal pardons, and voluntary penances. Instead of being instructed to demonstrate the sincerity of their faith and repentance by forsaking their sins, and to testify their love to God and man by practising the duties of morality, and observing the ordinances of worship authorized by Scripture, they were taught that if they regularly said their *aves* and *credos*, confessed themselves to a priest, punctually paid their tithes and Church-offerings, purchased a mass, went in pilgrimage to the shrine of some celebrated saint, refrained from flesh on Fridays, or performed some other prescribed act of bodily mortification, their salvation was infallibly secured in due time; while those who were so rich and pious as to build a chapel or an altar, and to endow it for the support of a priest to perform masses, obits, and dirges, procured a relaxation of the pains of purgatory for themselves or their relations, in proportion to the extent of their liberality. It is difficult for us to conceive how empty, ridiculous, and wretched those harangues were which the monks delivered for sermons. Legendary tales concerning the founder of some religious order, his wonderful sanctity, the miracles which he performed, his combats with the devil, his watchings, fastings, flagellations; the virtues of holy water, chrism, crossing, and exorcism; the horrors of purgatory, and the numbers released from it by the intercession of some powerful saint;—these, with low jests, table-talk, and fire-side scandal, formed the favourite topics of the preachers, and were served up to the people instead of the pure, salutary, and sublime doctrines of the Bible.

“The beds of the dying were besieged, and their last moments disturbed, by avaricious priests, who laboured to ex-

tort bequests to themselves or to the Church. Not satisfied with exacting tithes from the living, a demand was made upon the dead: no sooner had the poor husbandman breathed his last, than the rapacious vicar came and carried off his corpse-present, which he repeated as often as death visited the family. Ecclesiastical censures were fulminated against those who were reluctant in making these payments, or who showed themselves disobedient to the clergy; and for a little money they were prostituted on the most trifling occasions. Divine service was neglected; and, except on festival days, the churches, in many parts of the country, were no longer employed for sacred purposes, but served as sanctuaries for malefactors, places of traffic, or resorts for pastime.

“Persecution, and the suppression of free inquiry, were the only weapons by which its interested supporters were able to defend this system of corruption and imposture. Every avenue by which truth might enter was carefully guarded. Learning was branded as the parent of heresy. The most frightful pictures were drawn of those who had separated from the Romish Church, and held up before the eyes of the people, to deter them from imitating their example. If any person, who had attained a degree of illumination amidst the general darkness, began to hint dissatisfaction with the conduct of Churchmen, and to propose the correction of abuses, he was immediately stigmatized as a heretic, and if he did not secure his safety by flight, was immured in a dungeon, or committed to the flames. And when at last, in spite of all their persecutions, the light which was shining around did break in and spread through the nation, the clergy prepared to adopt the most desperate and bloody measures for its extinction.

“From this imperfect sketch of the state of religion in this country, we may see how false the representation is which some persons would impose on us; as if Popery were a system, erroneous, indeed, but purely speculative—superstitious, but harmless, provided it had not been accidentally accompanied with intolerance and cruelty. The very reverse is the truth. It may be safely said, that there is not

●

one of its erroneous tenets, or of its superstitious practices, which was not either originally contrived, or afterwards accommodated, to advance and support some practical abuse—to aggrandize the ecclesiastical order, secure to them immunity from civil jurisdiction, sanctify their encroachments upon secular authorities, vindicate their usurpations upon the consciences of men, cherish implicit obedience to the decisions of the Church, and extinguish free inquiry and liberal science.”*

To this very masterly summary of the state of religion in Scotland before the Reformation nothing need be added; and it must convince every reflecting reader, that such a state of matters could not be much longer endured by a people like the Scottish, who, though held in deep ignorance, were naturally shrewd and sagacious, despisers of idleness and luxury, and filled with an indestructible love of liberty, which even their civil feuds and public wars served in no inconsiderable degree to stimulate and confirm. And the more protracted and severe that the burden of spiritual despotism had been, it was to be expected that it would be followed by a correspondingly mighty and extensive revulsion and recoil. Nor should it be forgotten, that widely as Popery had shed its baleful influence, it had not been able wholly to exterminate the purer faith and simpler system of the ancient Culdees, especially in Ayrshire, and perhaps also in Fife—the districts adjacent to St Andrews and Iona—the earliest abodes and the latest retreats of primitive Christianity in Scotland.

* M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, 6th edit., pp. 9-15.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION TO THE MEETING
OF THE FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

From the beginning of the Reformation to the meeting of the first General Assembly in 1560—State of Affairs in Rome—Introduction of Wickliffe's Opinions—Patronages—Lollards of Kyle—Patrick Hamilton the first Scottish Martyr—Persecutions in St Andrews, Edinburgh, and Glasgow—Cardinal Beaton—Barbarous Persecution at Perth—George Wishart—His Preaching and Martyrdom—Death of Cardinal Beaton—John Knox in the Castle of St Andrews—His Confinement in the Galleys—Returns to Scotland—Proceedings of the Queen-Regent and the Reformers—The first Covenant—The Lords of the Congregation—Martyrdom of Walter Mill—Political Intrigues—Final Return of Knox—Destruction of the Monasteries at Perth—Knox at St Andrews—Growing Strength of the Reformers—Convention of Estates—Siege of Leith—Death of the Queen-Regent—Meeting of Parliament and Treaty of Peace—First Confession of Faith—First General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

IN the preceding chapter a brief sketch has been presented to the reader of the usurpations of the Prelatic and corrupt Church of Rome, and the final suppression of the Culdees, which we may regard as having been accomplished in the year 1297, that being the date of the last documents signed by them as a public body. But though from that time the Culdee form of Church government and discipline may be regarded as extinct, there is no reason to believe that their religious tenets were consigned to oblivion at the same instant. Indeed, such a result may be regarded as absolutely impossible. All forcible attempts to suppress religion but compel it to burn with increased intensity, and to be retained with increased pertinacity, within the secret heart; unless, indeed, such attempts be carried to the extreme of utterly exterminating the adherents of the persecuted faith—a dire result, which has been several times produced in different nations. There is, besides, evidence, although but slight,

one of its erroneous tenets, or of its superstitious practices, which was not either originally contrived, or afterwards accommodated, to advance and support some practical abuse—to aggrandize the ecclesiastical order, secure to them immunity from civil jurisdiction, sanctify their encroachments upon secular authorities, vindicate their usurpations upon the consciences of men, cherish implicit obedience to the decisions of the Church, and extinguish free inquiry and liberal science.”*

To this very masterly summary of the state of religion in Scotland before the Reformation nothing need be added; and it must convince every reflecting reader, that such a state of matters could not be much longer endured by a people like the Scottish, who, though held in deep ignorance, were naturally shrewd and sagacious, despisers of idleness and luxury, and filled with an indestructible love of liberty, which even their civil feuds and public wars served in no inconsiderable degree to stimulate and confirm. And the more protracted and severe that the burden of spiritual despotism had been, it was to be expected that it would be followed by a correspondingly mighty and extensive revolution and recoil. Nor should it be forgotten, that widely as Popery had shed its baleful influence, it had not been able wholly to exterminate the purer faith and simpler system of the ancient Culdees, especially in Ayrshire, and perhaps also in Fife—the districts adjacent to St Andrews and Iona—the earliest abodes and the latest retreats of primitive Christianity in Scotland.

* M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, 6th edit., pp. 9-15.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION TO THE MEETING
OF THE FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

From the beginning of the Reformation to the meeting of the first General Assembly in 1560—State of Affairs in Rome—Introduction of Wickliffe's Opinions—Patronages—Lollards of Kyle—Patrick Hamilton the first Scottish Martyr—Persecutions in St Andrews, Edinburgh, and Glasgow—Cardinal Beaton—Barbarous Persecution at Perth—George Wishart—His Preaching and Martyrdom—Death of Cardinal Beaton—John Knox in the Castle of St Andrews—His Confinement in the Galleys—Returns to Scotland—Proceedings of the Queen-Regent and the Reformers—The first Covenant—The Lords of the Congregation—Martyrdom of Walter Mill—Political Intrigues—Final Return of Knox—Destruction of the Monasteries at Perth—Knox at St Andrews—Growing Strength of the Reformers—Convention of Estates—Siege of Leith—Death of the Queen-Regent—Meeting of Parliament and Treaty of Peace—First Confession of Faith—First General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

IN the preceding chapter a brief sketch has been presented to the reader of the usurpations of the Prelatic and corrupt Church of Rome, and the final suppression of the Culdees, which we may regard as having been accomplished in the year 1297, that being the date of the last documents signed by them as a public body. But though from that time the Culdee form of Church government and discipline may be regarded as extinct, there is no reason to believe that their religious tenets were consigned to oblivion at the same instant. Indeed, such a result may be regarded as absolutely impossible. All forcible attempts to suppress religion but compel it to burn with increased intensity, and to be retained with increased pertinacity, within the secret heart; unless, indeed, such attempts be carried to the extreme of utterly exterminating the adherents of the persecuted faith—a dire result, which has been several times produced in different nations. There is, besides, evidence, although but slight,

to prove that the doctrines of the Culdees continued to survive long after the suppression of their forms of Church government. Sir James Dalrymple refers us to a clause in the bull of Pope John XXII. in 1324, conceding to Robert Bruce the title of King of Scotland, and removing the excommunication; in which clause that pontiff makes mention of many heretics, whom he enjoins the king to suppress.* There is every reason to believe that these were the adherents of the Culdees, against whom some of the Scottish Romanized clergy had complained to the pope.

The great schism which happened in the Church of Rome, through the contentions of rival popes, gave occasion, as is well known, to those who had secretly disapproved of Papal corruption, of assailing Popery more openly than before, and more boldly demanding some measure of reformation. Wickliffe, the morning star of the Reformation, began then openly both to censure the abuses of the Church of Rome, and to proclaim those great doctrines of Christianity which it had been the policy of that corrupt Church to conceal. It might have been expected that his doctrines would find a ready reception among the adherents of the Culdees of Scotland, if any were still remaining; and accordingly we find, that James Resby, an Englishman, and a scholar of Wickliffe's, was condemned for maintaining that the pope was not the vicar of Christ, and that no man of a wicked life ought to be acknowledged pope.† For holding and teaching these opinions, with certain others deemed also heretical, he was burned to death in the year 1407. It would appear that this cruel deed had for a time prevented at least the open avowal of similar doctrines in Scotland, as the next victim to Popish tyranny was found at the distance of twenty-five years.‡ This victim was Paul Craw, a Bohemian, and a follower of John Huss. It does not appear on what account he had come to Scotland; but having begun to disseminate the opinions of the Bohemian Reformer,

* Sir J. Dalrymple's *Historical Collections*, p. 52.

† Spotswood, p. 56.

‡ Calderwood mentions another victim in 1422; but there is some uncertainty whether he does not refer to Resby, under a different date. Calderwood, vol. i., p. 47, *Wodrow edition*.

he was laid hold of by the instigation of Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews, convicted of denying the doctrines of transubstantiation, auricular confession, and praying to saints, then handed over to the secular powers, and by them committed to the flames, at St Andrews, in the year 1432. That he might not at the stake promulgate his opinions among the spectators by his last dying declaration, his destroyers adopted the barbarous policy of forcing a ball of brass into his mouth, then gazing, as they thought, in safety on the agonies of the voiceless sufferer.

The Popish clergy seem to have thought their triumph complete, and themselves at liberty to prosecute with even increased energy their schemes of aggrandizement. One method in which this was prosecuted deserves to be particularly noticed, as intimately connected with a subject to which we shall have repeated occasion to refer in the course of this work, viz., the subject of patronage. It has not been exactly ascertained at what time the system of lay patronage was introduced in Scotland. The late Dr M'Crie, whose opinions on all matters of Church history are of the very highest authority, held that it could not have been introduced before the tenth century. The first mention of Scottish patronages and presentations with which we are acquainted occurs in the Book of Laws of Malcolm II., who ascended the throne in the year 1004;* and although the critical acumen of Lord Hailes has succeeded in casting considerable doubt upon the genuine antiquity of these laws, this much may at least be said, that no claim more ancient can be pretended for the assumed right of patronage in Scotland, at the same time that by these laws the right of deciding respecting "the advocacy of kirks and the right of patronage," pertains to the jurisdiction of the Church. For a time, it would appear, the Scottish clergy followed the usual policy of the Papal Church, holding every inducement to men to bequeath large sums for the erection and endowment of churches, monasteries, &c., as the best mode of securing their salvation; and allowing to such donors, and subsequently to their heirs, the right of presenting to the

* *Regiam Majestatem*, pp. 2, 11.

benefices thus bequeathed. But when they had obtained a very large proportion of the wealth of the kingdom into their own possession, these crafty Churchmen became anxious to resume the patronages into their own hands; and putting the same machinery of superstition again to work, they prevailed on the lay patrons to resign the right of presentation to the Church, by annexing it, as it was called, to bishoprics, abbacies, priories, and other religious houses. The benefices thus annexed or appropriated were termed *patrimonial*, and were no longer subject to the patronage of laymen. The civil power became at length alarmed at the prospect of the lands and wealth of the kingdom being thus placed in the hands of a body of men who were not only beyond the control of the civil law, but were in fact the subjects of a foreign power. An attempt was therefore made to check this practice of annexation, by a statute in the reign of James III., in the year 1471; but so effectual had the schemes of the clergy been, that at the period of the Reformation there were in Scotland only two hundred and sixty-two non-appropriated benefices out of the whole number, consisting of about nine hundred and forty. Even of these two hundred and sixty-two, a considerable number, though not annexed, were in the hands of bishops, abbots, and the heads of other religious houses; so that the crafty and avaricious Popish clergy might deem themselves secure, being possessed of more than half the wealth of the kingdom, and that, too, placed beyond the power of any control, except that of an appeal to Rome—a danger which they might well regard as not very formidable.

[1494.]—But while the priesthood were thus strenuously endeavouring to consolidate their power, and to increase their splendour, obtaining the erection of an archbishopric, first at St Andrews, and then at Glasgow, they did not seem to be aware that the spirit of religious reformation was diffusing itself silently but rapidly throughout the kingdom, especially in the western districts of Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham. At length they began to take alarm, and, shaking off their golden dreams, they prepared to crush their hated antagonists. Robert Blacater, the first archbishop of Glas-

gow, prevailed on James IV. to summon before the Great Council about thirty persons, male and female, natives mostly of the above-named western districts; the chief of whom were George Campbell of Cessnock, Adam Reid of Barskimming, John Campbell of Newmills, Andrew Schaw of Polkemmet, and the Ladies of Stair and Polkellie.* This memorable trial of the Lollards of Kyle, as they were opprobriously termed, took place in the year 1494. The articles which they were accused of holding have been recorded both by Knox and Spotswood with little variation, except that Knox's account is rather more full than the other. Their main tenor is chiefly in condemnation of the worship of the Virgin Mary, of saints, relics, images, and the mass; and also of the various arrogant pretensions and licentious abuses of the prelates and the priesthood, without any very clear statement of the leading doctrines of pure Christianity. It appears, indeed, exceedingly probable, that the Lollards of Kyle did little more than revive the old contest between the Culdees and the prelates; and that the designation given to them by their Popish enemies was not in consequence of their having actually imbibed the tenets of Lollard the Waldensian, but that it was applied to them partly as a term of reproach, and partly with a view to prejudge their cause. For it has always been the policy of those who were engaged in persecuting religion, to slander, misrepresent, and affix to it a calumnious name, and then to assail it under this maliciously imposed disguise. Few men have ever persecuted religion avowedly as such; but how often have they called religion fanaticism, and then persecuted its adherents under the calumnious designation of fanatics!

Providentially for the Lollards of Kyle, James IV. himself presided at their trial—a monarch who, with all his faults, had yet too much of manliness and candour to permit his judgment to be greatly swayed by the malignity of the prelates. Adam Reid appears to have taken the chief part in the defence, and to have answered with such spirit, point, and humour, as to amuse James, and baffle the bishop completely. The result was, that they were dismissed, with an

* Knox's History of the Reformation, p. 2; Spotswood, p. 60.

admonition to beware of new doctrines, and to content themselves with the faith of the Church.

No new persecutions for heresy occurred during the reign of James IV.; and after his death on the fatal field of Flodden, the attention of the nobility and the clerical dignitaries was too much occupied with the prosecution of their own selfish and factious designs, to bestow much regard upon the progress of religious opinions. James Beaton had been translated from Glasgow to the archbishopric of St Andrews, and in conjunction with the Douglas faction, ruled the kingdom with considerable ability during the minority of the young king, James V. According to Spotswood, Beaton "was neither violently set, nor much solicitous, as it was thought, how matters went in the Church." Still, notwithstanding their political cares, the clergy were aware that the writings of the Continental Protestant divines were beginning to be introduced, as appears from an act of Parliament passed in 1525, strictly prohibiting the importation of all such writings, and also forbidding all public "disputations about the heresies of Luther, except it be to the confusion thereof, and that by clerks in the schools alenarlie" [alone].* Nor was their anxiety unfounded. There is great reason to think that some of these Protestant writings had about this time fallen into the hands of a youth whose rank and talents shed lustre on the cause which he espoused.

Patrick Hamilton, a youth of royal lineage, and not less distinguished by the possession of high mental endowments, was the chosen instrument by means of whom "the Father of lights" rekindled in Scotland the smouldering beacon of eternal truth. Being designed by his relations for the Church, there had been conferred on him, even in infancy, the abbacy of Ferne—a foretaste of the wealth and honours to which he might aspire, and a stimulus to quicken his ambition. But while his friends were anticipating for him a splendid career of worldly pomp and power, a very different path was preparing for him. The ambitious and worldly, yet ignorant priesthood, by whom he was surrounded, began to mark with jealous eye his altered manner, to note suspi-

* M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, p. 23, 6th edit.

ciously the praise he gave to the study of ancient literature in preference to the dry logic of the schools, and the severe terms in which he condemned the abounding corruptions of the Church. Partly, perhaps, to avoid the danger to which he was thus exposing himself, but chiefly to obtain a more complete knowledge of the doctrines of the Reformation, he resolved to visit the Continent in 1526. With this view he naturally directed his course to Wittemberg, where he was speedily honoured with the friendship and esteem of Luther and Melancthon. After enjoying the benefit of their society for a short time, he proceeded to the University of Marbourg, where he obtained the instructions of the celebrated Francis Lambert. But the more that his own mind acquired of the knowledge of divine truth, the more earnestly did he long to return and communicate that knowledge to his beloved countrymen.

The return to Scotland of this noble youth at once attracted all eyes, as if a new star had appeared in the heavens. His instructions were listened to with the deepest attention, and the doctrines which he taught began to spread rapidly throughout the kingdom. His high birth, reputation for learning, the attractive elegance of his youthful aspect, and the persuasive graces of his courteous demeanour, rendered his influence almost irresistible: and the Popish clergy saw no safety to their cause but in his destruction. They framed their murderous plans with fiend-like ingenuity. Being apprehensive that the young king might not readily be persuaded to sanction the death of one who stood to him in the near relationship of cousin, they contrived to send him on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St Dothess, or Duthack, in Ross-shire. They next decoyed Patrick Hamilton to St Andrews, on the pretence of wishing to have a free conference with him on religious subjects. Pursuing their perfidious plot, they caused Alexander Campbell, prior of the Blackfriars, to hold several interviews with him, and even to seem to concede to his opinions so far as to draw from him a full avowal of them. Their measures being now ripe for execution, they caused him to be apprehended under night, and committed to the castle.

The very next day he was brought before the archbishop, and a large convention of bishops, abbots, priors, and other dignitaries and doctors of the Church, and there charged with maintaining and propagating certain heretical opinions. John Knox declares, that the articles for which he was condemned were merely those of "*pilgrimage, purgatory, prayers to saints, and prayers for the dead,*" although matters of greater importance had been in question. Spotswood, on the other hand, specifies thirteen distinct articles of much graver character, which were condemned as heretical, and he condemned for holding them. The probability is that both statements are true; that the articles specified by Spotswood are those "matters of greater importance" to which Knox alludes; but that in declaring the sentence publicly, no mention was made of any but the four topics stated by Knox, because for his accusers to have done otherwise would have been to have published tenets themselves which they wished to consign to oblivion. Such, indeed, has been the policy of persecutors in all ages—to fix the attention of the public, as far as possible, on the external aspect and the non-essentials of the subject in dispute, thereby to conceal the truth, while they are destroying its defenders. So acted the Romanized English prelates towards the Culdees, as we have already seen; and so, as we shall afterwards see, acted the persecutors of the Church of Scotland in different periods of her history.

[1528.]—The sentence of condemnation was pronounced; and to give it all the weight of authority, every person of name and rank, civil and ecclesiastical, was induced to sign it; amongst whom was the Earl of Cassilis, a boy of thirteen years of age. Arrangements were then made to carry it into effect that very day. The pile was erected in front of the College of St Salvador, and the youthful martyr hurried to the stake. Before being bound to the stake, he divested himself of his outer garments, and gave them to his servant, who had attended him faithfully and affectionately for a number of years, accompanying the gift with these tender and pathetic words: "This stuff will not help me in the fire, and will profit thee. After this you can receive

from me no more good, but the example of my death, which, I pray thee, keep in mind ; for albeit it be bitter to the flesh, and fearful in man's judgment, yet it is the entrance into eternal life, which none shall possess that denies Christ Jesus before this wicked generation." A train of gunpowder, laid for the purpose of setting fire to the pile, exploded ineffectually, scorching his left side and face, but leaving the mass unkindled. While they were procuring materials of a more combustible nature, the calm spirit of the scorched sufferer poured itself forth in earnest exhortations and instructions to the pitying spectators. The treacherous Friar Campbell attempted to disturb him by calling on him to recant, and pray to the Virgin Mary ; which drew from the dying martyr a severely solemn reproof, ending with an appeal and citation to the judgment-seat of the Lord Jesus. The pile was then effectually kindled ; and as the flames blazed up around him, his voice rose calm and clear : "How long, O Lord, shall darkness cover this realm ? How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of man ? Lord Jesus, receive my spirit !"—and with these words his spirit returned to God who gave it.*

Thus died Patrick Hamilton, the first Scottish martyr, on the last day of February 1528, and in the twenty-fourth year of his age. He died a victim to the malice and the treachery of the Popish priesthood ; but his death did more to recommend the cause for which he suffered to the heart of Scotland, than could have been accomplished by a lengthened life—as a sudden flash of lightning at once rends the gnarled oak of a thousand years, and yields a glimpse of the strong glories of heaven.

[1529.]—The report of the martyrdom of this noble youth spread rapidly throughout the kingdom, and men began to inquire why Patrick Hamilton was burned, and what were the opinions which he had held and maintained to the death. When these opinions were related, the public mind was not only excited, but enlightened also ; and many began to call in question much which they had never before doubted, and to admit sacred truths with which they had till then been

* Knox, p. 6 ; Spotswood, p. 65.

utterly unacquainted. Several even of the friars began to preach and defend doctrines savouring strongly of the Reformation, and, at the same time, to declaim loudly against the licentious and ungodly lives of the bishops and the chief men of the ecclesiastical body. The archbishop and his familiars, alarmed and irritated, spoke of burning some, in order to terrify and silence others ; but a bystander, with a mixture of shrewdness and mockery, warned the archbishop to act warily, and if he burned any more, to burn them in cellars ; “ for the smoke,” said he, “ of Mr Patrick Hamilton hath infected as many as it blew upon.” So rapidly, indeed, did these Reforming doctrines spread, that in a short time Alexander Seaton, a Dominican friar, and confessor to the king, publicly preached in a strain directly subversive of the very essence of Popery. The following were his leading propositions : That Christ Jesus is the end and perfection of the law ; that there is no sin where God’s law is not violated ; and that to satisfy for sins lies not in man’s power, but the remission thereof cometh by unfeigned repentance, and by faith apprehending God the Father, merciful in Jesus Christ his Son.* Such doctrines, publicly preached by a bold and eloquent man, occupying an influential position, gave dire offence to the corrupt priesthood, who accordingly called him to account for certain heretical opinions which he was accused of holding. His able defence, and the favourable regard of the king, which he then enjoyed, saved him for that time ; but the archbishop secretly influenced the young and licentious monarch against a man who was too faithful and severe a monitor ; and Seaton, becoming aware of the secret machinations against him, fled to Berwick, and wrote to the king a remarkable letter, defending himself, retorting the charge against his enemies, and demanding the protection of just and impartial laws. This letter is given at length in Knox’s History of the Reformation, and is well deserving of an attentive perusal, as containing the first attempt, by a Scottish Reformer, to point out the duty of the civil magistrate respecting religious matters ; asserting it to be the duty of the king, to which

* Knox, *Historie*, p. 16.

he is "bound by the law of God, to cause every man, in an case accused of his life, to have his just defence, and his accusers produced, conform to their own law." It will be observed, that while this asserts the power and the duty of the sovereign in what regards the life, and by consequence the property, of the subject, it leaves the accused person to be tried by the laws of that court which he is assumed to have offended; and by consequence to suffer, if convicted, the punishments which such court may be competent to inflict. To this letter, and the principle very ably stated in it, we direct the reader's attention, the more in consequence of the misrepresentations of party writers, who refer to it as admitting the right of the king to judge directly in matters of doctrine.

[1534.]—The fierce persecuting zeal of the Archbishop Beaton, and his council of prelates, abbots, priors, &c., was ineffectual. Many learned men, especially Gawin Logie, principal of St Leonard's, and John Winram, the sub-prior, either directly taught, or secretly connived at the teaching of, the Reformed doctrines; while considerable numbers of the inferior orders of the clergy abandoned the errors of Popery, cast aside the impure and extravagant legends of saints, and became earnest preachers of the Gospel. Fear and rage inflamed the hearts of the persecutors, and increased their cruelty. Norman Gourlay and David Straiton were condemned at Edinburgh; and after being half-strangled, were cast into the flames, at Greenside, on the 17th August 1534. Henry Forrest was burned at St Andrews about the same time.

In February 1538, Robert Forrester, gentleman, Duncan Simpson, priest, Friar Kyllor, Friar Beveridge, and Dean Thomas Forrest, were condemned to death, and burned in one huge pile on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh. There is an incident connected with the last-named person which deserves attention, as exhibiting the ignorance of the bishops. We give it in the words of Archbishop Spotswood: "This poor man, not long before, had been called before the Bishop of Dunkeld, his ordinary, for preaching every Sunday to his parishioners upon the epistles and gos-

pels of the day, and desired to forbear, seeing his diligence that way brought him in suspicion of heresie. If he could find a *good gospel* or a *good epistle*, that made for the liberty of the holy Church, the bishop willed him to preach that to his people, and let the rest be. The honest man replying, *that he had read both the New Testament and the Old, and that he had never found an ill epistle or an ill gospel in any of them*, the bishop said, *I thank God, I have lived well these many years, and never knew either the Old or the New: I content me with my portuise and pontificall; and if you, Dean Thomas, leave not these fantasies, you will repent when you cannot mend it.* Dean Thomas answered, that he believed it was his duty to do what he did, and that he had laid his account with any danger that might follow.*

In the course of the same year, 1538, Jerom Russell, a friar, and a young man named Kennedy, of Ayr, were both burned at the same stake in Glasgow. At first, the heart of Kennedy, glowing with all the fresh feelings of youth, shrunk from the prospect of such an early and fearful death; but spiritual strength being graciously imparted to him in his hour of weakness, he fell on his knees, breathed forth his fervent thanks to God for the heavenly comfort he had received, and then exclaimed, "Now I defy death! Do what you please; I praise God, I am ready!" This scene made such an impression upon the Archbishop of Glasgow, that he would have spared the lives of the heroic martyrs, had he not been urged on to the dreadful deed by the bloody brotherhood around him. The two young sufferers perished together at the stake, exhorting each other to endure patiently their short agonies, for the sake of Him who died to destroy death, and to purchase for his followers eternal life; and their calm Christian fortitude awoke the deep sympathies of the pitying and admiring spectators.

Hitherto the persecution of the Reformers had been carried on nominally under the authority of James Beaton, archbishop of St Andrews; who, however, was in his latter years greatly under the influence of his nephew, David Beaton, a man of great talents, still greater ambition, and

* Spotswood, pp. 66, 67.

immitigable cruelty of disposition. He had been educated in France; and after his return to Scotland, he was sent by the king to negotiate respecting the marriage of his own sovereign with a French princess. This was an object on which the hearts of the Scottish clergy were most earnestly bent, being apprehensive lest James should comply with the proposal of Henry VIII. of England to give to the Scottish monarch his own daughter in marriage. The deep designs of the clergy were successful. The minds of Henry and James were estranged from each other; and first a daughter of the French king, and, upon her early death, Mary of Guise, became successively united in marriage to the Scottish king. For these services the King of France prevailed upon the pope to raise David Beaton to the rank of a cardinal, by which title he is hereafter to be designated.

Upon the death of James Beaton, in the year 1539, the cardinal succeeded him in the archbishopric of St Andrews, and very speedily gave proof of his determination to employ still sharper measures for the extermination of the Reformers and their tenets. He called together all his adherents of the clerical body, together with a considerable number of the nobility, to St Andrews; and there, presiding in state, proceeded to declare the dangers to which the Church was exposed from the prevalence of heresy, which, he said, found too much countenance even at Court, and the necessity of instituting still more rigorous measures for its suppression. He then named Sir John Borthwick as infected with heretical opinions, and cited him to appear and answer to the charge. But Borthwick, having been aware of his danger, had fled to England; and not appearing when summoned, was condemned in absence, and burnt in effigy, in May 1540, both at St Andrews and Edinburgh. The king was at that time thought to be favourably disposed towards the Reformers, influenced, probably, by his friendship for Sir David Lindsay, whose poetical genius attracted the admiration of the youthful monarch, himself possessing a taste and somewhat of a talent for poetry. But matters of grave political importance and civil dissensions intervened, turning aside

the king's favour, and directing the active energies of the cardinal into another channel.

Allusion has been already made to the wish of Henry VIII. to form an alliance with James V., by offering to him his daughter in marriage. Against this the cardinal and the whole clergy of the kingdom remonstrated in the strongest terms. They were afraid that the influence and example of Henry might induce James to favour the Reformation, in which case their power and wealth must inevitably perish. They pointed out to James the danger of his being imprisoned, as his ancestor James I. had been, should he venture into England; and they offered to provide him funds for the support of an army, should war arise in consequence of his refusing to hold an interview with Henry. The reader of Scottish history must be well aware that the reign of James V. was one continued contest between the king and the nobility. His first great conflict was with the house of Douglas, which he succeeded in overthrowing, after a protracted and dubious struggle. Pursuing what had been the policy of the race of Stuart, especially since the time of James I., the king strove to reduce the power of the great feudal barons; and this induced him to yield more readily to the persuasions of the clergy than he might otherwise have done, and also to promote unworthy favourites to those stations of dignity and power which the nobility were accustomed to regard as their birthright. But though the intrigues of the clergy might sway the councils of the king, they could do him little service in the field. The wars with England produced but a series of disgraceful defeats, the nobles allowing themselves to be routed and taken prisoners by mere handfuls of their antagonists. These disastrous events broke the heart of the unhappy monarch, who died at Falkland on the 14th day of December 1542, leaving the shattered sovereignty to his infant daughter, the ill-fated Mary, who was born seven days before his death.

Both Knox and Spotswood assert that Cardinal Beaton suborned a priest, called Henry Balfour, to forge a document purporting to be the will of the king, in which the cardinal, and the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, and Murray,

were appointed governors of the kingdom during the minority of the infant queen. But this daring attempt was defeated in a meeting of the chief nobility at Edinburgh; and James Hamilton, earl of Arran, next heir to the crown, was appointed regent and governor of the kingdom.

The defeat of the cardinal, and the appointment of Arran to the regency, were productive of great advantage to the cause of the Reformation. After the king's death there was found a list, which had been furnished to him by the cardinal, containing the names of some hundreds of persons of various ranks, and possessed of property and wealth, whom they denounced as heretics, and by whose forfeited riches the coffers of the king might, according to their suggestions, be easily replenished. The knowledge of this nefarious scheme tended not a little to bring odium on the cardinal and his party, and to strengthen the cause of their opponents. The Regent Arran had also been for some time favourable to the Reformation, to which the lamented death of his relative the martyr, Patrick Hamilton, may easily be thought to have greatly contributed. In a Parliament held the same year, 1542, an act was passed, declaring it lawful for all to read the Scriptures in their native language. Against the passing of this act the cardinal and the bishops strove with all the energy of fury and despair, but strove in vain. The effect was instantaneous and great. Copies of the Sacred Volume, which had been most carefully concealed, and perused with secrecy and in fear, were now to be seen, as Knox says, lying on every gentleman's table, and the New Testament especially, borne about in almost every person's hands.* For a time the regent gave direct encouragement to the Reformation, and employed as his own chaplains Thomas Guillaume or Williams, and John Rough, both zealous and faithful preachers of the Reformed doctrines. And, as if for the purpose of settling the Reformation upon a firm and extensive basis, a treaty was concluded with Henry VIII. for a contract of marriage between his son Edward and the infant queen of Scotland.

So far all seemed prosperous; but a great reverse was at

* Knox, p. 34.

hand. The regent, though a plausible, was a weak and fickle man, liable at all times to be wrought upon and biassed by those of greater decision and energy of character. With this, his constitutional failing, the wily cardinal was well acquainted; and to avail himself of it, invited from France John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, the regent's own illegitimate brother, and David Panter, afterwards bishop of Ross, two able and designing men, by whose influence he hoped to accomplish his design. Too well did they succeed in their subtle enterprise. In a short time the regent's mind became so much alienated from the Reformers, that his chaplains were under the necessity of withdrawing from Court to save their lives—Williams retiring to England, and Rough to Kyle. Sir David Lindsay, Kirkaldy of Grange, and other gentlemen who favoured the Reforming party, were also obliged to retire; and the regent became completely the tool of the cardinal and the Popish faction. He accordingly broke off the agreement with England, abjured the Reformed religion, and entered heartily into the great master-scheme of the cardinal, to give the young queen in marriage to the Dauphin of France.

[1543.]—Cardinal Beaton having thus recovered his ascendancy in the government of the kingdom, renewed his efforts to suppress the Reformation, by means of the most merciless and exterminating persecution. He began his barbarous career at Perth, where five men and one woman were brought before him, accused of heresy. They were tried, condemned, and sentence of death passed upon them—the men to be hanged, the woman to be drowned. The case of the poor woman, named Helen Stark, deserves to be more particularly recorded. She was the wife of one of the above-mentioned men, and had recently given birth to a child. During the anguish of her travail, she had been urged by her female assistant to pray to the Virgin Mary, and had answered that she would pray only to God, in the name of Jesus Christ. For this she was accused of heresy, and condemned to die. On the day of execution she earnestly requested that she might die along with her husband. Her pathetic appeal was harshly refused; but she accom-

panied him to the fatal spot, bearing her infant in her arms, and exhorting her husband to patience and constancy in the cause of Christ. He was murdered before her eyes; and as soon as life had left his quivering frame, she was dragged to a pool of water close at hand, with her babe still clinging to her bosom. When she had withdrawn her precious infant from its last enjoyment of nature's resting-place and nature's nourishment, and consigned it to the charge of a pitying neighbour, and to the care of Him who is the orphan's stay, she felt that for her the bitterness of death was past, and being cast into the whelming waters, died without a struggle, full of the steady fortitude and the heavenly comfort of a Christian martyr.*

Not satisfied with these victims, the cardinal pursued his bloody circuit through Angus and Mearns, inflicting upon some fines, upon others imprisonment, and persecuting others to the death, taking with him the feeble regent, that he might have the appearance of his sanction to the perpetration of these cruel deeds.

[1544.]—He was soon to stain his soul with the blood of a more distinguished victim. This was the celebrated George Wishart, brother of the Laird of Pittarow, in Mearns. He had been banished by the instigation of the Bishop of Brechin, for teaching the Greek language in Montrose, and had resided for some years at the University of Cambridge. In the year 1544, he returned to his native country in the company of the commissioners who had been sent to negotiate a treaty with Henry VIII. of England. Immediately upon his arrival in Scotland, he began to preach the doctrines of evangelical truth with such warm and persuasive eloquence as at once to attract, and soften, and convince the crowding audiences, who wept, and glowed, and trembled as he preached. In the accounts transmitted by contemporary writers of this eminent Christian martyr, we seem to trace the features of a character of surpassing loveliness, bearing a close resemblance in its chief lineaments to that of the beloved apostle John—so mild, gentle, patient, and unresisting—his lips touched with a live coal from off

* Spotswood, p. 75.

the altar, and his heart overflowing with holy love to God, and compassionate affection to mankind. The citizens of Montrose, and especially of Dundee, felt and owned the power of his heavenly eloquence; and much of his time and labours were spent in the latter city.

[1545.]—The cardinal was soon informed of Wishart's preaching, and of the deep impression it was producing in Dundee. Instigated by him, Robert Mill, a man of great authority in the town, openly commanded him to leave the place, and trouble them no more with his sermons. Expressing his pity and regret that they were thus refusing to listen to the message of salvation, he took his departure, along with some of his friends, to Ayrshire. There his preaching was attended with equal success, and, of course, excited equal hostility in the breasts of the bishops and clergy. The Archbishop of Glasgow hastened to the town of Ayr, to prevent Wishart from preaching in the church; and the sheriff of the county prevented him from preaching in the church of Mauchline. But this was a small hindrance to the zealous martyr. He could preach in the market-place, in the fields, or on the hill-side, with equal readiness, and with equal success in convincing his hearers.

Hearing that the plague had visited Dundee, he hastened to return thither, that he might bring the hopes and consolations of the Gospel to perishing men in their hour of extreme need. There he braved the horrors of the plague, ministering comfort to the miserable sufferers, both speaking peace to their souls and supplying their temporal necessities. Even when engaged in this work of mercy, an attempt was made upon his life by a priest; and he escaped narrowly from a plot laid to get him into the power of the cardinal. Soon afterwards he proceeded to Edinburgh, and from thence to Haddington, beset by enemies, yet for a time delivered from their snares. During his abode in that neighbourhood he was very constantly attended by John Knox, who was at that time residing as tutor in the family of Douglas of Langniddrie, and who scrupled not to wear a sword for the defence of his beloved friend, the gentle and unresisting Wishart.

[1546.]—But the time of his martyrdom was at hand. After preaching at Haddington, he went to Ormiston, accompanied by the proprietor, and by Crichton of Brunston and Sandilands of Calder. John Knox wished to have accompanied him also, but Wishart refused to permit him, saying, “Go back to your pupils: one is sufficient for one sacrifice.” During the night the house was beset by armed horsemen, headed by the Earl of Bothwell; while the regent and the cardinal were but a short way distant with a larger force, so that resistance was in vain. Ormiston, however, refused to yield up Wishart, till Bothwell pledged his honour to protect his life from the cardinal’s hatred; or, if he should find that to be impracticable, to restore him again to the protection of his friends. But the cardinal and the queen-dowager persuaded Bothwell to violate his pledge; and Wishart was carried to St Andrews, and left there a prisoner, in the power of his deadly foe.

While the cardinal was summoning together his Prelatic council, that he might with the utmost pomp and ostentation proceed to the destruction of his victim, David Hamilton of Preston endeavoured to persuade the regent not to consent to the death of so distinguished a servant of God. The regent yielded so far as to write to the cardinal not to precipitate the trial of Wishart till he should himself come to St Andrews. The cardinal haughtily returned this answer: “That he wrote not to the governor as though he depended in any measure upon his authority, but out of a desire he had that the heretic’s condemnation might proceed with a show of public consent, which since he could not obtain, he would himself do that which he held most fitting.”*

He proceeded, accordingly, to the execution of his bloody purpose; gave orders that Wishart should be summoned to trial; and marched in state to the Abbey Church, accompanied by the Archbishop of Glasgow, and a great number of bishops, abbots, and other clerical dignitaries, and attended by a large body of retainers in military array. The sub-prior, John Winram, by the cardinal’s command, preached a sermon on the nature of heresy, but expressed in such

* Spotswood, p. 79.

guarded terms, that it gave no countenance to the ruthless deed about to be perpetrated. Then rose up John Lauder, a priest, and entering fully into the spirit of the cardinal, began, in a strain of the coarsest and most ferocious invective, to enumerate eighteen articles of accusation against Wishart. He answered them all calmly and mildly, but with great strength of reasoning, and full proof of all his opinions from the Scriptures. He was, nevertheless, condemned by the unanimous voice of the assembled Popish prelates and clergy, and sentence passed, adjudging him to be burned to death as a heretic, on the following day.

Wishart passed the intervening night in the chamber of the captain of the castle, occupying the greater part of it in prayer. Early next morning, the 2d day of March 1546, after refusing to hold intercourse with two friars who had been sent to hear his confession, he requested to converse with Winram, the sub-prior. Winram came immediately, and, after some private conversation, returned to the cardinal, to request that the sacrament might be given to the prisoner. This was refused; but being invited by the captain to breakfast with him, Wishart prayed, exhorted, and distributed bread and wine to those who were present—thus commemorating, as fully as circumstances would permit, the dying love of Him for whose sake he was himself so soon to die. He then retired to his private apartment, and remained in prayer till those came who were appointed to take him to the place of execution. They divested him of his usual attire, clad him with a loose garment of black linen, and fastened bags of gunpowder to various parts of his body; and when thus arrayed, he was conducted to an outer room near the gate of the castle, to wait there till the rest of the hideous preparations should be completed.

The cardinal, in the meantime, had commanded a stake to be fixed in the ground, and combustible materials to be piled around it, in front of one of the castle gates, near the priory; and, lest the friends of Wishart should attempt a rescue, he had also given directions that all the cannons and other ordnance of the castle should be pointed to the place of execution. The battlements and windows of the fore-

tower of the castle were hung with tapestry and spread with rich cushions, that the cardinal and the prelates might, in state, and at their ease, feast their eyes upon the torments of the martyred servant of the Lord.

All things being now prepared, Wishart was led to the stake, with his hands bound behind his back, a rope round his neck, and an iron chain about his waist. When he reached the spot, he kneeled down and prayed aloud, saying thrice, "O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy on me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands!" He then rose and addressed the people, exhorting them not to be offended with the Word of God, notwithstanding the torments which they saw prepared for him; entreated them to accept, believe, and obey the Word of God; and expressed entire forgiveness of his enemies and persecutors. Then the executioner, casting himself upon his knees before the martyr, begged to be forgiven for the deed he was about unwillingly to do. Wishart desiring him to draw near him, kissed his cheek, saying, "Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee; my heart, do thine office!" The sounding of a trumpet gave the signal; the martyr was tied to the stake, and the fire was kindled around him, exploding the gunpowder, but not putting an end to his sufferings. The captain perceiving him still alive, drew near the pile, and bade him be of good courage. Wishart replied with an unfaltering voice, "This fire torments my body, but no way abates my spirit." Then looking towards the cardinal, he said, "He who in such state from that high place feedeth his eyes with my torments, within few days shall be hanged out at the same window, to be seen with as much ignominy as he now leaneth there in pride." As he ended these words, the executioner tightened the rope that was about his neck; and the fire now blazing fiercely, he was speedily consumed to ashes.*

Thus died George Wishart, one of the most amiable, eloquent, and truly pious men that ever endured the tortures and obtained the crown of Christian martyrdom. But his death, while it seemed the triumph of the cardinal's power,

* For a more full account, see Spotswood, pp. 76-82; Knox, *Historie*, pp. 43-63; Foxe, *Martyrology*.

proved to be the consummation of his guilt, and the knell summoning him to judgment. While the fierce Popish faction extolled the zeal and the courage of the cardinal, in thus, by his own authority, exterminating heretics, and avenging the cause of holy mother Church, a great body of the people were stirred with indignation against the shedders of innocent blood, and several men of birth and influence began to talk openly of the necessity of putting an end to the blood-thirsty career of the cardinal, unless they were willing tamely to yield themselves up to be butchered at his pleasure. Of those who thus talked, the chief were John Lesly, brother to the Earl of Rothes; Norman Lesly, son to the same earl; William Kirkaldy of Grange, who afterwards acted a distinguished part in the Reformation; Peter Carmichael; and James Melville, of the family of Carnbee. To these were joined several other men of less note, but equally determined; and they began to plot how they might best succeed in their determination to put the cardinal to death.

The cardinal was not unaware of the indignation which his cruelties had excited; but his haughty spirit determined him to brave the hostility which he had provoked. For this purpose he gave his illegitimate daughter in marriage to the Earl of Crawford, thereby to confirm his personal influence; and began to fortify more strongly his archiepiscopal palace, or castle, at St Andrews. This latter scheme, from which he hoped security, prepared the way for his death. The conspirators came privately, and separate from each other, so as to avoid causing suspicion, to St Andrews, on the evening of the 28th of May. Next morning, as the workmen employed in fortifying the castle were assembling, they entered separately, till the whole number, sixteen in all, had obtained admission. They then seized the porter, took possession of the keys, and secured the gates; and going from room to room, either put out the domestics, or locked them up. Having thus mastered the castle, they proceeded to the apartment occupied by the cardinal, who was still asleep—so quietly had the whole affair been conducted. Starting at length out of his slumbers, the cardinal

demanded the cause of the noise; and learning that the castle was in the hands of his enemies, he at first attempted to escape, and finding that to be impracticable, he barricaded his chamber door, and then held parley with those by whom it was assailed. The assailants refused to promise him his life; and, as the door resisted their efforts to force it, they called for fire to burn it open. Upon this the door was opened, and the cardinal throwing himself despairingly into a chair, cried out, "I am a priest, I am a priest; ye will not slay me!" John Lesly and Peter Carmichael struck him hastily with their daggers, but James Melville interposed, and, putting them aside, said: "This work and judgment of God, although it be secret, yet ought to be done with greater gravity." Then turning to the cardinal, and presenting the point of his sword to his breast, he continued, "Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God, Mr George Wishart; which, albeit the flame of fire consumed before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon thee, and we from God are sent to avenge it. For here, before my God, I protest, that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldest have done to me in particular, moved or moveth me to strike thee, but only because thou hast been, and remainest, an obstinate enemy against Christ Jesus and his holy Evangel." With these words, he struck the wretched and trembling man twice or thrice through the body; whose expiring breath was spent in crying, "I am a priest—I am a priest!—fy, fy—all is gone!" Thus died David Beaton, cardinal, and archbishop of St Andrews, without uttering one word of repentance or of prayer, on the 29th day of May 1546, leaving behind him a name unrivalled in Scottish annals for the fearful combination of evil qualities of which his character was composed—unscrupulous ambition, far-reaching treachery, deliberate malice, gross licentiousness, and relentless cruelty.*

Scarcely was the cardinal dead when a tumult arose in the town, caused by those who had been expelled from the

* Knox, *Historie*, pp. 64, 65.

castle; and a large body of the populace collected, and began loudly to demand to see the cardinal, or to know what was become of him. To allay the tumult, the conspirators exposed the dead body from the same window, or over the same part of the battlements, where the cardinal had, a short time before, reclined in haughty state, gazing on the martyrdom of Wishart. Thus were the prophetic dying words of the martyr fulfilled; and many of the people, when they beheld the strange spectacle, remembering at the same time the previous prediction, began to regard the event as a signal instance of the just judgments of God, and, abandoning all thought of tumultuary revenge, returned quietly to their homes.

That the death of Cardinal Beaton was an act of deliberate murder, and therefore in itself highly criminal, no right-thinking man will deny. At the same time, it ought to be kept in mind, that such actions bear in our eyes a much blacker aspect than they did in the estimation of the men of that period. Some of the conspirators may also have been excited by resentment for private injuries, others by motives of State policy and the influence of English gold; but a desire to deliver their country from his oppression, and especially to avenge the death of Wishart, seems to have been unquestionably the predominating feeling by which they were impelled to the deed. The attempt which has been recently made, by a modern historian, to blacken the characters of all parties concerned, and even to implicate the martyr Wishart himself, deserves no other answer than to be at once indignantly repelled, or, if an answer, not more than may be contained in a brief appended note.* To every reader accustomed to investigate moral evidence, the true nature of the transaction will at once be manifest; and by all such, a fair estimate of the moral delinquency of men who thought themselves called upon to avenge the wrongs of their country and the murder of their friend, by committing a deed of lawless justice on the person of a criminal too high for the reach of the law, will, without difficulty, be formed; and with these remarks we quit the subject.

* See note in Appendix.

Soon after the death of Cardinal Beaton, a number of the gentlemen of Fife, who favoured the Reforming party, entered into the Castle of St Andrews, thus both giving countenance to the deed of the conspirators, and securing a place of strength in which they could defend themselves while they were endeavouring to make their peace with the regent. This, however, it was not so easy to accomplish, instigated as he was by the clergy to avenge in the most exemplary manner the death of their leader. The regent laid siege to the castle in August; but it was by this time so well garrisoned and supplied with both provisions and ammunition from England, that the besiegers could make no impression upon it, and at length entered into terms of agreement and a suspension of hostilities with the defenders. John Rough, formerly chaplain to the regent before his relapse into Popery, had entered into the Castle of St Andrews, along with the Fifeshire gentlemen, previous to the commencement of the siege; but upon the suspension of hostilities he extended his preaching to the town, to which he then gained ready access. He was there encountered by John Annan, a Popish priest and dean, and being inferior to his antagonist in learning, made application for aid to one who was destined to become the MAN of the age.

[1547.]—This was JOHN KNOX, the great SCOTTISH REFORMER. He had been educated for the Romish Church; but his bold and penetrating mind could not be held in the trammels of mere priestly and scholastic authority, and at a very early period of his public life he showed his disposition to disregard antiquated dogmatism, and to walk freely on the paths of light and liberty pointed out by the Word of God. His mind had received some benefit in its early researches by the teaching of the regent's two chaplains, Guillaume and Rough; but the clear doctrines, the heart-warm love, and the heavenly piety of the martyr Wishart, completed his conversion to the Reformed faith. About the beginning of April 1547, he entered the Castle of St Andrews, partly drawn by respect to those by whom it was held, and partly induced to seek an asylum within it from the hostility of the Popish clergy, who seemed already to

.

have marked him out as a dangerous opponent, and therefore to be cut off as soon as possible; but chiefly to aid Rough in the controversy with Annan. Soon after his arrival, the people of the place, together with Rough, resolved to give John Knox a solemn and public call to be their minister. He was at first overwhelmed with anxiety when he thought of the awful responsibility of the ministerial office, but durst not refuse the call; and from that hour manifestly regarded himself as devoted, with all his energies of mind and body, to the preaching of the everlasting Gospel.*

Knox being thus publicly called to his great work, proceeded immediately to place the controversy between the Reformers and the Papists on its proper basis. Instead of waging a skirmishing warfare of outposts, he directed his efforts against the very heart of the enemy's position. Instead of contending about rites and ceremonies, the licentious lives of the priesthood, and minor errors and perversions of doctrine, he boldly stated, and offered to maintain, the proposition, that the Papal Church of Rome is Antichrist. From the hour when that proposition was boldly announced are we disposed to date the real beginning of the Reformation in Scotland; because from that hour it was manifest that there could be no compromise—no retaining of anything in form, government, or doctrine, which had no other authority than what was derived from the practice or the teaching of an apostate and Antichristian body—no appeal to any other standard than the Word of God.

A public disputation was held in the presence of the sub-prior, between Knox and the priests; the effect of which was prodigious upon the numerous audience, who now clearly perceived that the Popish party were unable to maintain their cause in argument. Nor were the prelates unaware of their danger; and therefore they prepared to overwhelm by force what they could not oppose successfully from reason and Scripture. Having procured assistance from France, they again besieged the castle, not only by land, but also

* Life of Knox, by Dr M'Crie, pp. 32, 33.

by sea, by means of the French galleys, which blockaded the harbour, thereby cutting off their supplies from England. After a gallant resistance, the defenders were obliged to capitulate, on the 31st day of July 1547, making their terms with the French commander, and stipulating that their lives and liberties should be preserved. These terms, however, were not kept; for immediately upon the return of the French fleet to France, the prisoners, instead of being set at liberty, were confined to the galleys as slaves.*

The triumph of the Popish party was great; but it was of brief duration. The Duke of Somerset, protector of England in the minority of Edward VI., resenting the perfidy of the regent and his counsellors, invaded Scotland at the head of a powerful army, and inflicted on the Scottish forces a severe defeat at the battle of Pinkie. This had little other effect than that of throwing the ruling party in Scotland more completely into the arms of France, and thereby hastening the decisive struggle. In a Parliament held at Stirling in 1548, it was resolved to send the young Queen of Scotland to France, first to be educated there, and then married to the dauphin.

After hostilities had continued for some time between Scotland and England, of a harassing rather than of a destructive character, a peace was concluded, in which France also was embraced; and, in consequence of the application of the English ambassadors, John Knox was released from the galleys, and allowed to return to England. He resided for some time in that country; and while there, refused the offer of the bishopric of Rochester, which he could not accept, because he regarded Prelacy as without the sanction of scriptural authority. From England Knox proceeded to the Continent; and after being for some time pastor of a Protestant church at Frankfort, whence he withdrew on account of the usurpation and intolerance of an English Prelatic party, went to Geneva, where he remained till his return to Scotland in the year 1555.

But during this interval some things occurred which deserve to be mentioned, that the series of events may not be

* Knox, *Historie*, p. 77; Spotswood, p. 88.

left unconnected. After the taking of the Castle of St Andrews, and the banishment of its defenders, the Popish party continued their efforts for the suppression of the incipient Reformation; in which they promised themselves the more complete success that Knox was now no longer present to defend it. Adam Wallace, who was tutor in the family of Ormiston, was accused of heresy, and burned on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh. Several gentlemen of property, accused of favouring the Reforming party, were banished, and their estates forfeited. Councils of the clergy were held at Linlithgow, and at Edinburgh, for devising measures, not only to extirpate heresy, but also to reform such glaring abuses as excited public odium, hoping thereby to allay the general desire of further reformation. Some of the regulations passed by these councils were good in themselves, but as they were left to be carried into execution by the very persons who were interested in the perpetuation of abuses, they remained generally inoperative. In the meantime, the Reforming party were left without a leader. Several of the nobility, and the inferior barons of considerable influence, continued to favour the views of the Reformers, but contented themselves with retaining their opinions, and waiting for a more propitious juncture. The zeal of the persecutors seemed also to abate. They flattered themselves that they had succeeded in suppressing heresy in Scotland; and they returned to their old employment of engaging in political intrigues.

There was at this time a double course of intriguing carried on; and, on the one side, by a person who proved herself an adept in the art—namely, the queen-mother. It was her desire to obtain the regency, and yet not to give direct offence to the Earl of Arran. She contrived, therefore, to form a party against him among the nobility and gentry who were attached to the principles of the Reformation, to whom, secretly, she promised protection. At length Arran, feeling his influence departing, resigned the regency, which was given to the queen-mother, Mary of Guise, on the 10th of April 1554. She thus reached the summit of her ambition; and had the state of torpor into which the

Reformation had been cast continued, she might, in all probability, have enjoyed her power for a considerable time, and with no little reputation; for she was possessed of superior abilities, untroubled by conscientious scruples, and able to gild over her designs by plausible artifice and deep dissimulation.

But the mind of Scotland was not allowed to remain long in this state of torpidity. The accession of Mary to the English throne, on the lamented death of Edward VI., produced an immediate change in religious matters throughout the island. The fierce persecution which arose in England drove several of the English Protestants to Scotland, where they renewed the public preaching, which had been for some time in a great measure suppressed. Of these, the most distinguished were William Harlow and John Willock, the latter of whom was afterwards colleague to John Knox.

At length, in the end of harvest, in the year 1555, John Knox himself returned to Scotland, and resumed his Re-forming labours, with double energy, zeal, and success. From Edinburgh, where he first recommenced his task, he proceeded, along with the justly celebrated John Erskine of Dun, to Angus and Mearns, where he preached in public for a month, rekindling in that district the embers of the Reformation. His next position was at Calder House, where he resided for some time as the friend and guest of Sir James Sandilands, preceptor or provincial grandmaster of the Knights of St John, who had been for some time attached to the Reformed faith, and was a person of distinguished talents, blameless life, and great weight and dignity of character. In his mansion Knox held intercourse with Lord Erskine, subsequently Earl of Mar, and Regent; the Lord of Lorn, afterwards Earl of Argyle; and Lord James Stewart, an illegitimate son of James V., afterwards Earl of Murray, "the Good Regent." By his intercourse with these noblemen, Knox was at that time framing the nucleus of what subsequently grew into a power capable not only of assuming an attitude of self-defence, but of wielding the kingdom.

From Calder House Knox went to Ayrshire, accom-

panied by Campbell of Kineancleugh, and traversed that district, preaching wherever he had an opportunity, to increasing, attentive, and deeply impressed audiences. The Earl of Glencairn, who alone had opposed the martyrdom of Adam Wallace, gave the full weight of his countenance and support to the teaching of Knox. Continuing his reforming progress, Knox again visited Calder, the district of Angus and Mearns, and finally returned to Edinburgh.

[1556.]—By this time the priesthood were thoroughly roused out of their vain security; and, determining to stem the tide ere it should reach its flood, they summoned Knox to appear in the Blackfriars' Church at Edinburgh, on the 15th of May 1556. Knox at once determined to comply with this summons, and confront his opponents; and with that intention came to Edinburgh a little before the day appointed, accompanied by Erskine of Dun, and several other gentlemen. But the clergy were not prepared to deal summarily with this dauntless antagonist. They were not sure how far the queen-regent would support them, and they deserted the diet, and allowed Knox to keep the field unchallenged. He, on his part, did not let slip the opportunity; he preached openly in Edinburgh, deepening the impression formerly made, and increasing the alarm and confusion of his enemies. Some of the nobility, who were equally impressed and astonished with the convincing power of his fervid eloquence, persuaded him to write to the queen-regent, hoping that, if she could be prevailed on to hear him, she too might be converted to the Reformed faith. But after glancing carelessly over his letter, she handed it to the Archbishop of Glasgow, saying, in a tone of mockery, "Please you, my Lord, to read a pasquil." So vanished the hope of her reformation.

While John Knox was thus strenuously engaged in promoting the Reformation in his native country, letters came from his former flock at Geneva, earnestly pressing him to return to his charge among them. After revisiting those parts of Scotland where he had previously preached, and spending a few days at Castle Campbell with the aged

Earl of Argyle, he departed for Geneva, in July 1556. He was no sooner gone than the clergy renewed their summons; and upon his failing to appear, he was condemned of heresy, and burned in effigy at the market-cross of Edinburgh—an achievement sufficiently showing the fangless malice of his enemies.

Although John Knox had left Scotland, the Reformed doctrines continued to be preached in different parts of the country. John Douglas, a Carmelite friar, renouncing the errors of Popery, became chaplain to the aged Earl of Argyle; and when the Archbishop of St Andrews endeavoured to persuade the earl to dismiss his suspected chaplain, he positively refused, and continued to protect him till his own decease. Willock, about the same time, arrived from the Continent; and Paul Methven began to preach the Protestant doctrines in Dundee, as did others in Angus and Mearns.

The clergy perceiving that their own power was now insufficient for the suppression of what they termed heresy, prevailed on the queen-regent to summon the preachers before the Council of State, and there to have them accused of stirring up sedition among the people—a device to which persecutors have very often since resorted, for the purpose of at once accomplishing the object and escaping the odium of persecution. But this device was, in this instance, completely frustrated. When the preachers came to Edinburgh, such numbers of their friends came along with them, that it was judged dangerous to proceed to extremities. A proclamation was, however, issued, ordering all who had come to the town without having been commanded, to repair immediately to the borders, and there remain fifteen days under the banner of the lieutenant-general. The Protestant gentlemen, penetrating easily into the object of this proclamation, assembled together, and, instead of obeying it, proceeded to Court, and forced themselves with little ceremony into the presence of the queen, then sitting in council with the bishops. Chalmers of Gadgirth, a bold and zealous man, spoke in the name of all: “Madam, we know that this proclamation is a device of the bishops, and of that bastard

(the primate of St Andrews) that stands beside you. We avow to God, that ere we yield, we will make a day of it. These idle drones oppress us and our tenants; they trouble our preachers, and would murder them and us. Shall we suffer this any longer? No, madam, it shall not be!" And therewith every man put on his steel bonnet. The queen-regent had recourse to fair words, disavowed the proclamation, and discharged the citation of the preachers. Thus that storm blew past.*

A few days after this there was a ludicrous tumult of the people, at a procession in honour of St Giles; when the image was thrown scornfully to the ground, drawn through the mire of the streets, its head beaten off, the body thrown into the North Loch, and then dragged out and burned. These events so discouraged the queen and the clergy, that they thought it expedient to abandon their persecuting schemes, and to endeavour to procure an accession of strength before they should again provoke the courage of the Protestant gentry and the tumults of the people. This accession of strength they expected to obtain by procuring an act of the Scottish Parliament to confer the crown-matrimonial of Scotland on Francis the Dauphin, and husband of Mary: by which scheme there would be so close a union between France and Scotland, the king of the one country being also the king of the other, that French power would give the Popish clergy paramount influence in Scotland, and enable them to extirpate the Reformation by force.

[1557.]—But while the queen-regent and the prelates were concocting this deep scheme, the Scottish Protestants became anxious for the return of Knox from Geneva. A letter was accordingly sent to him in March 1557, signed by the Earl of Glencairn, and Lords Erskine, Lorn, and James Stewart, inviting him in their own name, and in that of their brethren, to return to Scotland, where he would find them all ready to receive him, and to jeopard their lives and fortunes in the cause of true religion. Having consulted Calvin and his other friends at Geneva, and been by them advised to comply with the request, Knox prepared to take what he

* Knox, *Historie*, p. 94.

pected to be a final farewell of Geneva, and then proceeded on his journey through France to Dieppe. When he arrived at Dieppe, he received letters from Scotland of a tenor so discouraging as to cause him to delay his farther journey till he should receive additional information as to the real state of matters in his native country. While at Dieppe he wrote a letter to the nobility by whom he had been invited, rebraiding them sharply for their timidity and fickleness of purpose. Being unwilling to abandon the enterprise, he continued to reside at Dieppe for several months, expecting a more favourable answer from Scotland; and employing his time in writing some very long and able letters of a public character; in particular, one against the erroneous tenets of the Anabaptists, and another to the Scottish nobility, on their duties in general, and on the question of resistance to supreme rulers. Not receiving such answers, and so directly, as he wished, he returned again to Geneva in the beginning of the year 1558.

In the meantime matters were rapidly maturing in Scotland. Notwithstanding the discouraging letters which Knox had received at Dieppe, the chief of the nobility who invited him were still prepared to stand by their invitation; and, in fact, renewed it, in a letter sent to Geneva by a special messenger. And although the return of Knox was delayed, yet his letters from Dieppe seemed to have little less influence than his presence might have had. The lords and chief gentry, devoted to the Reforming interests, resolved to meet at Edinburgh, and, by a general consultation, to determine what was now best for them to do. They came to the noble resolution that they would persevere in their defence of the reformed religion; and, that they might have the confidence and strength of confirmed union, they resolved to frame a common bond or covenant, engaging them to mutual support in defence of each other and of the Gospel.* This very remarkable document, which has been commonly called THE FIRST COVENANT, was subscribed at Edinburgh, on the 3d of December 1557; and on account of its great importance, both in its own time, and as setting the example of similar

* The First Covenant, 3d December 1557.

covenants, we shall present it to the reader entire, merely modernizing the spelling.

“ We, perceiving how Satan, in his members the Antichrists of our time, cruelly doth rage, seeking to downthrow and destroy the Evangel of Christ and his Congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master’s cause, even unto the death, being certain of the victory in Him: the which, our duty being well considered, we do promise before the Majesty of God and his Congregation, That we, by his grace, shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish, the most blessed Word of God and his Congregation; and shall labour at our possibility to have faithful ministers, purely and truly to minister Christ’s Evangel and sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole Congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, at our whole powers, and wairing [expending] of our lives against Satan and all wicked power that does intend tyranny and trouble against the foresaid Congregation. Unto the which holy Word and Congregation we do join us; and also do renounce and forsake the Congregation of Satan, with all the superstitions, abominations, and idolatry thereof. And, moreover, shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto, by this our faithful promise before God, testified to his Congregation, by our subscription at these presents. At Edinburgh, the 3d day of December 1557 years. God called to witness.” *

This bond, or covenant, was subscribed by the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Morton, Archibald, lord of Lorn, John Erskine of Dun, and a great number of other distinguished men among the lesser barons and influential country gentlemen. From the repeated recurrence of the word *Congregation* in this document, the chief subscribers were after this called Lords of the Congregation; and the people who adhered to them were called the Congregation.

Though they had thus both ascertained and confirmed their strength, the Lords of the Congregation were desirous

* Knox, *Historie*, p. 101.

to act in the most temperate manner, and not to provoke an actual conflict, unless it could not possibly be avoided. They resolved, therefore, to rest satisfied with requesting the queen-regent to cause all country curates and pastors to perform the services of religion in the English language; consenting that the Reformed preachers should teach in private houses only, till permission should be obtained for them to preach in public. This petition was presented to the queen-regent by Sir James Sandilands. To this she returned a plausible answer, promising to grant the prayer of the petition as far as might be practicable, and in the meantime granting protection to the Protestant preachers till some uniform arrangement might be established by Parliament, provided there should be no public meetings held in Edinburgh and Leith. In consequence of this interim arrangement, the chief Protestant preachers were received into the houses of the Lords of the Congregation, and restricted their teaching in a great measure to the households where they resided.

[1558.]—The Popish clergy being now unable to wreak their vengeance on the chief Protestant preachers, determined to show no mercy to any whom they could get within their power. There was an aged priest, named Walter Mill, who had been accused of heresy in the days of Cardinal Beaton, but had contrived to escape at that time from his murderous hands. Mill had continued to live in comparative concealment for several years, occasionally preaching in public, but more commonly in private, in different quarters of the kingdom. Being lately discovered by one of the archbishop's spies, he was seized and brought to trial at St Andrews. The venerable man, bowed down with the weight of years, for he was upwards of fourscore, defended himself on the day of his trial with great spirit and ability. He was, nevertheless, condemned to be burned at the stake; but so great was the compassion felt for him, and such the horror awakened by this barbarous outrage of all that man holds sacred in the hoary head of drooping human nature, that no person could be got to aid in the execution of the sentence, till the archbishop commanded one of his own

domestics to perpetrate the crime. On the 28th of April 1558, Mill expired amidst the flames, uttering these words: "As for me, I am fourscore and two years old, and cannot live long by course of nature; but a hundred better shall rise out of the ashes of my bones. I trust in God, I shall be the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause." *

This atrocious deed stirred the heart of the Reforming party in Scotland, like the sound of a trumpet. The people of St Andrews raised a great pile of stones on the spot where he was burned, to commemorate his martyrdom. The Lords of the Congregation complained to the queen-regent against the unparalleled barbarity of the bishops. And the Protestant preachers, availing themselves of the ferment throughout the kingdom, broke through the restraints to which they had submitted for the sake of peace, and began to preach with increased fervour and publicity. But the measures of the queen-regent were not yet matured, and therefore she renewed her deep dissimulation.

She declared to the Protestant lords that she was not guilty of the death of Walter Mill, who, being a priest, belonged properly to the jurisdiction of the Church. She engaged to do everything in her power to procure redress in a legal form from Parliament; and succeeded in deceiving the Lords of the Congregation, whom she could not venture openly to offend, till she had procured their aid in accomplishing her own deep scheme.

In the Parliament which met in October 1558, she contrived to balance the bishops, the party headed by Arran, and the Lords of the Congregation, against each other, in such a manner as to procure the consent of all that the crown-matrimonial should be given to Francis, who would thereby be king of both France and Scotland. In the same Parliament, previous to the completion of this arrangement, the Lords of the Congregation were prepared to present a petition seeking the redress of the grievances in religious matters of which they had previously complained; but the wily regent contrived to induce them to withhold it for the

* Knox, p. 122; Spotswood, pp. 95-97.

present, and to content themselves with publicly reading such a protest as should completely reserve their right to have the subject re-introduced when another opportunity should occur. To the protest the queen-regent answered verbally, that she would remember what was protested, and put order afterwards to all that was in controversy. With this promise the Protestant Lords were satisfied, and their suspicions lulled asleep. But having now gained her object in securing the crown-matrimonial to the Dauphin of France, she gave private assurance of support to the Archbishop of St Andrews, and consulted with him how most thoroughly and speedily to suppress the Reformation.

Dr Robertson* has stated very clearly and convincingly the deep and daring scheme of the princes of the house of Lorraine, brothers of the Queen-regent of Scotland, with which that able and unscrupulous princess was fully acquainted, and which formed, in truth, the leading principle of all her own political machinations. It was to the following effect: The formation of a league between France and Spain for the utter destruction of the Reformation throughout Europe; and as England was the most powerful Protestant kingdom, and Elizabeth was now its sovereign, it was necessary that she should be dethroned, and the crown bestowed on a Popish monarch. As Mary, the young queen of Scotland, was the nearest heir to the English crown, it was thought that the best method of accomplishing their design would be, by suppressing the Reformation in Scotland, establishing the French and Popish influence in that country, and through it assailing Elizabeth. It was essential to the complete arrangement of this gigantic scheme that the crown-matrimonial of Scotland should be secured to the Dauphin of France, Mary's husband; and for this reason did the queen-regent employ all her artifice to blind and cajole the Lords of the Congregation, and to induce them to consent to recognise Francis and Mary as king and queen of Scotland, distinctly promising that she would then, supported by the authority of the kingly name, make such arrangements as should protect their preachers and themselves from the ma-

* Robertson's History of Scotland.

lice and hatred of the bishops, and promote the reformation of religion.*

Having now accomplished her purpose, the queen-regent prepared to throw aside the mask which she had so long worn. Accordingly, in the end of December 1558, with her concurrence, the preachers of the Reformed doctrines were summoned to appear at St Andrews, before the archbishop, on the 2d day of February following, to answer for their conduct in usurping the sacred office, and disseminating heretical doctrines. Upon this, a deputation of the Protestants waited on the queen-regent, and endeavoured to dissuade her from permitting the adoption of such violent measures; declaring, that after what had recently taken place in the instance of the martyr Mill, they were determined to attend and see justice done to their preachers, and that if the prosecution went on, there would be such a number present to witness it as had been rarely seen in Scotland. This declaration so far alarmed the regent that she caused the trial to be postponed; at the same time summoning a convention of the nobility, to be held at Edinburgh on the 7th of March 1559, to advise upon the most proper measures for settling the religious differences by which the nation had been so long agitated; and that these matters might be fully discussed, the primate, at her request, called a provincial council of the clergy, to meet in the same place on the 1st of March.

[1559.]—The convention of nobility and council of clergy met at the time appointed, and the Protestants having also assembled at Edinburgh, appointed commissioners to lay their representations before each of these bodies. To the council of clergy they gave in certain preliminary articles of reformation, in which they craved that the religious service should be performed in the native tongue; that such as were unfit for the pastoral office should be removed from their benefices; that, in future, bishops should be admitted with the assent of the barons of the diocese, and parish priests with the assent of the parishioners; and that measures should be adopted for preventing immoral and ignorant

* Knox, *Historie*, p. 110; Spotswood, p. 120; M'Crie's *Life of Knox*.

persons from being employed in ecclesiastical functions. It deserves to be noticed, that there was another paper laid before the council, drawn up by persons attached to the Romish Church, also "craving redress of several grievances complained of in the ecclesiastical administration of Scotland." This latter paper, indicating the existence of a reforming party within the Romish Church itself, gave serious alarm to the council, and increased their determination to adopt strong and decisive measures at once. They accordingly ratified, in the strongest terms, all the controverted doctrines; ordered strict inquiry to be made after all such as absented themselves from the celebration of mass; and threatened with excommunication all who should disseminate or adhere to the doctrines of the Reformation. A secret treaty, it appears, had been framed between the clergy and the queen-regent, in which they engaged to raise a large sum of money to enable her to levy and maintain forces wherewith to overpower and suppress the Reformers.

The Protestant party becoming aware of this secret treaty, and perceiving the turn matters were now taking, broke off the negotiations in which they had been engaged, and left Edinburgh. They were no sooner gone than a proclamation was made at the market-cross, by order of the queen-regent, "prohibiting any person from preaching or administering the sacraments without authority from the bishops; and commanding all the subjects to prepare to celebrate the ensuing Feast of Easter, according to the rules of the Catholic Church." This proclamation the Protestants regarded as equivalent to a declaration of direct hostility against them and their religious belief; and perceived that they must either now take their stand, or prepare to abandon all that they held most sacred. They did not hesitate, but disregarded the proclamation, neglecting the superstitious and idolatrous rites of Popery, and worshipping God according to the directions contained in his own Word, and the light of conscience. The queen-regent had now advanced too far to retract; and, accordingly, Paul Methven, John Chrison, William Harlaw, and John Willock, were summoned to stand trial before the Justiciary Court at Stirling, on the

10th of May 1559, for disregarding the proclamation, teaching heresy, and exciting seditions and tumults among the people.

Being reluctant to proceed to extremities, the Protestants sent the Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon, to wait on the queen, and remonstrate against these violent proceedings; but she haughtily replied, that "maugre [in spite of] their hearts, and all that would take part with them, these ministers should be banished Scotland, though they preached as soundly as ever St Paul did." The deputation reminded her of the promises she had repeatedly made to protect them; to which she unblushingly replied, that "it became not subjects to burden their princes with promises, further than they pleased to keep them." Roused, rather than intimidated, by this language, they answered, that if she violated the engagements she had come under to her subjects, they would regard themselves as absolved from their allegiance to her. This bold and resolute answer caused her to pause and resume her tone of simulated mildness, and at length she promised to suspend the trial of the preachers, and take the whole affair into serious consideration.

That very night, according to Spotswood, after the departure of the deputation, the queen received information that the town of Perth had embraced the Reformed doctrines. Enraged to find all matters going so contrary to her wishes, she sent for Lord Ruthven, provost of that town, and commanded him to go immediately and suppress these innovations. To this he answered, that "he could make their persons and their goods subject to her, but had no power over their minds and consciences." She furiously exclaimed, that "he was too malapert to give her such an answer, and she would make both him and them repent it." In the same spirit of revenge, she broke the promise she had given to Glencairn and Loudon, ordered the processes against the preachers to go on, and summoned them peremptorily to stand their trial at Stirling on the appointed day.

Affairs now swept rapidly forward to the crisis that had long been inevitable. The Protestant nobility and gentlemen determined to accompany their preachers to Stirling

on the day appointed. The townsmen of Dundee and those of Montrose, together with the chief inhabitants of Angus and Mearns, assembled at Perth; but before proceeding to Stirling, it was judged expedient to send Erskine of Dun before them, to assure the queen of their peaceful dispositions, and that their only object was to join with their preachers in making a public confession of their faith, and to aid them in their just defence. The wily queen again resorted to dissimulation; and succeeded in persuading Erskine to remain at Stirling, and to write to the assembled Protestants at Perth, requesting them to return to their houses, and promising that the trial should not proceed against the ministers. Some, confiding in the queen-regent's promise, did return to their homes; but a considerable number, remembering her previous acts of treachery, remained at Perth, till they should see the issue. At this very important juncture the Protestant party received an accession of strength in the opportune arrival of John Knox in Scotland.

It has been already stated that he had returned to Geneva, after the discouraging letters which he received at Dieppe. But when he received a fresh invitation from the Lords of the Congregation, and further learned in what extremities his Scottish Reforming brethren were placed, he at once determined to hasten to his native country, and devote his life to the great and sacred cause of the Scottish Reformation. He was refused permission to journey through England; but taking shipping at Dieppe, he sailed to Leith, where he landed the 2d of May 1559.

Nothing can more strikingly prove the importance of this timely arrival of the great Scottish Reformer, than the consternation it excited in the hearts of his antagonists. The day for the trial of the preachers was close at hand, and their enemies were busily engaged in completing their treacherous plots against the lives of those devoted men. For several days the provincial council of the clergy had been sitting in the monastery of the Grayfriars; and on the morning of the 3d of May, they had again met and resumed their deliberations. While they were thus engaged,

on a sudden one of the fraternity entered the monastery, and rushed into the presence of the council, breathless with haste, and pale with terror, exclaiming, in broken words, "John Knox!—John Knox is come! he is come! he slept last night in Edinburgh!" The council was panic-struck. In dumb dismay they contemplated the ruin of all the plans which they had given their gold and stained their souls with guilt to fabricate. At once stunned and terrified, they ceased to deliberate, broke up the council, and dispersed in great haste and confusion.

A messenger was instantly sent to the queen-regent with the unwelcome information; and within a few days Knox was proclaimed an outlaw and a rebel, in virtue of the sentence formerly pronounced against him by the clergy. He stayed but one day in Edinburgh; and being resolved to cast himself at once into the heart of the conflict, and to share the dangers of his brethren, he hurried to Dundee, and joined those who were preparing to proceed to the trial at Stirling. With them he hastened to Perth, where the main adherents of the Reformation were by this time assembled, waiting the result of the negotiations between the queen-regent and Erskine of Dun, of which mention has been already made.

The queen, as already stated, had promised to Erskine that the trial of the preachers should be postponed; but when the day of trial came, they were summoned, and, not appearing, they were outlawed, and all persons were prohibited, "under pain of rebellion, to assist, comfort, receive, or maintain them in any sort." At the same time, the gentlemen who had given security for their appearance were fined. Indignant at this act of gross deceit and injury, and apprehensive of personal danger, Erskine contrived to escape from Stirling unobserved, and hastened to Perth with the intelligence of what had taken place. An event immediately followed the return of Erskine to Perth, which has often been grievously misrepresented, to the prejudice of the Reformers, very unjustly, by the favourers of Prelacy; and as Dr M'Crie has given a very full account of it in his *Life of Knox*, it is inserted in his words.

“It happened that, on the same day on which the news came of the queen’s treacherous conduct at Stirling, Knox, who remained at Perth, preached a sermon, in which he exposed the idolatry of the mass and of image-worship. The audience had quietly dismissed, and a few idle persons only loitered in the church, when an imprudent priest, wishing to try the disposition of the people, or to show his contempt of the doctrine which had just been delivered, uncovered a rich altar-piece, decorated with images, and prepared to celebrate mass. A boy, having uttered some expressions of disapprobation, was struck by the priest. He retaliated by throwing a stone at the aggressor, which, falling on the altar-piece, broke one of the images. This operated as a signal upon the people present, who had sympathized with the boy; and in course of a few minutes, the altar, images, and all the ornaments of the church, were torn down and trampled under foot. The noise soon collected a mob, which, finding no employment in the church, flew, by a sudden and irresistible impulse, upon the monasteries; and although the magistrates of the town and the preachers assembled as soon as they heard of the riot, yet neither the persuasions of the one nor the authority of the other could restrain the fury of the people, until the houses of the Gray and Black Friars, with the costly edifice of the Carthusian monks, were laid in ruins. None of the gentlemen or sober part of the congregation were concerned in this unpremeditated tumult: it was wholly confined to the lowest of the inhabitants, or, as Knox designs them, ‘the rascal multitude.’ If this disorderly conduct must be traced to a remote cause, we can impute it only to the wanton and dishonourable perfidy of the queen-regent.

“In fact, nothing could be more favourable to the designs of the regent than this riot. By her recent conduct she had forfeited the confidence of the Protestants, and even exposed herself in the eyes of the sober and moderate of her own party. This occurrence afforded her an opportunity of turning the public indignation from herself, and directing it against the Protestants. She did not fail to improve it with her usual address. She magnified the accidental tumult into

a dangerous and designed rebellion. Having called the nobility to Stirling, she, in her interviews with them, insisted upon such topics as were best calculated to persuade the parties into which they were divided. In conversing with the Catholics, she dwelt upon the sacrilegious overthrow of those venerable structures which their ancestors had dedicated to the service of God. To the Protestants who had not joined their brethren at Perth, she complained of the destruction of the Charter House, which was a royal foundation; and, protesting that she had no intention of offering violence to their consciences, promised to protect them, provided they would assist her in punishing those who had been guilty of this violation of public order. Having inflamed the minds of both parties, she collected an army from the adjacent counties, and advanced to Perth, threatening to lay waste the town with fire and sword, and to inflict the most exemplary vengeance on all who had been instrumental in producing the riot." *

A considerable body of French troops strengthened the queen's army, and increased the danger of the Protestants, who were also weakened by the retreat of many of their own party, confiding in the previous pacific declarations of the queen. But messengers had been sent by the Reformers from Perth, requesting their friends to come to their defence with all possible expedition; and so readily were these entreaties responded to, that before the queen's army had reached Perth, the Reformers were enabled to assume an attitude of self-defence sufficiently imposing to cause the queen to propose overtures of accommodation. The promptitude of the Earl of Glencairn, on this emergency, deserves particular mention. In an almost incredibly short space of time he assembled about two thousand five hundred men, and marched from Ayrshire to Perth, bringing this large reinforcement to his brethren there, while they were treating with the queen-regent.

The queen employed the Earl of Argyle and Lord James Stewart to treat with the Lords of the Congregation at Perth; and an agreement was entered into, in which it was stipu-

* M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, pp. 159, 160.

lated, that the town should be left open to the queen; that none of the inhabitants should be called in question for what had taken place; that the French should not enter the town; and that, when the queen retired, there should be no garrison left in it. To these terms the Reformers agreed; at the same time stating, that they did not expect the queen to keep faith with them any longer than till she obtained the power to break it with safety to herself; and Argyle and Stewart declaring that if she should violate the treaty, they would leave her, and openly take part with their brethren, to whom they considered themselves bound by the most sacred ties. Before quitting Perth, the Lords of the Congregation framed and subscribed another bond, pledging them to mutual support and defence in the cause of religion, or any cause dependent thereupon, by whatsoever pretext it might be coloured and concealed. This has been generally called **THE SECOND COVENANT**. It was subscribed in the name of the whole Congregation, by the Earls of Argyle and Glencairn, Lord James Stewart, the Lords Boyd and Ochiltree, and Matthew Campbell of Terringland, on the 31st of May 1559.*

A very short time was sufficient to prove how much reason the Protestants had to distrust the most solemn promises of the queen-regent. No sooner had she obtained complete possession of the town of Perth than she began to violate her engagement, treating the inhabitants with the greatest violence, changing their magistrates forcibly, and substituting creatures of her own, exacting oppressive fines from some, and conniving at the murder of others who had been friendly to the Reformers, and, upon her departure, leaving a garrison in the town, contrary to the express stipulations of the treaty. Argyle and Lord James Stewart remonstrated strongly against such conduct, and were answered, that "she was not bound to keep promises made to heretics; and that she would make little conscience to take from all that sect their lives and inheritance, if she might do it with so honest an excuse."† These noblemen, feeling their own honour implicated, forsook her, and went to the Congrega-

* Knox, p. 138.

† Knox, p. 139; Spotswood, p. 123.

tion, resolving never again to place any confidence in her promises.

The Lords of the Congregation now resolved to temporize and negotiate no longer, but to take immediate steps for abolishing the idolatrous and superstitious rites of Popery, and setting up the Reformed worship in all places to which their authority or influence extended. And as Lord James Stewart was prior of St Andrews, and had now cordially and entirely joined with the Reformers, he gave an authoritative invitation to John Knox, to meet him in that city on a certain day, and to preach publicly in the Abbey Church. Knox, who had been preaching in several places along the east coast of Fife, hastened to comply with this invitation, and on the 9th of June arrived at St Andrews. The archbishop, hearing of this design to storm Popery in its stronghold, hastily collected an armed force, and having at their head hurried to St Andrews, sent information to Knox, that if he appeared in the pulpit, he would give orders to fire upon him.

The juncture was one of an extremely critical nature. The Lords of the Congregation were but slenderly accompanied; the disposition of the townsmen was in a great measure uncertain; and the queen-regent had advanced to Falkland, about twelve miles distant, at the head of a considerable army, consisting chiefly of the French troops, who were thoroughly devoted to her interests, and as thoroughly hostile to the Reformation. Argyle and Lord James Stewart were alarmed at the dangerous aspect of affairs, and yet reluctant to abandon their intention. They felt that to be baffled at the very outset of their great enterprise would be a severe if not a fatal discouragement; and yet they were unwilling to put the life of Knox, as well as their own lives, in such imminent peril. In this perplexity they sent for Knox himself, to have his own judgment in this emergency. That judgment was one becoming him "who never feared the face of man." Reminding them that he had been first called to preach the Gospel in that very town—reft from it by the tyranny of France, at the procurement of the bishops—that now the opportunity was presented to him

for which he had longed, and prayed, and hoped—he entreated them not to hinder him from once more preaching in St Andrews. “As for the fear of danger that may come to me, let no man be solicitous; for my life is in the custody of Him whose glory I seek. I desire the hand and weapon of no man to defend me. I only crave audience; which, if it be denied here unto me at this time, I must seek further where I may have it.”

The dauntless courage of the great Reformer communicated itself to the lords. Like him, they ceased to think of danger, when the call was that of sacred duty; and next day, the 16th of June, Knox appeared in the pulpit, and preached to a numerous audience, including the archbishop, many of the inferior clergy, and the scowling bands of armed retainers prepared for the assassination of the fearless preacher. But the hand of God was with him, restraining the fury of the adversary, and moulding anew the melted hearts of the people. The subject of his discourse was, our Saviour’s ejecting the profane traffickers from the temple of Jerusalem; which he applied to the duty incumbent on all Christians, according to their different stations, to remove the corruptions of the Papacy, and purify the Church. On the three following days he preached in the same place, and on similar subjects; and such was the effect of his doctrine, that the magistracy and the inhabitants agreed to set up the Reformed worship in the town; and immediately stripped the church of images and pictures, and demolished the monasteries.

The Archbishop of St Andrews hastened to the queen-regent with this dire information. Being apprized, at the same time, that the lords at St Andrews were accompanied by a small retinue, she resolved to surprise them before their friends could come to their support, and gave orders to prepare to march on Cupar. But the Protestants in the adjacent counties being aware of the danger of their friends, hastened to their aid with such celerity, and in such numbers, that they were able to anticipate the queen’s movements, and take up a position confronting her army on Cupar Moor. The resolute aspect of the Protestant army

again appalled the queen; and dreading a disastrous defeat, should she risk a battle, she proposed a suspension of hostilities. The Protestant lords had now received too many proofs of her duplicity to be again circumvented by mere promises. They, therefore, stipulated that the French troops should be removed out of Fifeshire; and that commissioners should, within ten days, be sent to St Andrews, for the purpose of settling all differences between her and the Congregation. The troops were removed; but no commissioners were sent. The Lords of the Congregation determined, therefore, to adopt more decisive measures, and to redress by their own efforts those grievances which they could not get otherwise remedied.

Mustering once more their strength, they advanced to Perth, and expelled the garrison left there by the queen. Thence, by a rapid movement, they proceeded to Stirling, seized upon it, and continuing their march, took possession of Edinburgh itself; the queen-regent, as they approached, retiring with her forces to Dunbar. In the meantime the dread of the direct and immediate vengeance of the Popish clergy being removed, the rest of the kingdom quickly followed the example of Perth and St Andrews, in abolishing the Popish worship; and in the course of a few weeks, "at Crail, at Cupar, at Lindors, at Stirling, at Linlithgow, at Edinburgh, and at Glasgow, the houses of the monks were overthrown, and all the instruments of idolatry destroyed."*

On their arrival at Edinburgh, the Lords of the Congregation sent deputies to Dunbar, to assure the queen that they had no intention of throwing off their allegiance, and to induce her to accede to reasonable terms of accommodation. One preliminary point was agreed upon—that the sentence of outlawry against the ministers should be rescinded, and that they should be allowed to preach publicly to those who chose to hear them. Knox was chosen by the people of Edinburgh to be their minister, on the 7th of July, and immediately began his labours among them. But the wiles of the queen were not yet exhausted. She prolonged

* M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, p. 165.

the negotiations till she learned that the greater part of the Protestant forces had returned to their homes, and then advanced suddenly with her army to Edinburgh. Leith having declared for the regent, and the Castle of Edinburgh being under the command of Lord Erskine, who was unfavourable to the Protestants, they felt that they could not defend the town, and agreed to evacuate it, on condition that the inhabitants should be left at liberty to use that form of worship which they should prefer. The lords then retired to Stirling, taking with them John Knox, and leaving Willock in his place, who continued to preach in St Giles' Church, after the arrival of the regent.

The King of France dying about this time, was succeeded by Mary's husband, and thus the crowns of France and Scotland seemed to be united, and the deep scheme of the Princes of Lorraine on the point of being realized. Letters were sent by the new king and queen to Lord James Stewart, for the purpose of detaching him, if possible, from the Protestant party; but he remained firm to his faith and covenant engagement. At the same time an additional supply of money and troops were sent from France to the queen-regent, to enable her to crush and exterminate the Reformation in Scotland. The hopes of the regent began to revive; and she commenced fortifying Leith, both as a commanding strength in an important position, and a port through which she might readily at all times receive supplies from France into the very heart of the country. But though these matters were favourable to the queen-regent, there were others of a counterbalancing character. The Earl of Arran, son to the former regent, the Duke of Chatelherault, returned at this time from France, having narrowly escaped imprisonment on account of having expressed himself favourable to the Protestant doctrines. After having held an interview with the Protestant lords at Stirling, this young nobleman went to Hamilton to his father, and succeeded in prevailing on him to quit the party of the queen-regent, and join the Lords of the Congregation.

The accession of the Hamiltons to the Protestant party gave a new turn to affairs. The queen-regent immediately

put in practice all her diplomatic arts to detach the Hamiltons from the Congregation if possible, or to sow jealousy and cause dissension among them. Failing in these endeavours, she issued declarations to the public, in which she strove to fix the charge of rebellion upon the Congregation generally, and, in particular, accused Lord James Stewart and the Duke of Chatelherault of aiming severally at the crown. These insidious declarations were met by counter-declarations, in which the accused parties vindicated themselves from these charges, and exposed the course of treachery and cruelty by which her conduct had been all along characterized. This war of diplomacy, however, was not likely to lead to any satisfactory result; and the Protestant lords began to prepare for more decisive measures. They assembled in Edinburgh on the 21st of October 1559, in such numbers as to form a Convention of the Estates of the kingdom, and entered upon a formal deliberation what ought to be done to rescue the country from such a state of civil dissension, and especially from the lawless outrages committed by the French troops in the queen-regent's army.

In this Convention of Estates, both Knox and Willock were requested to state their sentiments respecting the duty of subjects to their rulers in cases of oppression. Willock held that the power of rulers was limited both by reason and by Scripture, and that they might be deprived of it upon valid grounds; implying, that he thought the conduct of the queen-regent had passed these limits, and given to her subjects these valid grounds. Knox assented to Willock's opinions, and added, that the assembly might, with safe consciences, act upon it, provided they attended to the three following points: *First*, That they did not suffer the misconduct of the queen-regent to alienate their affections from their due allegiance to their sovereigns, Francis and Mary; *second*, That they were not actuated in the measure by private hatred or envy of the queen-dowager, but by regard to the safety of the commonwealth; and, *third*, That any sentence which they might at this time pronounce should not preclude her re-admission to office, if she afterwards discovered sorrow for her conduct, and a disposition to sub-

mit to the advice of the Estates of the realm. After this, the whole assembly, having severally delivered their opinions, did, by a solemn deed, suspend the queen-dowager from her authority as regent of the kingdom, until the meeting of a free Parliament; and, at the same time, elected a council for the management of public affairs during this interval.

The conduct of Knox and Willock, in giving their opinions on this important matter, has been very often and very severely censured. But those who have done so have in general displayed either an anxious desire to avail themselves of any opportunity of blackening the character and aspersing the motives of the Scottish Reformer, or so little acquaintance with the great principles of civil and religious liberty, as to render their opinion of very slight value. Genuine Christianity, instead of impairing the worth of man's natural and civil rights and privileges, gives to them an infinitely increased importance, as the rights and privileges of the freemen of the Lord; rendering it absolutely impossible for a true Christian either to enslave others, or to submit to be himself enslaved. And let it be ever most gratefully remembered, that to the Reformation we owe that true civilization which not only strikes off the fetters from the body, but cultivates also the mind—which not only liberates men from civil, mental, and moral thralldom, but also, at the same time, elevating them in the scale of existence, renders them worthy to be free. The mind of Knox was too deeply imbued with these great principles, and his heart too fearless for him to hesitate in giving a frank avowal of his sentiments, be the danger and the obloquy thereby to be encountered what they might; and yet, let it be observed, that while he vindicated the right of subjects to protect themselves against unlawful despotism, both in this and in other instances, he carefully guarded against the opposite extreme, of encouraging subjects wantonly to violate the allegiance due to their sovereigns. But instead of further attempting to vindicate Knox from the aspersions cast upon him by writers of a servile character, let us direct the attention of the reader to a noble passage in M'Crie's Life of Knox, where the principles of civil and religious

liberty are explained and defended with great eloquence of language and power of reasoning.*

This act, suspending the commission of the queen-regent, was proclaimed in all the chief towns throughout the kingdom, and intimated formally to the regent herself, summoning her, at the same time, to dismiss the French troops from Leith, and yield the town. To ~~this~~ declaration and summons, an answer, charging the Protestants with rebellion, and uttering a bold defiance of their power, was returned; and hostilities immediately began. But the success of the Protestant lords and their army was not equal to their hopes and the goodness of their cause. There arose, in fact, a division among them, of a kind to which such enterprises as they were engaged in must always be exposed. The very essence of the contest was of a strictly religious character, and had been begun by men whose sole object it was to rescue the pure and undefiled Christianity of the Bible from the gross corruptions of Popery. But many had now joined the early Reformers from a variety of motives, apart from those of religion; and even those in whom religious motives predominated, still retained so great an admixture of selfish and worldly policy, as to embarrass extremely the conduct of those with whom they professed to act. A double policy must always be an unsafe one. And, perhaps, there is nothing which has ever done more evil to man than the debasing intermixture of worldly motives in matters of a purely religious and sacred character. But on this subject we shall not further dwell at present, as it will repeatedly meet us hereafter, and in circumstances fitted to display its nature and bearing more clearly.

The accession of the Hamiltons and their adherents appeared to strengthen the Protestants very much; yet the divisions which almost immediately sprung up proved more detrimental to their cause than their increase of numbers was beneficial. And as the Duke of Chatelherault, being the man of greatest rank among them, was placed nominally at their head, his timid and vacillating character diffused its contagion among them, and rendered their councils un-

* M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, pp. 183-192.

ed, and their conduct irresolute. They failed in some encounters with the French; and fresh supplies arriving at , they became so discouraged as to abandon the siege, and retreat to Stirling, in a state of great dejection. They were also deficient in money to pay and support their forces, of whom many were of a mercenary character, regarding on which side they fought, provided they obtained pay, and were occasionally gratified with pillage. Upon the death of the Lords of the Congregation, the French issued from Leith, took possession of Edinburgh, with the exception of the castle, which Lord Erskine continued to hold in a state of armed neutrality, advanced to Stirling, pillaging the country as they went, and crossed into Fifeshire, skirting the coast, and continuing their ravages as they proceeded towards St Andrews. *

At this extremity, the Protestants found it necessary to turn more pressingly to Queen Elizabeth for aid from abroad. This had, indeed, been done some months before, when they became convinced that hostilities must ensue; but the intercourse with England had been conducted chiefly through James Knox and Henry Balnaves of Hallhill, on the Scottish side, and Cecil on the English. Knox apprized Cecil of the great Popish league, devised by the princes of Lorraine, for the suppression of the Reformation throughout Europe, in which the dethronement of Elizabeth was essential; and suggested a great counter-league of Protestant powers, of which Elizabeth should be the head. Cecil could appreciate the scheme; but it was not so easy to induce Elizabeth to engage in it, requiring, as it necessarily did, great and immediate sacrifices and exertions for a remote, and what might appear a contingent, good. Assistance in money was sent, but with a sparing hand; and part of it was intercepted, and fell into the possession of the queen-regent. Now, when the Protestant cause appeared to be sinking in Scotland, in consequence of the direct aid received by the queen-regent from France, the English Court perceived the necessity of sending an army to the assistance of the Congregation. A short time before the Protestants retired

* Knox, Spotswood, Buchanan.

from Edinburgh, they were joined by William Maitland of Lethington, one of the ablest statesmen of his time, who had previously been secretary to the queen-regent. Upon his arrival, Knox, who had no relish for the intrigues of mere politicians, immediately relinquished the direct management of all diplomatic matters to Lethington, expressing great satisfaction at being relieved from duties so uncongenial to his mind. Lethington was sent to England to endeavour to procure assistance; and it was finally resolved that an English force should be sent to Scotland to co-operate with the Protestant lords in expelling the French troops out of the kingdom. A contract to that effect was concluded at Berwick, between the Duke of Norfolk and the Scottish commissioners, on the 27th of February 1560.*

[1560.]—The war now assumed a more determined aspect. The French troops, being aware of the approach of the English, returned to Leith, and prepared to defend it to the last extremities. Before the arrival of the English forces, the queen-regent was allowed by Lord Erskine to enter into Edinburgh Castle; thus withdrawing herself from being personally exposed to the dangers and horrors of a war which she herself had caused. Several sharp encounters took place between the besiegers and the besieged; but as the English fleet had the command of the sea, no supplies could be transmitted from France to the garrison of Leith, which was daily becoming weaker. The French Court employed every art of policy to induce Elizabeth to abandon the support of the Protestant lords, and almost succeeded. But being at length convinced that England's own security and best interest were involved in the support of Scotland, she gave orders to prosecute the siege with the utmost vigour. The resolution of Elizabeth convinced the Court of France that it was in vain to prolong the contest. A treaty was therefore proposed between France and England, the basis of which was, that the troops of both countries should be withdrawn from Scotland; and ambassadors were appointed to meet in Edinburgh, to complete its arrangement and ratification.

* Knox, Spotswood.

While the ambassadors were on their way to Scotland, the queen-regent, who had been for some time declining in health, became seriously ill; and sending for some of the chief Lords of the Congregation, expressed her regret at the sufferings which the kingdom had endured. She also sent for John Willock, and conferred with him for some time on religious matters; but, after his departure, received extreme unction, according to the rites of the Romish Church, and expired, on the 9th Knox says, Spotswood says the 10th, of June 1560.*

On the 16th of June, the ambassadors arrived in Edinburgh, and began their negotiations. The death of the late queen-dowager had removed one of the main obstacles to peace; and the troubled state of political matters in France tended to make the ambassadors of that country more disposed to pacification than they might otherwise have been. It proceeded, however, with the usual tardiness of State diplomacy, and was signed on the 7th of July 1560. By this treaty it was provided, that the French troops should be immediately removed from Scotland; that an amnesty should be granted to all who had been engaged in the late resistance to the queen-regent; that the principal grievances of which they complained in the civil administration should be redressed; that a free Parliament should be held in the month of August next, to settle the other affairs of the kingdom; and that, during the absence of their sovereigns, the government should be administered by a council of twelve, all natives of the kingdom, to be partly chosen by Francis and Mary, and partly by the Estates of the nation. On the 16th July the French army embarked at Leith, and the English troops began their march to their own country; and on the 19th, the Congregation assembled in St Giles' Church, to return public thanks to God for the restoration of peace, and for the success which had crowned their exertions.

The Parliament, which had met formally during the presence of the ambassadors on the 10th of July, adjourned until the 1st day of August, according to the treaty, both dates being specified in the records of its acts. When the

* Knox, Spotswood.

circumstances in which they were assembled, and the affairs on which they were called to deliberate, are taken into consideration, this must be regarded as the most important meeting of the Estates of the kingdom that had ever been held in Scotland. It engrossed the attention of the nation, and the eyes of Europe were fixed on its proceedings. Although a great concourse of people resorted to Edinburgh on that occasion, yet no tumult or disturbance of the public peace occurred. Many of the lords spiritual and temporal who were attached to Popery absented themselves; but the chief patrons of the old religion, as the Archbishop of St Andrews, and the Bishops of Dumblane and Dunkeld, countenanced the assembly by their presence, and were allowed to act with freedom as lords of Parliament.

“The all-important business of religion was introduced by a petition presented by a number of Protestants of different ranks; in which, after rehearsing their former endeavours to procure the removal of the corruptions which had infected the Church, they requested Parliament to use the power which Providence had now put into their hands for effecting this great and urgent work. They craved three things in general: That the Antichristian doctrine maintained in the Popish Church should be discarded; that means should be used to restore purity of worship and primitive discipline; and that the ecclesiastical revenues, which had been engrossed by a corrupt and indolent hierarchy, should be applied to the support of a pious and active ministry, to the promotion of learning, and to the relief of the poor. They declared, that they were ready to substantiate the justice of all their demands, and, in particular, to prove that those who arrogated to themselves the name of clergy were destitute of all right to be accounted ministers of religion; and that, from the tyranny which they had exercised, and their vassalage to the Court of Rome, they could not be safely tolerated, and far less intrusted with power, in a Reformed commonwealth.”*

The attentive reader will mark, in the preceding outline of this petition, the statement of certain great principles

* M'Crie's Life of Knox, pp. 200, 201; Knox, pp. 237, 238.

which he will have occasion subsequently to trace in active operation. He will mark the request, not only for purity of worship, but also for *primitive discipline*—a point of vital importance in any Church, but one which worldly-minded men will always hate and oppose. He will mark, also, that while our Scottish Reformers still wished ecclesiastical revenues to be devoted to *ecclesiastical* and not *civil* purposes, they did so, not for the sake of their own aggrandizement, but purely for the public good, ~~purposing~~ a threefold division and application of them—one-third for the support of colleges and schools, one-third for the support of the poor, and the remaining third for the support of the ministers of religion. No other National Church ever exhibited a spirit at once so generous and self-denying, and so wisely and nobly zealous in devising large and liberal schemes for promoting the welfare of the kingdom. But such schemes were far too generous to find favour in the sight of the avaricious nobility and gentry, and far too enlightened to be adequately understood, either by the men of that age, or even yet, of our own. Unfortunately for the public welfare, in all ages and countries, men of the world, judging others by themselves, cannot understand, and will not believe, the self-denying and generous spirit of true religion, and, therefore, always regard with jealousy every proposal made by the servants of Christ; and even the more manifestly self-denying and generous it is, the more suspicious are they that it must contain some peculiarly deep design. The applicability of these remarks will soon be made evident.

When this petition was laid before Parliament, it soon became apparent that it went much further than many of the politicians were disposed to permit. Maitland of Lethington had previously said, in reference to the discourses which Knox had preached from the Book of Haggai, "We may now forget ourselves, and bear the barrow to build the house of God." This scoffing comment showed plainly enough what were his sentiments; and there were but too many ready to concur with and support him. In answer to the first topics of the petition, the Parliament required the Reformed ministers to lay before them a summary of doctrine

which they could prove to be consonant with the Scriptures, and which they desired to have established. The following ministers were appointed to perform the task: John Winram, John Spotswood, John Willock, John Douglas, John Row, and John Knox; and in the course of four days, they presented a Confession of Faith as the product of their joint labours, and an expression of their unanimous judgment. It agreed with the Confessions which had been published by other Reformed Churches. In the statement of doctrinal tenets it is very clear and distinct, and eminently evangelical; but though a very valuable and excellent summary of Christian faith, it is perhaps more coloured with the circumstances of the times than is necessary, and in some respects less specific and decided than is desirable. For an admirable outline of it the reader may consult *McCrie's Life of Knox*; from which work we extract the following condensed account of its ratification:—

“The Confession was first read before the Lords of Articles, and afterwards before the whole Parliament. The Protestant ministers attended in the House to defend it, if attacked, and to give satisfaction to the members respecting any point which might appear dubious. Those who had objections to it were formally required to state them. And the further consideration of it was adjourned to a subsequent day, that none might pretend that an undue advantage had been taken of him, or that a matter of such importance had been concluded precipitately. On the 17th of August, the Parliament resumed the subject, and, previous to the vote, the Confession was again read, article by article. The Earl of Athole, and Lords Somerville and Borthwick, were the only persons of the temporal estate who voted in the negative, assigning this as their reason, ‘We will believe as our forefathers believed.’ ‘The bishops spake nothing.’ After the vote establishing the Confession of Faith, the Earl Marischal rose, and declared that the silence of the clergy had confirmed him in his belief of the Protestant doctrine; and he protested that if any of the ecclesiastical estate should afterwards oppose the doctrine which had just been received, they should be entitled to no credit, seeing, after full know-

ledge of it, and ample time for deliberation, they had allowed it to pass without the smallest opposition or contradiction. On the 24th of August, the Parliament abolished the Papal jurisdiction; prohibited, under certain penalties, the celebration of mass; and rescinded all the laws formerly made in support of the Roman Catholic Church, and against the Reformed faith." *

With these acts Sir James Sandilands of Torphichen was sent to France, in order to obtain, if possible, their ratification by the king and queen. This, however, they refused to give, trusting to the possibility of yet restoring the Romish Church in Scotland; but as their hostility was known, their refusal gave little disturbance to the Reformers, by whom; indeed, it seems to have been expected. As in the treaty of Edinburgh it had been expressly agreed that, in the Parliament which was to be held in August, the religious matters in dispute should be considered, and grievances redressed, the Reformers held themselves entitled to regard all the decisions of that Parliament as in reality ratified by anticipation; and, accordingly, their next care was to devise what steps should now be taken for the complete diffusion and establishment of the Reformation throughout the kingdom.

Previous to the meeting of Parliament, and during the calm which intervened between the treaty of Edinburgh and the latter period, a temporary arrangement had been made, by which the chief of the Reformed ministers were appointed to reside in the most populous and important towns. John Knox was appointed to Edinburgh; Christopher Goodman (who had been Knox's colleague at Geneva, and had of late come to Scotland) was appointed to St Andrews; Adam Heriot to Aberdeen; John Row to Perth; Paul Methven to Jedburgh; William Christison to Dundee; David Fergusson to Dunfermline; and David Lindsay to Leith. But as the country parts of the kingdom were at least equally in need of ministers and instruction, and there were not yet anything like a sufficient number of Reformed ministers to supply the urgent necessities of the case, another expedient was

* M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, p. 203; see also *Knox*, p. 253; *Spotswood*, p. 150; *Calderwood*, p. 14; vol. ii., pp. 37, 38, Wodrow edition.

devised. It was resolved to divide the counties into departments, and appoint one of the Protestant party to take the general charge of religious matters throughout each of these departments, and to bear the name of *superintendents*, as indicative of the general charge which they were to take of the interests of religion in their respective districts. These superintendents were, John Spotswood for the Lothians; John Winram for Fife; John Willock for Glasgow; John Erskine of Dun for Angus and Mearns; and John Carswell for Argyle.* It was intended by the Reformers to have divided Scotland into ten districts, and to have appointed a superintendent for each; but the difficulty of obtaining suitable persons prevented the appointment of any more than the above-named five.

From the fact of the appointment of these superintendents, Episcopalian writers have striven to represent the Scottish Reformers as favourable to diocesan Prelacy. The utter absurdity of this notion has been demonstrated so conclusively by many authors, that we need not expend our time in its refutation: it is enough to refer to Calderwood, Stevenson, and M'Crie, or to the First Book of Discipline, in which it manifestly appears that the superintendents had no one thing in common with prelates, except the charge of religious matters in an extensive district—a charge by the one class of men laboriously executed, and by the other made a source of honour and emolument; thus, even in this apparent similarity, proving their inherent and essential difference. It may be added, that not only was there no difference between the ordination of the superintendent and the minister, but Erskine of Dun filled the office of a superintendent before he was ordained at all; and further, that when it was proposed to make the Bishop of Galloway superintendent over Galloway, the proposal was delayed till a full explanation should be made, and till he should subscribe the Book of Discipline, lest the appointment of one who had been a bishop should give some colour to the idea that the office was Prelacy under a different name.†

* Knox, p. 236; Spotswood, p. 149.

† Knox, *Historie*, p. 263; Calderwood, p. 32.

Soon after the Parliament had finished its labours and been dissolved, the Reformed ministers and the leading Protestants determined to meet and deliberate respecting the measures to be next adopted. On the 20th day of December 1560, they met, accordingly, in Edinburgh "To consult upon those things which are to forward God's glory, and the well of his Kirk, in this realme." And this was the first meeting of the **FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.***

We have thus briefly traced the progress of the Reformation in Scotland, from its first scarcely perceptible beginning, struggling against the opposition of powerful, treacherous, and merciless antagonists, until, "strong only in the Lord, and in the power of his might," it surmounted all obstacles, and the ministers and elders of the Church of Scotland convened and held their General Assembly, in the name and by the sole authority of Him by whom they had been so mightily upheld, and whom alone they recognised as Head and King of the Church of Scotland. We have seen how long the early Church of Scotland, the Culdees, resisted the encroachments and the corruptions of Prelacy and Popery; with what difficulty these adherents of primitive Christianity were overborne; how pertinaciously the people of Scotland clung to their early belief; and how readily the tenets of Wickliffe and other early Reformers were received in those districts where the Culdee system had most prevailed. The dying declarations of the Scottish martyrs have called forth our admiration, and touched our sympathies; and we have traced the steady unswerving course of the undaunted Knox, as he bore right onward to the accomplishment of his one great aim—the establishment of the blessed Gospel of Christ in his native land. And we must have traced the course of these great events with unperceiving eye indeed, if we have not marked the hand of Providence guiding them all in a most peculiar manner. Even circumstances the most seemingly adverse were so overruled as to contribute to the purity and completeness of the Scottish Reformation. The alternating direct hosti-

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland.

lity and alien intrigues of the Court and the civil rulers, prevented the vitiating influence of worldly policy from interfering with and warping the views of our Reformers, who were thus not only left, but even constrained, to follow the guidance of the Sacred Word of God alone; while in almost every other country, England for example, the Reformation was either biassed in its course, or arrested at that stage of its progress in which worldly statesmen conceived it could be rendered most subservient to their own designs. But this, which is the glory and the excellency of the Church of Scotland, we shall find to have been the cause of nearly all the perils wherewith she has been encompassed, and the sufferings through which she has passed, from the Reformation to the present day.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY, IN 1560 TO THE YEAR
AND THE GREAT CHARTER OF THE CHURCH.

Discipline—Opposition of the Nobility to its Regulations—Queen Mary to Scotland—Contests respecting the Mass, and respecting the Holy Assembly, and the Patrimony of the Church—Proceedings of the Popish Bishops—Trial of Knox for Convening the Ministers—Declaration of the Freedom of the Pulpit—Marriage of the Queen to Darnley—Death of Rizzio—First National Fast—Murder of Darnley—Marriage of the Queen to Bothwell—Flight of Bothwell, and Mary's Imprisonment—Parliament 1567, recognising the Church—Powers and Jurisdiction of the Church—its Condition at this time—The Regent Murray—His Assassination—Morton—Attempts for the Restoration of Prelacy—Convention of the Tulchan Bishops—Death of John Knox—Continued Struggles against the Tulchan Bishops—Andrew Melville comes to Scotland—to draw up a System of Ecclesiastical Polity and Jurisdiction—Opposition of Melville—Morton resigns the Regency, and assumes the Government—The Second Book of Discipline—Confeſſion of Faith—Its Ratification evaded—Condemnation of Episcopacy by the Assembly—Erection of Presbyteries, and Engrossment of the Second Book in the Records of the Assembly—First National Covenant subscribed by the King—Robert Montgomery—Proceedings of the Church in his aid of Ruthven—Proceedings of the King against Melville—The year 1584—Sufferings of the Church—Change of Measures for the better government—Alarm on account of the Spanish Armada—The King returns to Scotland—Peaceful State of the Church and Kingdom—The King returns to Scotland—Collision between the Court of Session and the Church—Parliament of 1592, called the Great Charter of the Church of Scot-

land. The Scottish Parliament, passed on the 24th of July 1560, in accordance with the petition of the Scottish nobles, abrogated and annulled the Papal jurisdiction, the authority flowing therefrom; but it enacted no other jurisdiction whatever in its stead. This it left to the General Assembly of the Church to determine upon and effect by its legislative powers. And this is a fact of the utmost importance, which cannot be too well known and kept in

remembrance. It is, indeed, one of the distinctive characteristics of the Church of Scotland, that it owes its origin, its form, its jurisdiction, and its discipline, to no earthly power. And when the ministers and elders of the Church of Scotland resolved to meet in a General Assembly, to deliberate upon matters which might tend to the promotion of God's glory and the welfare of the Church, they did so in virtue of the authority which they believed the Lord Jesus Christ had given to his Church. The Parliament which abolished the Papal jurisdiction made not the slightest mention of a General Assembly. In that time of comparatively simple and honest faith, even statesmen seem instinctively to have perceived, that to interfere in matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, so as to appoint ecclesiastical tribunals, specify their nature, and assign their limits, was not within their province. It had been well for the kingdom if statesmen of succeeding times, certainly not their superiors in talent and in judgment, had been wise enough to follow their example.

The first meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was held, as has been already stated, on the 20th of December 1560. The number that convened was but small. It consisted of forty members, only six of whom were ministers; but they were men of great abilities, of deep piety, and of eminent personal worth, fitted and qualified by their Creator for the work which he had given them to do. The very next step which was taken proved both their qualifications and their zeal. It was very clearly seen by the Reformers, that the power of discipline was essential to the well-being of a Church, since without it purity could not be maintained, either among the people or the ministers themselves. They determined, therefore, to draw up a book in which there should be a complete system of ecclesiastical government; and the same eminent men by whom the Confession of Faith had been composed were appointed to undertake the new and scarcely less important task. This, indeed, they had been previously desired to do by the Privy Council, as appears from the preamble of their production. They applied themselves to their task in the same spirit a

before, having respect, indeed, to the circumstances and the exigencies of the time, but looking to divine direction and authority alone. "They took not their example," says Row, "from any Kirk in the world; no, not from Geneva;" but drew their plan from the Sacred Scriptures. Having arranged the subject under different heads, they divided these among them; and, after they had finished their several parts, they met together and examined them with great attention, spending much time in reading and meditation on the subject, and in earnest prayers for divine direction. When they had drawn up the whole in form, they laid it before the General Assembly, by whom it was approved, after they had caused some of its articles to be abridged. At the close of the brief records of the first General Assembly, there is an intimation that the next meeting was to be held on the 15th day of January following;* but no record appears to have been kept of that meeting; yet, as we find the Book of Discipline referred to in the next meeting of May the same year, we may conclude that it was in January that it was approved and ratified by the Assembly. It was also submitted to the Privy Council; but although many of the members highly approved of the plan, it was keenly opposed by others. "Everything," says Knox, "that repugned to their corrupt affections was termed, in their mockery, 'devout imaginations.' The cause we have before declared: some were licentious, some had greedily gripped the possessions of the Church, and others thought that they would not lack their part of Christ's coat."† This points out clearly enough the cause of the opposition made to the Book of Discipline—partly aversion to the strict discipline which it appointed to be exercised against vice, and partly from reluctance to comply with its requisition for the appropriation of the revenues of the Popish Church to the support of the new religious and literary establishments. But though not formally ratified by the Privy Council, it was subscribed by the greater part of the nobility and barons, members of the Council, and thereby virtually ratified. The document deserves to be recorded:—

* Books of the Universall Kirk, p. 5.

† Knox, p. 256.

“ At Edinburgh, 17th January 1561.

“ We, who have subscribed these presents, having advised with the articles herein specified, as is above mentioned, from the beginning of this book, think the same good, and conform to God’s Word in all points; conform to the notes and additions hereto eiked; and promise to set the same forward to the uttermost of our powers. Providing that the bishops, abbots, priors, and other prelates, and beneficed men which else have adjoined themselves to us, bruik [enjoy] the revenues of their benefices during their lifetimes; they sustaining and upholding the ministry and ministers, as herein is specified, for the preaching of the Word and ministering of the sacraments.”

To this—termed by several writers “ an Act of the Secret Council,” which indeed it was, being subscribed by a large majority—there were affixed the names of the Duke of Chatelherault; the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Glencairn, Rothes, Marischal, Monteith, and Morton; Lords James Stewart, Boyd, Yester, Ochiltree, Lindsay, Sanquhar; St John of Torphichen; the Master of Maxwell, the Master of Lindsay; Drumlanrig, Lochinvar, Garlies, Bargannie, Cunninghamhead; Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway, Alexander Campbell, dean of Murray; and others of less note.

As the Book of Discipline contains the deliberate opinions of the Scottish Reformers, respecting what they regarded as the fundamental principles of the Church which they were labouring to establish in Scotland, it seems necessary to give a brief abstract of those principles, that the reader may the better know what the Church of Scotland, from its beginning, has either been or striven to be.

The ordinary and permanent office-bearers of the Church were of four kinds: the minister or pastor, to whom the preaching of the Gospel and administration of the sacraments belonged; the doctor or teacher, whose province it was to interpret Scripture and confute errors, including those who taught theology in schools and universities; the ruling elder, who assisted the minister in exercising ecclesiastical discipline and government; and the deacon, who

had the special charge of the revenues of the Church and the poor. To these permanent office-bearers there were added two others of a temporary character. It has been already stated, that in the arrangement entered into previous to the first General Assembly, there were only twelve Reformed ministers to preach the Gospel throughout the whole kingdom; and that to accomplish the utmost possible amount of duty by so small a number, seven were placed in the chief towns, and large country districts were assigned to each of the remaining five. These five were called *superintendents*; and their duty was to travel from place to place throughout their districts, for the purpose of preaching, planting Churches, and inspecting the conduct of the country ministers where there were any, and of another temporary class of men termed *exhorters* and *readers*. This latter class consisted of the most pious persons that could be found, who, having received a common education, were able to read to their more ignorant neighbours, though not qualified for the ministry. When the readers were found to have discharged their duty well, and to have increased in their own knowledge, they were encouraged to add a few plain exhortations to the reading of the Scriptures; and then they were termed *exhorters*. If they still continued to improve, they might finally be admitted to the ministry. To search out, employ, and watch over the conduct of such men, giving them instruction from time to time, was the chief duty of the superintendent, from which, indeed, he derived his name, so naturally expressive of his duty—a duty, the very nature of which shows it to have been temporary, and intended to expire whenever the necessities which called it into being should have been removed by a sufficiency of qualified ministers.

No person was allowed to preach, or to administer the sacraments, till he was regularly called to this employment. “Ordinary vocation [calling] consisteth in election, examination, and admission.” “It appertaineth to the people, and to every several congregation, to elect their minister.” “For altogether this is to be avoided, that any man be violently intruded or thrust in upon any congregation; but

this liberty, with all care, must be reserved to every several Church, to have their votes and suffrages in election of their ministers." The examination was appointed to take place "in open assembly, and before the congregation," to satisfy the Church as to his soundness in the faith, his "gifts, utterance, and knowledge," his willingness to undertake the charge, the purity of his motives, and his resolution to discharge the duties of his office with diligence and fidelity. Admission then took place by the person being solemnly set apart by prayer, at first without imposition of hands, which, however, was afterwards appointed to be done. Superintendents were admitted in the same way as other ministers, were tried by the same Church courts, liable to the same censures, and might be deposed for the same crimes.

The affairs of each congregation were managed by the minister, elders, and deacons, who constituted the Kirk-session, which met regularly once a-week, and oftener if business required. There was also a meeting, called the weekly exercise, or prophesying, held in every considerable town, consisting of the ministers, exhorters, and educated men in the vicinity, for expounding the Scriptures. This was afterwards converted into the Presbytery, or classical assembly. The superintendent met with the ministers and delegated elders of his district twice a-year, in the provincial Synod, which took cognizance of ecclesiastical affairs within its bounds. And the General Assembly, which was composed of ministers and elders commissioned from the different parts of the kingdom, met twice, sometimes thrice, in a year, and attended to the interests of the National Church.

Public worship was attended to in such a manner as to show the estimation in which it was held by our Reformers. On Sabbath-days the people assembled twice for public worship; and, the better to instruct the ignorant, catechising was substituted for preaching in the afternoon. In towns a sermon was regularly preached on one day of the week besides the Sabbath; and on almost every day the people had an opportunity of hearing public prayers and the reading of the Scriptures. Baptism was never dispensed

unless it was accompanied with preaching or catechising. The Lord's supper was administered four times a-year in towns; the sign of the cross in baptizing, and kneeling at the Lord's table, were forbidden; and anniversary holidays were wholly abolished.

Education was very justly regarded as of the utmost importance, and deserving every possible encouragement. It was stated as imperatively necessary, that there should be a school in every parish, for the instruction of youth in the principles of religion, grammar, and the Latin tongue; and it was further proposed, that a college should be erected in every "notable town," in which logic and rhetoric should be taught, along with the learned languages. It was even suggested that parents should not be permitted to neglect the education of their children; but that the nobility and gentry should be obliged to do so at their own expense; and that a fund should be provided for the education of the children of the poor, who discovered talents and aptitude for learning.

To carry these important measures into effect, permanent funds were requisite; and for these they naturally looked to the patrimony of the Church. The hierarchy had been abolished, and the Popish clergy excluded from all religious services, by the alterations which the Parliament had introduced; and whatever provision it was proper to allot for the dismissed incumbents during life, it was unreasonable that they should continue to enjoy those emoluments which were attached to offices for which they had been found totally unfit. No successors could be appointed to them; and there was not any individual or class of men in the nation, who could justly claim a title to the rents of their benefices. The compilers of the Book of Discipline, therefore, proposed that the patrimony of the Church should be appropriated, in the first instance, to the support of the new ecclesiastical establishment. Under this designation they included the *ministry*, the *schools*, and the *poor*. For the ministers they required, that such "honest provision" should be made as would give "neither occasion of solicitude, neither yet of insolencie and wantonnesse." The stipends

of ministers were to be collected by the deacons from the tithes; but all illegal exactions were to be previously abolished, and measures taken to relieve the cultivators of the ground from the oppressive manner in which the tithes had been gathered by the clergy, or by those to whom they had farmed them. The revenues of bishoprics, and of cathedral and collegiate churches, with the rents arising from the endowments of monasteries and other religious foundations, were to be divided, and appropriated to the support of the universities, or of the churches within their bounds.

The Reformers were well aware of the necessity of establishing and maintaining a systematic course of discipline. "As no commonwealth can flourish or long endure without good laws, and sharp execution of the same, so neither can the Kirk of God be brought to purity, neither yet be retained in the same, without the order of ecclesiastical discipline, which stands in reproving and correcting of the faults which the civil sword either doth neglect or may not punish."* "To discipline must all the estates within this realm be subject, as well the rulers as they that are ruled; yea, and the preachers themselves, as well as the poorest within the Kirk." These quotations may alone serve to show, that there was nothing in which the Scottish Reformers approached nearer to the primitive Church than in the rigorous and impartial exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, the relaxation of which, under the Papacy, they justly regarded as one great cause of the universal corruption of religion. "In some instances they might carry their rigour against offenders to an extreme; but it was a virtuous extreme, compared with the dangerous laxity, or rather total disuse, of discipline, which has gradually crept into almost all the Churches that retain the name of Reformed; even as the scrupulous delicacy with which our forefathers shunned the society of those who had transgressed the rules of morality is to be preferred to modern manners, by which the vicious obtain easy admission into the company of the virtuous."†

There is one almost casual expression in that part of the Book of Discipline which treats of Church censures, of too

* First Book of Discipline, chap. ix.

† M'Crie's Life of Knox, p. 251.

much importance to be passed by without notice, tending, as it does, to throw a flood of light on the character of the age, and to vindicate the Reformers from one of the heaviest of the accusations brought against them—"Correcting of the faults which either the civil sword *doth neglect*, or may not punish." Every person at all acquainted with the history of those times, will see the deep meaning of these very pregnant words. Rent, as the kingdom had long been, into feudal factions, there was scarcely anything in it deserving the name of public justice. Every ambitious nobleman was ready to defend the most notorious criminals, for the purpose of strengthening his "following," by the accessions of fierce, lawless, and unscrupulous adherents. Impartiality in the administration of justice, and the suppression of crime, neither did exist, nor was possible, in such a state of matters; and the Popish clergy, being themselves as licentious and unjust as either people or nobles, were not disposed to attempt enacting or enforcing laws by which they might themselves be condemned and punished. There was, therefore, an absolute necessity that the Reformed Church of Scotland should take decided measures, not only for the teaching of truth, but also for the suppression of vice and immorality, as far as its authority could possibly reach, and much further than in a better state of society would have been either necessary or desirable. Yet, even when impelled by these urgent considerations, the Church of Scotland never attempted to dictate in civil matters, nor even called upon the secular authorities to inflict civil penalties, for the purpose of enforcing discipline purely ecclesiastical. That the Church called upon the Parliament to suppress *idolatry*, and to abolish the *Papal jurisdiction* in the kingdom, is admitted; but this cannot justly be regarded as anything more than the public voice of the Church calling upon the civil magistrate to do his own duty in his own province, as *idolatry* is a violation of natural religion, and even of reason itself, and the *Papal jurisdiction* involves the national crime of allegiance to a foreign secular power, which no well-governed country can safely tolerate. A slight apparent confusion between the secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions arose from the

fact, that the Parliament or the magistracy of particular burghs had enacted punishments of a corporal kind against certain crimes which were ordinarily tried in the Church courts; but the infliction, as well as the enacting of them, pertained to the civil magistrate. *

Such were the fundamental principles, and the chief points of the government and discipline of the Church of Scotland, as stated in the Book of Discipline, drawn up by John Knox and the most eminent of the Scottish Reformers, approved by the General Assembly, and subscribed by the majority of the nobles, and inferior barons, and gentry composing the Privy Council of the kingdom. Had it obtained the complete sanction of the civil government, and its principles and arrangements thereby been brought into full operation, many, if not all, of the calamities which speedily fell upon the kingdom, might have been averted. But statesmen had not then learned, neither indeed have they yet, the important difference between principles, which have in them the energy of imperishable vital powers, and external arrangements, which are either the results of the operation of principles, or are the mere moulds by which short-sighted men attempt to modify and restrain the aspect and growth of the internal agency, which they understand not, but wish to coerce. Arrangements may be altered almost at will; but principles, when once fully stated, can never be destroyed. They may be repressed, fettered, turned awry in their operations; but they continue to operate powerfully even when unseen, causing convulsion after convulsion, as they rend asunder and throw off the unconforming external moulds into which they have been forced; and must inevitably continue thus to act, till they obtain a free and unconstrained development, congenial to their own nature. The principles stated in the First Confession of Faith, and the First Book of Discipline of the Church of Scotland, were disliked, opposed, repressed, and turned aside by the worldly-wise statesmen of that day, as they have often been in subsequent times; but they took up their abiding residence in the mind and heart of Scotland—in the

* Baillie's Vindication, p. 17.

deliberate judgment and conviction of its intellect, and the fervent regard of its affection; and the struggle then begun will continue, till, sooner or later, they be completely realized.

It has been already stated, that the Protestant nobility readily enough consented to the suppression of the Papal jurisdiction, and the public sanctioning of the Reformed doctrines, especially as these measures were understood to imply a prospective confiscation of the exorbitant wealth of the Romish clergy. But they were by no means equally satisfied with the remaining main propositions of the Reformers—the regulations of discipline, and especially the appropriation of the patrimony of the suppressed Church to the purposes, ministerial, educational, and charitable, of the new ecclesiastical institution. They had for some time cast a covetous eye on the rich revenues of the Popish clergy. Some of them had seized upon Church lands, or retained the tithes in their own hands. Others had taken long leases of them from the clergy for small sums of money, and were anxious to have these private bargains legalized. From this arose one great cause of their aversion to have the Book of Discipline ratified, lest they should be obliged to surrender the spoil they had unjustly obtained. The plan of the Church was, they said, a “devout imagination,” a mere visionary scheme, which showed, indeed, the goodness of their intentions, but which it was impossible to carry into practical effect. In short, they determined to retain by force the greater part of the Church revenues, thus fraudfully seized upon, for their own advantage.

Several public events of great importance occurred about this time, by which the affairs of the Church were not a little influenced, and which, therefore, must be briefly stated. Francis, the young king of France, and, in virtue of the matrimonial crown as husband of Mary, king of Scotland also, died in December 1560. Mary immediately lost all power at the French Court, and indicated her willingness to return to Scotland. Her natural brother, Lord James Stewart, was sent by the Scottish Parliament to France, in the expectation that he might induce her to be favourable to the Reformed Church; and Lesly, afterwards bishop of

Ross, was deputed by the Romish party to promote their interests. Mary manifested no disposition to favour the Reformation; but seemed disposed to place much confidence in the political sagacity of her brother, endeavouring, at the same time, to draw him aside from his adherence to the Reformed Church; in which she was partially successful.

Previous to the return of Mary, the second General Assembly was held at Edinburgh, on the 27th of May 1561. Its proceedings were chiefly directed to the object of obtaining a specific ratification of certain topics contained in the Book of Discipline, respecting the suppression of idolatry, and the providing of maintenance for the Reformed preachers; which the Privy Council thought proper to grant.

On the 19th of August, in the same year, Queen Mary landed at Leith, and was conducted to Holyrood House, in the midst of great demonstrations of joy at her safe arrival, by a people predisposed to the most devoted loyalty, provided their allegiance to an earthly sovereign was not strained to the violation of the infinitely higher allegiance which they owed to the King of kings. There was but too much certainty that they would soon be put to choose whether they would violate their conscience or offend their queen. Mary had unfortunately been trained up from her infancy in a blind attachment to the tenets and observances of Popery; and, before she left France, her uncles of the house of Guise or Lorraine had used every means to strengthen this prejudice, and to inspire her with hatred to the religion which had been embraced by her people. She was taught that it would be the glory of her reign to bring back her kingdom to its former obedience to the Papal sway, and to co-operate with the Popish princes on the Continent in extirpating heresy. To this was added, as a strong inducement, that they would not only support her in chastising her rebellious subjects, but would assist her also to prosecute her claims to the English crown. Mary brought with her to Scotland these prepossessions and schemes; and she adhered to them throughout her life with the most determined pertinacity. She did, indeed, temporize for a time, as the Protestants were in the possession of all power

in the kingdom; but she resolved to withhold her ratification of the late proceedings, and to embrace the first favourable opportunity to subvert them, and re-establish the ancient system.*

The Protestants, on the other hand, remembering well the deep dissimulation of her mother, and aware of the fierce bigotry of the Guisan family, were jealous of their young queen, and had strictly prohibited the deputies sent to France from promising her more than the private exercise of her religion—if, indeed, even that could be tolerated. Between such conflicting principles and aims, it was impossible but that a collision should speedily ensue. Nor was occasion long wanting for the exhibition of that hostility which was so deeply entertained by both parties. As if to seize the earliest opportunity of proving her attachment to her own faith, Mary gave orders for the celebration of a solemn mass in the chapel of Holyrood House, on the first Sabbath after her arrival. This service, it will be remembered, had been prohibited by an act of the late Parliament, and had not been publicly performed since the conclusion of the civil war. This most unwise step of the queen gave such offence to the people, that it was with the utmost difficulty they were prevented from breaking into an open tumult, and inflicting punishment upon the perpetrators of what they regarded as a direct violation at once of the laws of God and of the nation. An act of the Privy Council was framed, prohibiting all innovations in the religion found by the queen on her arrival; but, at the same time, prohibiting all tumultuary interference with her French attendants “for any cause whatsoever;” by which they were protected in their religious usages, despite the known hostility of her Protestant subjects. Against this act of Council the Earl of Arran alone of the nobility protested briefly; but a more full and formal protest was made by the Protestant ministers. John Knox took occasion to deliver his mind fully and openly on the subject in a sermon preached by him on the following Sabbath; in which he declared, “that one mass was more fearful unto him than if ten thousand armed enemies were

* See M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, note UU.

landed in any part of the realm, of purpose to suppress the whole religion: for," said he, "in our God there is strength to resist and confound multitudes, if we unfeignedly depend upon him—of which we have had experience; but when we join hands with idolatry, it is no doubt but both God's presence and defence will leave us; and what shall then become of us?"*

Let the Christian reader note well the reasoning on which Knox founds his dread of the mass; and let him put to himself this question, and ponder well what answer must be returned to it: "Can religion be reformed really and successfully without the direct aid of God, and can it be defended in any other manner?" The man of the world may imagine that it can; but he will not produce one instance that it ever was. Neither will it be possible to produce one instance of a great and real reformation of religion taking place, without the chief human agents being themselves fully persuaded that they are enjoying the direct aid of God, and, in the strength of that belief, proceeding confidently forward, with measures the success of which, according to every merely human calculation, is absolutely hopeless. For the same reason they will be found rejecting those schemes which human prudence and political sagacity would most recommend; and expressing their dread of nothing so much as of the unhallowed intermixture of worldly wisdom in their sacred warfare, especially when that intermixture involves the crime of conniving at what they believe to be direct or implicit violation of the laws of Him who alone can give the victory. For they well know, that as their enterprise can be brought to a successful issue through the aid of God alone, so, whatever has the tendency to cause him to withdraw that aid—whether by direct violation of his commandments, or by such temporizing conduct as implies distrust of his all-sufficient support—must lead infallibly to their own punishment, in the overthrow of their undertaking, or the indefinite postponement of its success. So thought and believed John Knox; and hence his dread of one permitted mass, as tending to cause God to withdraw his support, and

* Knox, p. 287.

to leave them to the punishment which their faithless and temporizing devices had deserved. Such opinions and rules of action, we well know, are termed fanatical by sages and the learned, by the philosophers and statesmen of the world; but the Christian knows their truth, and the reflecting historian may learn and mark their reality and their value. We shall have repeated occasion to trace them, and to note their importance, in our subsequent pages.

The report of Knox's animadversions upon her conduct was speedily conveyed to the queen. She seems to have resolved to try the possible amount of that personal influence with him which she had found so effectual with a great number of the Protestant lords; of whom it was customary to say, that they came to Court very zealous defenders of the true religion, but, after a few days' residence there, the fire-edge wore off them, and they became as temperate as the rest. If such were her expectations, she was completely disappointed; and finding that she had now to deal with a man who could neither be flattered nor overawed, she seems to have ever afterwards regarded him with mingled feelings of respect, terror, and hatred. Knox had, on his part, made it his study to avail himself of such an opportunity to discover the real character of the queen; and when some of his friends asked his opinion of her, he answered, "If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart against God and his truth, my judgment faileth me."* Few will now deny that his judgment proved to be but too accurate. The estimate which he formed of the queen's character, and the coldness which he perceived spreading among the Protestant lords, had no other effect upon him than to make him the more watchful over public procedure, and the more determined in the defence of the Church.

A meeting of the General Assembly was held in December, the same year, 1561, of which the Booke of the Universall Kirk gives no account, probably because its time was spent in disputations, without producing any direct result. These disputations, however, have been recorded by Knox himself; and a brief account of them is necessary, as showing the

* Knox, p. 292.

altered sentiments of some of the Protestant lords. A considerable number of them at first absented themselves from the meeting of the Assembly; and when reproved, they retorted by disputing the propriety of such conventions without her majesty's pleasure. Maitland of Lethington, now made secretary of State, took upon him to encounter the reasoning of Knox. "Take from us the liberty of assemblies, and take from us the Gospel," said the Reformer. "If the liberty of the Church must depend upon her allowance or disallowance, we shall want not only assemblies, but the preaching of the Gospel." It was then proposed that the Book of Discipline should be ratified by the queen; but this was pointedly opposed by the secretary. "How many of those that subscribed that book will be subject to it?" said he scoffingly. It was answered, "All the godly." "Will the Duke?" said Lethington. "If he will not," replied Lord Ochiltree, "I wish that his name were scraped, not only out of that book, but also out of our number and company; for to what end shall men subscribe, and never mind to keep word of that which they promise?" Lethington answered, that many subscribed it *in fide parentum*, as children are baptized. Knox replied, that the scoff was as untrue as it was unbecoming; for the book was publicly read, and its different heads discussed, for a number of days, and no man was required to subscribe what he did not understand." "Stand content," said one of the courtiers; "that book will not be obtained." "Let God," replied Knox, "require the injury which the commonwealth shall sustain, at the hands of those who hinder it."

Another subject which caused keen and protracted altercation between Knox and the Court party, was their management in settling the provision for the ministers of the Church. Hitherto they had lived chiefly on the benevolence of their hearers, and many of them had scarcely the means of subsistence; but repeated complaints having obliged the Privy Council to take up the affair, they came at last to a determination, that the ecclesiastical revenues should be divided into three parts; that two of these should be given to the ejected Popish clergy, and that the third part should

be divided between the Court and the Protestant ministry! Well might Knox exclaim, when he heard of this disgraceful arrangement, "If the end of this order, pretended to be taken for the sustentation of the ministers, be happy, my judgment fails me! I see two parts freely given to the devil, and the third part must be divided betwixt God and the devil." Even the lords of the Privy Council seem to have felt that their own nefarious deed was little better than a mockery; for when the scheme was proposed among them the Earl of Huntly, himself a Popish nobleman, addressed the others jestingly, by "Good-morrow, my lords of the two parts."* The Privy Council appointed certain persons to fix the sums which were to be appropriated to the Court and to the ministry, and also the particular salaries which were to be allotted to individual ministers, according to the circumstances in which they were placed. The officers for this purpose composed a board under the Privy Council, which was called the "Court of Modification." The persons thus appointed to "modify the stipends," were disposed to gratify the queen, and her demands were readily answered; while the sums allotted to the ministers were as ill paid as they were inadequate. Lethington, again displayed his sneering and bitter nature, asserting, that "if the ministers were sustained, the queen would not get, at the year's end, to buy her a pair of new shoes." "To these dumb dogs the bishops," answered Knox, "ten thousand was not enough; but to the servants of Christ, that painfully preach the Gospel, an hundred merks† must suffice! How can that be sustained?"

The preceding particulars have been the more exactly related, because, slight as they may seem, they indicate very correctly the main grounds of the hostility which began to arise between the Protestant nobility and the ministers, and also serve to point out the course which that hostility was likely soon to take, and, in fact, did take. The more that the nobility became accustomed to the loose manners prevalent in a Court formed, as far as possible, on the model of

* Knox, pp. 296-300.

† 100 merks Scots = £5 : 11 : 1½d.

the licentious Court of France, the less were they inclined to conform themselves to the strict and pure morality of the Book of Discipline. And having given two-thirds of the patrimony of the Church to the Popish clergy during the remainder of their lives, they had rendered it impossible to comply with the scheme for supporting the poor and endowing schools and colleges. The dilapidated state of the Crown revenues had long rendered the Scottish monarchs in a great measure dependent on the gifts which they received at times from the wealthiest of the nobility, but more generally from the dignitaries of the Church. Had a portion of these two-thirds of the Church revenues been devoted to the maintenance of the Crown, it might have been a wise and a just method of employing them, and lightening the public burdens of the country; but nothing could be more unjust than to leave them in the possession of such unworthy persons, and then to rob the laborious preachers of the Gospel, and give the pillage of their stinted allowance to the queen. There is reason to believe, that when the queen consented to this arrangement, she anticipated the overthrow of the Reformed Church, and the re-establishment of the Popish; and, in that case, she expected to retain the entire third in her own hands, in addition to what benefactions she might receive from the Popish clergy. Although this expectation was never realized, the arrangement gave rise to another evil, which might have been, and perhaps was, foreseen. The two-thirds were secured to the ejected clergy during their lives; but upon their deaths, how was this large revenue to be bestowed? It might revert to the Church, and then the scheme of the Book of Discipline might be accomplished. This ought to have been the case; but some of the more forecasting nobles had a very different scheme in view. If they could construct a kind of pseudo-Prelacy, they might induce some creatures of their own to accept the title, while they should themselves, in the name of those mercenary sycophants, draw and enjoy the revenues. This device seems to have been concocted between Lord Erskine, afterwards Earl of Mar, and the Earl of Morton.

[1562.]—The next General Assembly met in June 1562.

In it several matters of importance were transacted, tending to the completion of the judicatorial arrangements of the Church; such as the appointment of the method of trying, and, if necessary, censuring, superintendents, ministers, and elders; authority to excommunicate the "inobedient;" and it was added, that "the magistrate, subject to the rule of Christ, be not exeemed from the same punishment, being found guilty and inobedient."* It is observable, also, that in this Assembly the formal style of supreme authority was used—"The hail Kirk appoints and decerns."

The only matters of public importance which occurred during the early part of that year were, the elevation of Lord James Stewart to the earldom of Murray; by which title he is henceforth to be known; and the rebellious enterprise of the Marquis of Huntly, in which he fell in battle. The death of Huntly weakened the Popish party, and seemed to confirm the influence of the Earl of Murray; but the infamous Earl of Bothwell about the same time began that course of daring intrigues which ended in the ruin of the queen, and his own miserable death in a Danish prison.

During the course of the summer of that year, in consequence of the paucity of ministers and superintendents, John Knox was sent as a visitor to preach and plant Churches in Galloway; and George Hay on a similar mission in Ayrshire. Returning through the latter district, Knox held a public disputation with the Abbot of Crossraguel, who had been induced to attempt the defence of Popery in that manner. About the same time, John Craig was appointed colleague to John Knox in Edinburgh, who was now beginning to sink beneath the intensity of the labours which he had so long endured.

Another meeting of the General Assembly took place in December the same year, in which it continued steadily to advance in the course of reformation, and of what might be not inaptly termed self-construction. As many of the former parish priests continued to reside in their parishes, and, without any formal abjuration of Popery, pretended to act as parish ministers, the Assembly, to remedy this evil, pro-

* Booke of the Universall Kirk, p. 10.

hibited from serving in the ministry all who had not satisfied the Church of their soundness in the faith, and had not been examined and approved by the superintendent; and it was added, "This act to have strength as well against them that are *called bishops* as others." The same Assembly erected provincial synods, to meet regularly twice a-year, with power to translate as well as to appoint ministers. A commission was also nominated to treat with the Lords of the Privy Council, for the purpose of coming to an understanding as to the jurisdiction of the Church; manifestly with the view of averting the danger of any collision arising between two co-ordinate jurisdictions, the separate provinces of which had not been defined and settled by mutual agreement.* So early did the Church of Scotland anticipate that danger, continuing meanwhile to explicate and exercise the jurisdiction which belonged to its sacred character and inherent powers.

[1563.]—In the spring of the year 1563, an event occurred which had nearly hastened a direct conflict between the Popish and the Reformed parties earlier than the temporizing policy of the queen would have wished. The knowledge of her favour, and the perceived disagreement between the Protestant lords and the ministers, gave such encouragement to the Popish party, that many of them openly celebrated mass at Easter. It will be recollected that this had been prohibited by the Parliament of 1560, on pain of very severe penalties, amounting even to death for the third offence. The Protestants, highly incensed at this open violation of the law, resolved to enforce it themselves, without further application to the queen, and even in disregard of her threatened displeasure. The queen at first endeavoured to induce Knox himself to mitigate the zeal of the western gentlemen; but, foiled in this attempt by his firmness, she promised to cause summon the offenders, and see justice done. Knox seems almost to have believed her for once serious. He gave a favourable report of her intentions, and this tended to allay the jealousy and indignation of the public mind.

* *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, pp. 12, 13.

Mary seemed now on the point of realizing the fruits of her deep and crafty policy. And in order the more completely to lull the Protestants into security, she, on the 19th of May, caused the Archbishop of St Andrews, and a number of the principal Papists, to be arraigned before the Lord Justice-General, for transgressing the laws; and they, aware probably of her politic design, having come in her majesty's will, were committed to ward. The Protestants in general were highly delighted with this instance of justice and seemingly impartial administration of the laws by the queen, and began to entertain sanguine expectations that she would now ratify the Reformed religion, and perhaps conform to it herself. Following up her scheme, she convoked a Parliament, which met on the 21st of May. When Knox urged the Protestant lords to procure from the queen in this Parliament the complete ratification of the Reformed Church, they declined, referring to the present more favourable conduct of the queen, and the inexpediency of urging such matters so rapidly forward as to incur the hazard of giving her offence, and thereby renewing her former hostility. The altercation between Knox and the Earl of Murray on this subject became so hot, that it caused a total suspension of all friendly intercourse between them, which lasted for nearly two years, greatly to the injury of the Protestant cause. So far had the crafty policy of the queen prevailed with the nobility, that instead of demanding the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and the establishment of the Protestant Church, they consented to receive an act of oblivion, securing indemnity to those who had been engaged in the late civil war. The very mode of its enactment virtually implied the invalidity of the treaty in which it had been embodied; for the Protestant lords, on their bended knees, supplicated as a boon from their sovereign what they had formerly won with their swords, and repeatedly demanded as their right.

John Knox publicly and severely reprehended the conduct of the Protestant lords; and, adverting to the report of the queen's marriage, which was then prevalent, predicted the consequences which would ensue, if ever the nobility con-

sented that their sovereign should marry a Papist. For this boldness, he was summoned to appear before the queen in Council, and a very sharp altercation ensued between them, in which Knox defended himself with unshaken firmness, alike unmoved by her threatenings or her tears. She was persuaded, however, by the Lords of the Council to abandon the idea of a prosecution. "And so," says Knox, "that storm quieted in appearance, but never in the heart."

The storm in the heart had soon another opportunity of bursting forth. During the residence of the queen at Stirling, in the month of August, the domestics whom she had left behind her in Holyrood House, celebrated the Popish worship with greater publicity than had been usual, even when she was present. This gave great offence to the inhabitants of Edinburgh; and a slight popular tumult, not attended with injury, or even danger, to any one ensued. Reports, extremely exaggerated, were carried to the queen, who declared her determination not to return to Edinburgh until this riot was punished, and commanded two of the Protestants to be indicted to stand trial for the offence said to be committed. Dreading an intention to proceed to extremities against these men, and that their condemnation would be a preparative to some hostile attempt against their religion, the Protestants in Edinburgh resolved that Knox, agreeably to a commission which he had received from the Church, should write a circular letter to the principal gentlemen of the Reformed faith, informing them of the circumstances, and requesting their presence on the day of trial. It will be recollected that a similar course of procedure had been repeatedly adopted by the Reformers in their previous contests with the queen-regent, so that it was completely accordant with the usage of the Church and nation. He wrote the letter, according to their request; but a copy of it falling into the hands of Sinclair, bishop of Ross, and president of the Court of Session, was by him transmitted to the queen at Stirling. She communicated it to her Privy Council, who, to her great satisfaction, pronounced it treasonable. This was what the queen had long wished; and she accordingly gave orders that an extraordinary meeting of council—

lors, assisted by other noblemen, should be held at Edinburgh, to try the cause; and the Reformer was summoned to appear before this convention.

Previous to the day of trial, great influence was used in private to persuade him to acknowledge that he had committed a fault, and to throw himself on the queen's mercy. This, neither the entreaties of friends nor the threats of enemies could prevail upon him to do. On the day of trial, the public mind was excited to an intense degree of anxiety. The cause of the Reformation appeared to depend on the issue; and both parties regarded it with the most tremulous and eager interest. Secretary Lethington took the disreputable office of accuser; but was repeatedly and unbecomingly interrupted by the queen herself, when she thought he was not prosecuting the matter with sufficient point and force. Knox defended himself with such skill and ability as to refute every accusation brought against him. The main charge was that of illegally convoking the queen's lieges, and charging herself with cruelty. This charge he met and answered, so as completely to baffle both the sophistry of Lethington and the angry vehemence of the queen. At length he was ordered to retire for that night; and the judgment of the Council was taken respecting his conduct.

All of them, with the exception of the immediate dependents of the Court, gave it as their opinion that he had not been guilty of any breach of the laws. The secretary, who had assured the queen of his condemnation, was enraged at this decision. He brought her majesty, who had previously retired, again into the room, and proceeded to call the votes a second time. This attempt to overawe them incensed the nobility. "What!" said they, "shall the Laird of Lethington have power to control us! or shall the presence of a woman cause us to offend God, and to condemn an innocent man, against our consciences?" They then repeated the vote which they had already given, absolving Knox from all offence, and, at the same time, praising his modest appearance, and the judicious manner in which he had conducted his defence. *

The effects of this trial were various and extensive. The

* Knox, pp. 338-343; M'Crie's Life of Knox, pp. 264-269.

Protestant part of the community were justly indignant at the attempt made upon Knox, and alarmed with the proof thereby given of the queen's determined hostility. On the other hand, the queen could not control her indignation at the Reformer's escape; and the effects of her resentment fell upon those who had voted for his exculpation, or failed to procure his conviction. The Earl of Murray lost her confidence; and even Lethington sunk in her favour. They attempted to induce Knox to soothe her by a voluntary submission; but to this he would not consent. They next attempted to weaken his influence among his brethren of the ministry, representing to them, that Knox exercised a despotic and Popish authority in the Church, inconsistent with their freedom and equality.

These secret machinations were met by Knox with his usual open and manly intrepidity of character. At the meeting of the General Assembly in December of the same year, he refused to take part in the public deliberations of the Church, till an inquiry should be made into his conduct in writing the late circular letter, and it should be declared whether he had gone beyond the commission with which he had been intrusted. The Court party endeavoured to prevent the discussion of this question; but it was taken up, and the Assembly decided, by a great majority, that he had been charged with such a commission, and that in the advertisement which he had lately given, he had not exceeded his powers.

In the preceding Assembly, held in June, one of the most important principles of our existing system of Church government was established. It was "statute and ordained," that any person thinking himself aggrieved by the sentence of the Kirk-session, should have liberty to appeal to the Synod, and, if necessary, from the Synod to the General Assembly, "from which it shall not be lawful to the said party to appeal." There were also various other regulations framed for the perfecting of the judicatorial powers and arrangements of the Church.

It has been already stated that in the December meeting of Assembly, John Knox was vindicated from the accusation

of having convoked the Protestant ministers and elders on his own authority alone. By the same Assembly, John Willock was appointed moderator, or president, "to prevent confusion in reasoning." He was the first moderator of the Church of Scotland. This Assembly also passed an act expressing their consent, "that for their own parts, tenants and occupiers of the ground should have their own tiends or tithes upon composition;"—a most important arrangement for setting free agricultural industry, preventing harsh and vexatious exactions, and removing one great cause of strife between the Church and the people. This act is another clear proof of the wise and enlightened views of the Scottish Reformers, who were in almost every respect very far in advance of their age. It may be mentioned, also, that non-residence was prohibited, and one minister suspended, by this Assembly.

[1564.]—The year 1564 was not signalized by any events of peculiar importance; but the hostility between the Protestant ministers and the courtiers continued unabated. In the month of June, a conference was held between the principal statesmen and the ministers of the Church, respecting the liberty demanded and exercised by the latter, of animadverting freely in the pulpit on every topic which concerned the purity of public morals and the welfare of religion. In an elaborate debate with Lethington, Knox defended the leading points of his conduct and doctrine on this subject, which had given offence to the Court. "This debate," says Principal Robertson, "admirably displays the talents and character of both the disputants; the acuteness of the former, embellished with learning, but prone to subtlety; the vigorous understanding of the latter, delighting in bold sentiments, and superior to all fear."* The reader who wishes to peruse a full statement of this debate, may turn to Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, or to the account of it given in Dr M'Crie's Life of the Reformer.†

An Assembly was held in June, in which a committee was

* Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii., p. 109.

† Knox's Hist. pp. 348-366; M'Crie, pp. 273-283.

appointed "to reason and confer anent the causes of the whole Kirk and jurisdiction thereof," and to report to next Assembly. Permission to go to foreign parts was refused to a minister applying for it, and he was "ordained" not to leave his congregation. The sentence of suspension was taken off from another, and he was restored to his ministry. Another minister was deposed for contumacy. Thus did the Church proceed, completing its arrangements, asserting its authority, and carrying its decrees into actual execution, irrespective of the frowns or smiles of Parliaments and Courts.

The Assembly met again in December the same year, and directed seven articles respecting the prohibition of the mass, the provision of the ministry, the reparation of kirks, &c., to be presented to the Privy Council and the queen, requiring an answer to each of the particulars. The rest of its time was occupied with matters of discipline.

[1565.]—The year 1565 began with events at first apparently of little moment, yet containing the germs of what proved to be the cause of great individual and national calamity. Towards the close of the preceding year, Matthew Stewart, earl of Lennox, after an exile of twenty years, obtained permission to return to Scotland, and was soon afterwards followed by his son Henry Stewart, lord Darnley. It will be remembered by those who are acquainted with Scottish history, that Lennox, besides being himself of royal extraction, had received from Henry VIII., in marriage, his own niece, the Lady Margaret Douglas, uterine sister of James V. of Scotland.

Darnley was thus the nearest heir to both the English and Scottish crowns, failing any direct heirs from the two reigning queens, Elizabeth and Mary. There was, therefore, at least a political convenience in an union between him and Mary, as likely to preclude any competition for the crown of either country.

It does not appear, however, that Mary was swayed by such considerations, but by the sudden and strong passion which she conceived for the young nobleman himself, almost at the first interview between them. Some of the deeper

politicians had, it appears, anticipated as much; and, in particular, Lethington had exerted himself to procure permission from Elizabeth for the return of Lennox and Darnley to Scotland; aware, as he himself declared, that he was thereby likely to incur the direct hostility of the powerful house of Hamilton, whose hopes of succession to the Scottish throne would be thwarted. The Protestant lords, those of them at least whom Court influence had not succeeded in corrupting, were from the first dissatisfied with the queen's regard to Darnley, and opposed to her marriage. Darnley had not, indeed, exhibited any peculiar regard for any religion; but so far as he had indicated his predilections, he appeared to be inclined to Popery. Every endeavour was made by the queen to procure the consent of the nobility to her marriage with Darnley. She even promised to grant the royal sanction to the legal establishment of the Protestant religion, which had been hitherto evaded, as soon as a Parliament could be conveniently assembled. On this condition she procured the consent of the greater part of the nobles; but the Earl of Murray continued to refuse, nor could either the entreaties or the threatenings of the queen move him to consent to a measure which his better judgment strongly condemned.

The queen, finding herself thus opposed, resolved upon the ruin of Murray. For this purpose she recalled his personal enemy, the notorious Bothwell, to Court, and restored the Huntly family to their forfeited estates and titles. Having thus strengthened her party, Mary hastened her marriage with such precipitation as to anticipate any opposition; and on the 19th of July 1565, the nuptials were solemnized, and Darnley proclaimed king, without the consent of the Estates of the Kingdom. As Murray had refused his consent to the marriage, Darnley was determined to revenge this opposition, and during his brief period of influence over the queen, prevailed on her to summon the earl to Court. Aware of his danger, Murray refused to come, and was immediately proclaimed an outlaw. He prepared to defend himself; and was joined by the Hamiltons, the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes, Lords

Boyd and Ochiltree, and several inferior barons. The queen allowed them no time to consolidate their strength; but hastily levying an army, advanced against them, herself leading on her troops with masculine spirit and energy, and pursuing them from place to place till they took refuge in England.

While these events were in progress, the General Assembly met in Edinburgh on the 25th of June. This was before the queen's marriage, and while she was busied in those artifices by which she hoped to accomplish her purpose. Desirous to secure support from any quarter so long as difficulties were apprehended, she had for a time endeavoured to conciliate the Protestant ministers, and had appointed a conference at Perth, in addition to her promises to call a Parliament and ratify the establishment of the Reformed Church. Trusting a little to these favourable appearances, the Assembly drew up six articles for her majesty's consideration, desiring her to ratify and approve them in the Parliament about to be held. These articles were of the same general tenor as those which had been repeatedly presented before; though they were perhaps somewhat more fully stated, in expectation, probably, of a ratification, which would require minute and specific detail in legal form. The queen, who had no intention of calling a Parliament, evaded an immediate answer, and continued to encourage their expectations till after her marriage to Darnley. This took place, it will be remembered, on the 19th of July. At length, on the 21st of August, an answer was returned, sufficiently unfavourable. To put an end to all their hopes of her own conversion, she plainly declared, that "her majesty neither will nor may leave the religion wherein she has been nourished and brought up." Her answer to the second article must be stated more fully, as it has frequently been strangely misrepresented and misconstrued in subsequent times, and especially of late.

The article itself was to the following effect: "That provision be made for the sustentation of the ministers, as well for the time present as for the time to come; that such persons as are presented to the ministry may have their

livings assigned to them; that vacant benefices may be dispensed to qualified and learned persons, able to preach God's Word; that no bishopric, abbacy, &c., having many tithes annexed thereunto, may be disposed to any one man."

To this the queen answered as follows: "That her majesty thinks it noway reasonable that she should defraud herself of so great a part of the patrimony of her crown, as to put the patronages of benefices forth of her own hands; for her own necessities in bearing of her great and common charges will require the detention of a good part in her own hands."

When the Assembly met in December the same year, the queen's answers were taken into consideration, and the replies of the Assembly ordered to be again transmitted to her majesty. The reply to the second article was as follows: "It is not our meaning that her majesty, or any other patron within this realm, should be defrauded of their just patronages. But we mean, whensoever her majesty, or any other patron, does present any person to a benefice, that the person presented should be tried and examined by the judgment of learned men of the Kirk, such as are presently the superintendents appointed thereto; and as the presentation of benefices pertains to the patron, so ought the collation thereof, by law and reason, appertain to the Kirk: of the which collation the Kirk should not be defrauded, more than the patrons of their presentation; for otherwise it shall be lessum [lawful] to the patrons absolutely present whomsoever they please, without trial or examination: What, then, shall abide in the Kirk of God but anarchy without all order? As to the second point, concerning the retention of a good part of the benefice in her majesty's own hands, this point abhors so far from good science, as well of God's law as from the public order of common laws. Howsoever the retention of patronages of benefices may appertain to herself, the retention thereof in her own hands undisposed to qualified persons, is both unlawful, and also contrary to all public order, and brings all confusion to the poor souls of the common people, and these means should be instructed of their salvation.*

* Booke of the Universall Kirk, pp. 34-37.

It must, we think, be evident to every unprejudiced and intelligent person, that the queen's answer contained a sophism of that kind which consists in evasively substituting one thing for another, confounding the distinction between them, and reasoning from the substituted topic, as if it were the real one. The article of the petition requested that provision be made for the sustentation of the ministers. The queen makes the topic of patronage the chief point of her answer, yet so as to exhibit her intention to avail herself of the patronage for the purpose of retaining the benefice. It will be remembered that there were only about two hundred strictly lay patronages at the time of the Reformation. With these, viewing them as dependent upon and guarded by civil enactments, the Church did not take it upon herself, of her own authority, to interfere, however much disposed to condemn them, as contrary to the principles and rules of Scripture. This was well known to the person by whom the queen's answer was framed—probably Lethington; and for this reason they were put prominently forward in the answer. But in the reply of the Church the two topics are separated—the lay patronages left as they were, and the unprincipled and injurious retention of the fruits of the benefice pointed out and condemned. The iniquitous nature of the claim might be placed in a still stronger light, when it is remembered that two-thirds of the patrimony of the Church had already been either allowed to the rejected clergy, or seized upon by the rapacious nobility; and now the queen, under pretence of her right to certain patronages, unblushingly proposed to retain the fruits of the benefices in her own hands. Those who think to defend patronage by referring to such a transaction, must be either unacquainted with its true nature themselves, or must calculate largely on the ignorance of the public.

In the same Assembly the following question was proposed: "What order ought to be used against such as oppress children?" The Assembly's answer was: "As concerning punishment, the civil magistrate ought therein to decern. As touching the slander, the offenders ought to be secluded from participation in the sacraments till they have satisfied

the Kirk, as they shall be commanded." In this clear answer the respective provinces of the civil and the ecclesiastical judicatories are distinctly specified.

[1566.]—The year 1566 was pregnant with events of a dark and disastrous character. A decree had been passed by the Council of Trent for the extirpation of the Protestant name; and the Popish princes had combined for carrying it into execution. In the beginning of February, a messenger arrived from the Cardinal of Lorraine, Mary's uncle, with a copy of that infamous combination, known in history as the League of Bayonne, and Mary did not hesitate to set her name to the bloody bond. She seems to have considered herself now possessed of sufficient power to proceed to those extremities which, there is too much reason to believe, she had always contemplated. Darnley had professed himself a convert to Popery, and several of the noblemen had followed his example. Murray and the chief of the Protestant lords were in exile; and to render their return impossible, Mary summoned them to appear before a Parliament which was appointed to meet on the 12th of March. The Lords of the Articles were chosen according to the queen's pleasure; the Popish ecclesiastics were restored to their place in Parliament; and the altars to be erected in St Giles' Church, for the celebration of the Romish worship, were already prepared.

But the hand of Providence arrested these guilty machinations. Many of the Protestant lords, who had hitherto supported the queen's measures against their former confederates, began to take alarm, some from disappointed ambition, and some from better feelings and worthier motives. The League of Bayonne, and the queen's accession to it, was not unknown to them; and they could not hope long to escape the fate to which all adherents of the Protestant religion were thereby destined, if they did not anticipate the danger. They knew, also, that Rizzio, the queen's private secretary, an Italian by birth, was in the confidence of the Continental princes, and the secret manager of their dark intrigues. This person had been for some time treated with an undue degree of confidential regard by the queen, and

and authority derived from its Divine Head and King, merely ratified and confirmed, so as to place it in a state of safety from the open assaults and persecutions of any human power. It has been thought necessary to be somewhat minute in tracing the rise of the Church of Scotland, and the manner in which it exercised its ecclesiastical powers previous to its recognition by Parliament, for the purpose of showing that those powers are wholly and purely self-originated, and not one of them created and conferred by statute law. While still struggling against direct persecution, or the secret stratagems of insidious foes, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland rose into personal and active being; put forth supreme legislative powers in regard to the constitution and government of the Church; sanctioned the office of elder on the authority of the Sacred Scriptures; gave existence and powers to kirk-sessions; appointed the important though temporary office of superintendents and visitors; erected provincial synods; and inflicted on offenders of all ranks, according to their offences and its distinctive judgments, the disciplinary and executive sentences of suspension, deposition, and excommunication. And yet it has been asserted that the Church of Scotland was the "creature of the State!"—the creature of a hostile power, which would have crushed it in its infancy, had that been possible!—and that the Church of Scotland lost her inherent powers by means of the very enactments which gratefully recognised and sanctioned them! Such assertions mere lawyers may utter and pretend to believe; but the common sense and right feelings of mankind in general, will ever reject them with indignant scorn; and the true Christian will do as did his venerated ancestors, reject and resist them with uncompromising firmness and unyielding fortitude, while he pities and prays for his blind and self-willed antagonists.

The limits to which we purpose restricting ourselves in this work, will not permit us to enter into details of a very minute character; but one or two statements may be made calculated to interest the reader. It has been stated that the first General Assembly, in 1560, contained but *forty*

members, only *six* of whom were ministers; and that there were no more than *twelve* Protestant ministers at that time in Scotland. When the Assembly met on the 20th of December 1567, exactly seven years afterwards, the Church of Scotland could number two hundred and fifty-two ministers, four hundred and sixty-seven readers, and one hundred and fifty-four exhorters. How mighty the increase in so short a period! And yet these seven years had been spent in an incessant struggle against a hostile Government, bent on the destruction of the Church by every artifice that craft and malice could suggest. And while the Church was thus waxing stronger and stronger in spite of all opposition, its internal progress in improvement of doctrine and discipline was not less rapid, steady, and decided, than its manifest external increase. Offenders of every kind and degree were compelled to yield obedience to its sacred authority; noblemen and ladies of the highest rank submitted to its disciplinary censures; lordly prelates were constrained to bow their unmitred heads before its rebuke. Over the refractory members of its own body—over one even of its early champions, Paul Methven—its power was extended in the impartial administration of even-handed spiritual justice; and even the stormy tumults of a fierce and turbulent populace, were often quelled and hushed into peace and silence at the utterance of its calm and grave command. Whence comes that invincible and all-controlling energy? How were these wondrous deeds achieved? May we not answer in the solemn words of the inspired prophet: “Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts?” That there must have been a marvellous amount of the divine influence accompanying all the exertions of the Church of Scotland, when the walls of her temple were thus built in troublous times, we cannot, and we do not doubt; for nothing else could have given to means so inadequate a triumph so complete. And let it be well marked and understood, that there is perhaps no clearer proof of the presence of the Spirit of God in the movements of a Church, than when that Church pursues unswervingly the course marked out by the principles of the Word of God, refusing to be turned

aside by all the motives which human prudence, apparent expediency, and worldly policy can suggest; and no surer evidence that she has begun to forsake God, and to be by him forsaken, than when she begins to mould her measures into conformity with the crooked and selfish schemes so natural to the guileful heart and darkened mind of fallen and sinful man.

[1568.]—Although the mind of the community was intensely occupied with the contentions which arose between the partisans of Mary and the adherents of the regent, the affairs of religion were not neglected. The Assembly held its usual meetings, and continued to watch over the religious welfare of the kingdom with undiminished vigilance. Proceeding with the completion of their ecclesiastical arrangements, they passed an act in July, regulating the constitution of Assemblies, and prescribing who the members were to be, and how they were to be elected. An act was passed also for the suppression of a book entitled the *Fall of the Roman Kirk*, in which the king was named as the “supreme head of the primitive Kirk.” By this it was emphatically proved that the Church of Scotland would own no earthly head. The Assembly renewed its applications to the civil powers for a better distribution of the patrimony of the Church, and a more adequate support to the ministers; but although Murray was personally disposed to grant the request, his political power was not sufficiently confirmed to enable him to act according to his own inclination. He returned answers couched in the most favourable terms; but there were too many of his own supporters among those who had seized upon the property of the Church, for him to venture to dispossess the spoliators of their ill-got gains. The utmost that he could accomplish was, to cause a more regular and faithful payment of the third part of the ancient Church revenues, and to prevent any new encroachments from being made upon them.

[1569.]—It is neither our province nor our inclination to trace civil affairs, or to intermingle more of them in this work than may be necessary for the right understanding of the affairs of the Church. The civil matters of chief im-

portance which occurred during this period, were those which arose out of the struggle between Murray and the partisans of Mary, headed by the Hamilton family. Lethington joined the queen's party, and became the very soul of all their measures. Not only did he plan and conduct the intrigues with the Duke of Norfolk, but he even contrived to seduce Kirkaldy of Grange from his long friendship with Murray. The firm, prudent, and vigorous conduct of the regent enabled him for a time to make head against all open adversaries; and he steadily refused to protect himself from the danger of assassination by cutting off such persons as were strongly suspected of plotting against his life. The noble magnanimity of his nature would not permit him to resort to such a method for preserving a life more valuable to his country than it seemed to be to himself. In vain was he repeatedly warned to be on his guard. It seemed to be his maxim, that it was better to die than to live haunted by suspicious fears. And notwithstanding the almost incessant conflicts with the opposite faction in which he was engaged, he reformed abuses, maintained public order, and administered justice with steady and impartial hand, so as to earn from his grateful country the honourable appellation of **THE GOOD REGENT**.

No transactions of any peculiar importance took place in the meetings of the Assembly in this year. It may, however, be stated, that the Assembly renewed, in urgent terms, the expression of their earnest desire "that the jurisdiction of the Kirk may be separated from that which is civil." To this the Church was impelled by the conviction, that the drawing of a clear and definite line of distinction between the jurisdiction of the Church and that of the civil magistrate was essentially necessary for securing the purity of the Church and the peace of the community; and while the ecclesiastical courts were anxious to prevent encroachments upon their own sacred province, they were equally desirous to avoid the accusation, or even the suspicion, of being disposed to interfere with matters purely secular. The often-repeated and earnest request of the Church to have the boundaries between the civil and the ecclesiastical jurisdic-

tions distinctly marked out, ought to vindicate her from the charge of grasping at powers not naturally within her sphere.

[1570.]—The year 1570 was ushered in by an event pregnant with disaster to the kingdom and the Church of Scotland. The Regent Murray had hitherto baffled every attempt to overthrow his power by direct hostility; and, as invariably happens, the failure of every successive attempt to shake his influence, served but to give it additional firmness and solidity. Despairing of success by open force, his enemies became the more resolved to employ the hand of the private assassin. A fitting instrument was soon found for the perpetration of the bloody crime. Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, a nephew of the Archbishop of St Andrews, whose life Murray had spared after the battle of Langside, undertook the murder of the man who had restored him to life and liberty. With cool, deliberate determination, he followed the regent from place to place, till he found an opportunity as Murray was passing slowly through a narrow and crowded street in Linlithgow; and, taking his stand at the window of a room carefully prepared for concealment, shot his victim through the body with a musket-ball, on the 2d day of January 1570. The murderer fled to Hamilton, where he was received with great applause by the base instigator of his crime.* The wound proved mortal in the course of a few hours; but it deserves to be recorded, that while the friends of the dying regent, standing around his bed, were lamenting that he had spared the life of his murderer, he replied, that nothing should ever make him regret having done a deed of mercy.

So died the good Regent Murray, a man of great natural ability, thoroughly tried in many an adverse scene, of unimpeachable integrity, a skilful warrior, a wise statesman, an upright judge, and an impartial ruler. The chief aspect of his private character, was that frank and open manliness which suspects no evil, because it entertains none; and a deep and earnest personal piety imparted a sacred grace to all the virtues which adorned him as a man and a Christian.

* Spotswood, p. 233; Calderwood, vol. ii., p. 510, *et seq.*; Bannatyne's Journal, p. 4; Buchanan.

During the short period of his regency, he gave to the world one of the brightest examples ever yet recorded in its annals, of that rare and truly glorious character, a CHRISTIAN STATESMAN.*

The death of the Regent Murray was not only lamented by the Church, to which he had been a protector, if not a benefactor, but was soon regretted by all parties as a national calamity. Several months elapsed before a successor in the regency could be appointed, in consequence of the nearly-balanced power of the contending parties. At length the choice fell upon the Earl of Lennox, not so much on account of his personal fitness for the arduous duties of that high station, as because of his relationship to the young king, whose grandfather he was. It soon appeared that Lennox was deficient in the abilities necessary for swaying the government of a nation so rent by faction as Scotland at that time was; one party supporting the young king and the regency—the other contending for the restoration of the queen. The whole kingdom was devastated by fierce and relentless civil wars; the two contending parties being so equally matched, that neither could acquire a decided superiority over its antagonist. The Church lent its influence to the support of the king's party and the regency, but was unable to mitigate to any extent the fury of the civil broils by which the kingdom was distracted.

Little of importance was transacted in the meetings of assembly in this year, the distressed state of the country engrossing the attention of all classes. It may, however, be noticed, that the hostility of the queen's faction was so great against Knox, that his own congregation prevailed on him to leave Edinburgh, the castle being in the possession of his enemies, and to retire to St Andrews. While residing in the latter town, he was engaged in some controversy with Robert and Archibald Hamilton, partly in vindicating his own character from calumnious aspersions, partly in defending the liberty of the pulpit from the attempt of one of the professors to subject it to the judgment of the university.

* For a strikingly accurate and able view of the character of Murray, see *McGie's Life of Knox*, pp. 307–309.

[1571.]—In the Assembly which met in March 1571, there were six articles stated respecting the jurisdiction of the Church, to be proposed to the regent and the Privy Council, for their approbation. The chief of these were—that the Church have the judgment of true and false doctrine—of election, examination, and admission to the ministry—and of all matters concerning the discipline of the Church—with the power to enforce its own decisions by admonition, deposition, and excommunication. It ought to be observed, that the Church did not ask the civil power to grant her jurisdiction in these matters, for she had exercised it in them all previous to her recognition in 1567; but merely that she should meet no obstruction in the exercise of her own inherent and essential powers.

But a storm was at hand, by which the Church of Scotland was to be severely tried. Reference has been repeatedly made to the avaricious conduct of the nobility, in seizing upon the revenues of the Church, and keeping the ministers in poverty. It will be remembered, also, that the Popish prelates had been allowed to retain two-thirds of the revenues of the larger benefices during their lifetime, although they were no longer recognised as any part of the National Church. Several of these larger benefices had begun to become vacant by the death or the forfeiture of the incumbents, and it was necessary to determine in what manner they were to be disposed of. Had the uniform request of the Church been attended to, this would not have been a matter of any difficulty: she had always required that they should be divided, and applied to the support of the religious and literary establishments. Willingly would the nobility have seized these large benefices as they became vacant, and appropriated them to themselves without scruple, could they have done so without a violation of all law and reason too glaring for even these unscrupulous men. To have secularized them at once was a measure for which they were not prepared; and, indeed, they must have been well aware, that to do so would only be to throw another element of strife into the seething whirlpool of contention with which the country was agitated. The Earl of Morton found means to evade this

difficulty. Upon the death of Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews, Morton obtained a grant empowering him to dispose of the archbishopric and its revenues. As it was unseemly for him to hold a benefice which the law declared to be ecclesiastical, while his avarice stimulated him not to let the golden prize elude his grasp, he devised the scheme of appointing to the archbishopric a minister with whom he had entered into a previous arrangement, that while his nominee held the title, he should enjoy the principal part of the revenues. In pursuance of this scheme, Morton nominated John Douglas, rector of the University of St Andrews, to the archbishopric. This nefarious transaction set the example to the nobility, who, perceiving how it might be imitated for their own private and selfish ends, supported Morton, and prepared to render it systematic and universal.

The danger to the interests of religion certain to arise out of this selfish and corrupt scheme, did not escape the penetrating eye of Knox, by whom, indeed, it had been previously suspected. He was at that time at St Andrews, too weak in bodily health to be able to attend a meeting of Assembly, which was to be held at Stirling in August 1571, in consequence of the dangerous state of Edinburgh, the castle being still in possession of the queen's party. In a letter to this Assembly, he warned them of the nature of the struggle in which they were about to engage, the certainty that it would be severe and protracted, and the necessity of courage, perseverance, and the most strenuous exertions in so good a cause.* The Assembly gave in their remonstrances to a Parliament which met in Stirling in the end of August, especially protesting against Douglas taking a seat in Parliament and voting, on pain of excommunication. Morton, on the other hand, whose influence was paramount in Parliament, commanded him to vote as archbishop of St Andrews, on pain of treason.† The commissioners of the Church presented also the articles respecting the jurisdiction of the Church, which had been previously agreed upon by the Assembly.

* Booke of the Universall Kirk, p. 128.

† Calderwood, vol. iii., p. 138; Bannatyne's Memorials, p. 183.

While the Parliament was sitting at Stirling, a bold attempt was made by the queen's party to end the war by one blow. A considerable body of men marched under night with great speed and secrecy to Stirling, entered the town before any alarm was given, assailed the houses in which the nobility were lodged, seized on them, and on the regent himself, and endeavoured to carry them off prisoners to Edinburgh. But their progress had been retarded by the vigorous defence made by the Earl of Morton, who beat back the assailants till the house was set on fire, and thereby gave time to the Earl of Mar to hasten from the castle to the rescue of the regent and the nobility. Finding themselves baffled in their attempt, the assailants fled; but the regent was killed by command of Lord Claude Hamilton, in revenge for the death of the Archbishop of St Andrews. This disastrous event took place on the 3d of September; and on the 5th the Earl of Mar was appointed regent. This change in the regency was productive of no advantage to the Church; for though Mar was not disposed to tyrannize himself, he had several years before laid hold of a large portion of Church property, which he was not inclined to relinquish, and he was, besides, very much under the influence of the Earl of Morton, whose feelings were decidedly hostile to the Church, as he had sufficiently indicated only a few days before, when he told the commissioners of the Church that "he would lay their pride, and put order to them."*

The Earl of Mar, however, was not disposed to press forward these innovations with so high a hand as Morton would have done. Morton procured from him letters prohibiting the collectors of tithes in St Andrews from raising the money, because they had refused to bestow the sums raised on his creature Douglas; but Erskine of Dun having written a very strong remonstrance to the regent against such proceedings, this direct aggression was recalled. In this letter Erskine manifests a very clear perception of the essential distinction between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. "There is," says he, "a spiritual jurisdiction and power, which God has given unto his Kirk, and to them that bear office therein;

* Calderwood, vol. iii., p. 138.

and there is a temporal jurisdiction and power given of God to kings and civil magistrates. Both the powers are of God, and most agreeing to the fortifying one of the other, if they be right used. But when the corruption of man enters in, confounding the offices, usurping to himself what he pleases, nothing regarding the good order appointed of God, then confusion follows in all estates. The Kirk of God should fortify all lawful power and authority that pertains to the civil magistrate, because it is the ordinance of God. But if he pass the bounds of his office, and enter within the sanctuary of the Lord, meddling with such things as appertain to the ministers of God's Kirk, then the servants of God should withstand his unjust enterprise, for so are they commanded of God."*

This clear and strong assertion of the distinction between the respective jurisdiction of the courts civil and spiritual is of double importance, both as showing the sentiments of such a man as John Erskine of Dun, whose chief failing was a tendency to yield disputed matters for the sake of peace; and also as proving beyond all question what were the views on that vital point of the Church of Scotland in the days of the first Reformers. It may be added, that in the same letter Erskine "laments from his very heart the great disorder used in Stirling at the last Parliament, in creating bishops, placing them, and giving them vote in Parliament as bishops, in despite of the Kirk, and high contempt of God, the Kirk opposing herself against that disorder:" so little favour did the idea of Protestant bishops find in the opinion of our Reforming ancestors. Even Dr Cook terms this measure "plainly subversive of ecclesiastical right;"† although that reverend and learned historian appears to regard the subversion of ecclesiastical right as consisting in this measure being "adopted without the concurrence of the Church, and even in express opposition to it;" whereas, he seems to insinuate, to have first corrupted the Church, and then changed its constitution, would have been no such subversion. The regent appears to have

* Bannatyne's Memorials, pp. 197-204; Calderwood, vol. iii., p. 158.

† Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. i., p. 169.

been of the same opinion; for he changed his measures so far as to recall the letters which had drawn forth Erskine's remonstrance; and wrote an explanatory letter, in which he complains that his intentions were misunderstood, and that "the fault of the whole stands in this, that the policy of the Kirk of Scotland is not perfect, nor any solid conference among godly men, that are well willed and of judgment, how the same may be helped."*

It would appear that the regent's influence had prevailed upon Erskine to yield further than his own principles would have sanctioned. A convention of ministers had been appointed to confer with the Privy Council, on the 6th of December. This was postponed, in consequence of Erskine's letter to the regent; but another was soon afterwards appointed to meet in Leith, for the same purpose.

[1572.]—On the 12th of January, 1572, the regent convened the superintendents and certain ministers at Leith, to consult on the best method of allaying the dissension which had arisen between the Court and the Church. This convention imprudently and wrongfully assumed to itself the powers of a General Assembly; and, advancing in its erroneous course, devolved the whole business on a few of its members, authorizing them to meet with such persons as should be appointed by the Privy Council, and agreeing to ratify whatever they might determine, agreeably to their instructions. A joint committee was accordingly formed of six of the Privy Council and six ministers, who proceeded with strange and reckless haste in the arrangement of matters of such great national importance.†

The convention of Leith agreed that, "in consideration of the present time," the titles of archbishops and bishops, and the bounds of dioceses, should remain as formerly, at least until the king's majority, or until the Parliament should

* Bannatyne's Mem., p. 206.

† The names of the persons forming this convention deserve to be recorded, not to their honour—The Earl of Morton, Lord Ruthven, Robert, abbot of Dunfermline, Sir John Bellenden, Mr James M'Gill, and Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, of Privy Council; John Erskine, John Winram, Andrew Hay, David Lindsay, Robert Pont, and John Craig, ministers. See Spotswood, p. 260; Calderwood, MSS., vol. ii., p. 310, &c.; printed Calderwood, p. 50-54; Wodrow edition, vol. iii., p. 170-171.

make a different arrangement; that such as were admitted to bishoprics should be of due age and scriptural qualifications; that they should be chosen by a chapter, or assembly of learned ministers; and that they should have no greater jurisdiction than was already possessed by superintendents, but should, like them, be subject to the General Assemblies of the Church in spiritual, as they were to the king in temporal, matters. The reader is requested to mark well this latter article, subjecting these prelates to the authority of the General Assembly. It was inserted, doubtless, for the purpose of inducing the Church to agree the more readily to this great innovation; but remaining unrepealed, it proved in after years the means by which the Church was enabled to overthrow Prelacy, and restore the original constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Arrangements of a similar nature were made with regard to abbacies, priories, &c.; so that while the holders of these large benefices were to be admitted to sit in Parliament, and to be members of the College of Justice, as such dignitaries had been before the Reformation, they were to be admitted, after due trial by the Church, and still to be amenable to her supreme court. This agreement was immediately confirmed by the regent and Council, who engaged to persuade the lay patrons of churches to conform to such of its regulations as concerned them.

By this strange heterogeneous compound of Popery, Prelacy, and Presbytery, the avaricious nobility imagined they had secured their long-cherished design of obtaining for themselves the real possession of the wealth of the Church, while it was nominally held by these mean sycophants: and although the true nature of the transaction was not suffered to appear in their records, the object was well enough understood by the country in general, as appears from the designation given to the new order of bishops. In allusion to a custom at that time prevalent in the Highlands, of placing a calf's skin stuffed with straw, called a *tulchan*, before cows, to induce them to give their milk, those who were placed in this new Prelatic order were called *tulchan bishops*. "The bishop," says Calderwood, "had the title, but my lord got the milk or commoditie."

Having thus obtained the apparent sanction of the Church to these guileful proceedings, the nobility, led by Morton, hastened to put them in execution. The archbishopric of St Andrews was conferred on John Douglas, as had been previously attempted; and he was publicly installed in his office, his ordination being performed by men who were not themselves bishops. The Earl of Morton had the effrontery to request John Knox to inaugurate Douglas; but he positively refused, and pronounced an anathema against both the giver and receiver of the bishopric; and when the Assembly met in St Andrews a few weeks afterwards, and the matters agreed upon by the convention of Leith came to be discussed, Knox opposed himself directly and zealously to the making of bishops.* Even Patrick Adamson at that time was a strenuous opponent of Prelacy; though, as James Melville shrewdly conjectures, his zeal may have been caused at his disappointment at not obtaining one of the new bishoprics. "There were," said Adamson, "three sorts of bishops; my Lord Bishop, my Lord's Bishop, and the Lord's Bishop. My Lord Bishop was in the Papistrie; my Lord's Bishop is now, when my Lord gets the benefice, and the bishop serves for nothing but to make his title sure; and the Lord's Bishop is the true minister of the Gospel."† It had been well for Adamson if he had always continued to maintain and act upon such sound and scriptural opinions.

At the Assembly which met at Perth, in August the same year, the convention of Leith came again under consideration, and a committee was appointed to examine the subject. The report of the committee disclaimed the intention of giving any countenance to Popish superstitions, by the titles recognised in the convention; and protested that the heads and articles thereat agreed on be received only as an *interim*, till further order may be obtained at the hands of the king's majesty, regent, and nobility; for which they will press as occasion shall serve.‡ To that Assembly John Knox sent

* Melville's Diary, p. 24; p. 31, Wodrow edition.

† Ibid., p. 25; p. 32, Wodrow edition; Calderwood, p. 55; Wodrow edition, vol. iii., p. 206.

‡ Booke of the Universall Kirk, p. 133.

a letter, in which he took a solemn farewell of them, and of all public affairs, commending the Church earnestly to the protection of God, and imploring the divine grace to strengthen them for the contest they had still to wage. In a message accompanying that letter he proposed several topics for their consideration, to be turned into acts of Assembly if approved of; and in these topics may be traced the deep and far-seeing prudence of the great Reformer. He did not advise a direct opposition to the articles of the convention of Leith, being probably but too well aware that those to whom the management of the affairs of the Church would now fall did not possess the courage and decision of mind requisite for such a struggle; but he recommended a measure which, if it had been adopted and enforced, would have defeated the mercenary views of both the nobility and their tulchan bishops. But though his advice was approved of, the courage and energy to carry it into execution were not found; and the articles of the ill-omened convention were allowed for a time to produce their baneful consequences, in the corruption of the Church, and the enjoyment of their pilage by the rapacious nobility.

The public national affairs of this year may be very briefly stated. The Earl of Mar, who had been elevated to the regency upon the death of Lennox, was, though not a little of an avaricious man, well disposed, and unwilling to excite strife, or to see it prolonged. But he was overruled by the Earl of Morton, and thereby brought into collision with the Church; and he was not able either to compel the queen's party to submit, or to procure a satisfactory termination of those dire hostilities by which the kingdom was devastated. Anxiety of mind is said to have contributed greatly to the bringing on of the disease of which he died on the 29th of October 1572. Soon after his death, the Earl of Morton succeeded to the regency, of which he had for some time wanted little but the name. On the very day in which Morton was appointed regent, the 24th of November, John Knox, the Scottish Reformer, rested from his long and arduous labours; and on the 26th, the newly-elected regent, accompanied by all the nobility at that time in Edinburgh,

and a great concourse of people, attended his funeral. When the body was lowered into its resting-place, the regent, himself one of the daring race of Douglas, gazing thoughtfully into the open grave, gave utterance to what, from his lips, was a most emphatic eulogium: "THERE LIES HE WHO NEVER FEARED THE FACE OF MAN."

The death of Knox at such a juncture was a serious calamity to the Church of Scotland. Morton knew well that he had now men of a different character to deal with—men who might be cajoled, and could be daunted. He proceeded, therefore, with the execution of his schemes more openly and forcibly, and also made more use of those intrigues in which he was such an adept, than he would have attempted to do, bold and designing as he was, if he had still had to encounter the piercing sagacity and dauntless courage of John Knox. In like manner, the Assembly felt the want of his clear judgment and intrepid spirit, in its councils. It reeled and staggered like a storm-tossed vessel, when the pilot's hand has ceased to guide the rudder. There still remained, indeed, a number of excellent men, sincerely attached to the principles upon which the Reformation had been established in Scotland, and not incapable, in more peaceful times, to have defended them; but they were comparatively paralyzed by their recent loss, by the new difficulties with which they had to contend, and by the combined subtlety and sternness of that bold bad man, the Regent Morton.

[1573.]—Morton, accordingly, advanced almost unchecked in his career. To this he was incited by an additional reason, which now began to influence his mind. He had entered into a close correspondence with Queen Elizabeth, and guided all his policy according to her maxims and example. And perceiving how skilfully she contrived to make her influence, as head of the Church of England, bend all the bishops into complete subserviency to her will, and, through them, to mould the mind of the nation, he was the more confirmed in his determination to change the entire constitution of the Church of Scotland, till it should become as Prelatic and as accommodating as that of England. This, he had sagacity enough to perceive, could be done only by

rendering it as corrupt and worldly as possible; which, again, could be best accomplished by placing sycophants and unprincipled men in those nominally influential positions which he had created and forced upon the Church. But, not content with his tulchan bishops, he endeavoured further to impoverish the Church, that he might thereby both enrich himself—a matter which he never neglected—and at the same time induce its poverty, if not its will, to consent to his pernicious measures. He contrived to draw into his own hands the thirds of benefices, offering more sure and ready payment to the ministers than had been made previously by their own collectors, and promising to make the stipend of each minister local, and payable in the parish where he laboured. But no sooner had he obtained the thirds into his own hands, than he joined two, three, or even four parishes together, appointing to them, by means of his obedient creatures the tulchan bishops, but one minister, who was obliged to preach in them by turns, Morton paying him as if he had but one charge, and retaining the remaining stipends for his own purposes.

Against this nefarious conduct the Church continued to remonstrate, but in vain. The utmost that the Assembly could do, was to attempt to control the proceedings of the bishops as much as was practicable, in virtue of the authority over such persons which, even by the convention of Leith, they continued to possess.

[1574.]—The struggle continued, with somewhat of increasing energy on the part of the Church, and with at least undiminished determination on that of the regent. The Assembly not only asserted its supremacy over bishops, but even exercised it with unexpected firmness, both by a strong remonstrance presented to the regent, and by directly censuring the Bishop of Dunkeld for his improper conduct; evincing clearly the determination of the Church of Scotland to maintain and exercise its jurisdiction. It may be stated, in passing, that the Assembly had proceeded to take both these steps before the influence of Andrew Melville could have even begun to be felt, as he did not arrive in Scotland till the beginning of July, and the Assembly by which the

Bishop of Dunkeld was censured met on the 7th of August, only a few weeks after Melville's arrival, and while he was still residing in privacy with his relations. . The noticing of such a matter will not seem too minute to those who are aware how much Episcopalians are in the habit of ascribing the decided Presbyterian form of Church government in Scotland to the personal influence of Andrew Melville, who had brought, say they, from Geneva the opinions of Calvin and Beza, and succeeded in infusing them into the Scottish ministers, who had previously been favourable to a modified Prelacy. This modified Prelacy, they pretend to find, partly in the superintendents appointed by John Knox, and partly in the tulchan bishops of the convention of Leith, whom they affect to regard as merely the natural, but somewhat more properly appointed and ordained, successors of the superintendents. Our readers are, we trust, in the possession of information sufficient to enable them to detect at once the fallacy of all such statements, and to come to the conclusion unhesitatingly, that the Reformed Church of Scotland was from the beginning, and always has been, so far as she has been enabled to exhibit and act upon her own principles, decidedly opposed to Prelacy, taking neither her creed, her form of government, nor her discipline, from any other Church, but from the Word of God alone, and in principle, aim, and endeavour, always essentially and determinedly Presbyterian.

Andrew Melville, as has been already stated, arrived in Scotland in the beginning of July 1574, after an absence of ten years from his native country. Though personally a stranger, his eminent character as a man of learning and talents, was well known to his countrymen. The Regent Morton, aware that such a man must soon acquire extensive influence over the public mind, attempted to secure him for an agent in the prosecution of his own designs. For this purpose he caused some of his own confidential friends to wait on Melville, and propose that he should act as domestic instructor to the regent, with a promise of advancement to a situation more suited to his merits on the first vacancy that might occur. Had Melville acceded to this

proposal, and fallen into the regent's schemes, he might have enabled that crafty statesman to rivet securely the fetters with which he was striving to bind the Church, instead of being mightily instrumental in wrenching them asunder. But though it does not appear that Melville was at that time at all aware of Morton's designs, his predilections led him to prefer an academical life to that of a courtier, and he therefore declined the proposal.

[1575.]—The Assembly which met in March 1575, went boldly forward in the Reforming process begun by its predecessor of the year before; and passed an act requiring the knowledge of Latin in every person appointed to a benefice; which act was intended to oppose the corrupt practice of many of the nobility, who were in the habit of appointing ignorant persons, servants, and even children, to benefices; such appointments being readily ratified by the corrupt and servile bishops, regarding it probably as the regular discharge of an essential part of their *tulchan* function. A small committee was also appointed to confer with the regent's commissioners respecting the policy and jurisdiction of the Church. As this subject had been very frequently made the topic of application, the Convention of Estates had come to the conclusion that some measure must be framed to put an end to the uncertainty which prevailed on such matters. Spotswood says, that the regent sent to the General Assembly to require of them whether they would stand to the policy agreed to at Leith; and if not, to desire them to settle upon some form of government at which they would abide.* The Assembly was not unwilling to follow up this suggestion. They not only appointed a committee to confer with the Parliamentary commissioners, but also selected such of their own body as were known to have most thoroughly studied the subject, directing them to prepare a complete outline of ecclesiastical policy and discipline, to be submitted to the Assembly for consideration, and, if approved of, for ratification. It deserves to be remarked, that the regent did not presume to appoint commissioners to draw up a Book of Discipline which the Church must receive; but re-

* Spotswood, p. 276.

quested them to frame, according to their own principles, some form of government by which they would abide. In this very instance there is the most distinct recognition of the inherent right of the Church to act freely upon its own principles, in the formation of its rules of government and discipline.

In the Assembly which met in August the same year, John Dury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, protested that the examination of the conduct of the bishops should not prejudice what he and other brethren had to object against the lawfulness of their name and office. This protest led to a discussion, in which Andrew Melville took a distinguished part, and the discussion brought on a formal reasoning on the question: "Have bishops, as they are now in Scotland, their function from the Word of God, or not? and ought the chapters appointed for electing them to be tolerated in a Reformed Church?" To these searching questions answers of a somewhat indefinite character were returned by those whom the Assembly had appointed to confer and report; but the very moving of such questions was a sufficiently significant indication of the opinions held by the Church of Scotland.

In the meantime, Morton, who was well aware of the prevalent feelings of the Church, and knew also that it was in vain to attempt direct compulsion, endeavoured to corrupt the most influential ministers, that he might by their means mould the Assembly to his mind. To gain Andrew Melville was his great object; and this he tried to do by offering to him the living of Govan, Melville being at that time Principal of Glasgow College. Not succeeding in this attempt, he tried a higher bribe, and offered Melville the archbishopric of St Andrews, upon the death of Douglas. But all bribes were equally ineffectual, and the crafty regent thought proper to conceal his displeasure.

[1576.]—The question respecting bishops, which had been raised in the preceding Assembly, received a tolerably distinct answer in that which met in April 1576. This answer was: "That the name of bishop is common to all who are appointed to take charge of a particular flock, in preaching

the Word, administering sacraments, and exercising discipline with the consent of their elders; and that this is their chief function according to the Word of God." And still proceeding with their important work, a large commission was appointed to prosecute the formation of a complete and systematic work on the policy and jurisdiction of the Church. Spotswood complains piteously that in these Assemblies, in which the office of a bishop, as then exercised by the tulchan, relates in Scotland, was called in question, not one of six bishops who were present spoke a single word in defence of their office. They may be forgiven: some abuses are so glaringly indefensible, that even those who could tolerate their existence cannot muster effrontery enough to defend them.

Although the regent had failed to bribe Melville to aid his nefarious attempts, he found others more accessible to his golden persuasives. Patrick Adamson, who, on the installation of Douglas, had expressed his condemnation of "my lord's bishop" so pointedly, had been gained over by Morton, and was by him presented to the archbishopric of Andrews. This was stated to the Assembly which met in October, and he was required to submit himself to trial before admission, agreeably to the act which had been passed to that effect. Adamson declined, on the ground that the regent had forbidden him to comply, "in respect the said act and ordinance of the Kirk is not accorded on." The Assembly prohibited the chapter from proceeding in the matter; but Morton commanded them to proceed, in disregard of the Assembly's prohibition, and gave him admission to the archbishopric.

[1577.]—The contest between Morton and the Church continued, the regent being unwilling to relinquish his favourite tulchan system, and the Church being equally determined to put an end to an abuse so manifest and pernicious. At the meeting of the Assembly in April 1577, Adamson was interdicted from the exercise of his Prelatic authority, until he should be regularly admitted by the Church; and a commission was appointed to summon him before them, investigate his case, and judicially determine it. A committee

was appointed to confer with the regent respecting the discipline and jurisdiction of the Church; and those who were engaged in preparing the systematic work on these points were required to proceed with their labours.

It was probably on this occasion that the regent, irritated at the steady opposition of the Church, and also at his failure to influence Melville by mercenary considerations, attempted to intimidate and overbear him. Morton complained that the Church and the kingdom were kept in a perpetual state of confusion and strife by certain persons, who sought to introduce their own private conceits and foreign laws on points of ecclesiastical government. Melville replied, that he and his brethren took the Scriptures, and not their own fancies, or the mode of any foreign Church, for the rule and standard of the discipline which they defended. Morton said, as Queen Mary had formerly done, that the General Assembly was a convocation of the king's subjects, and that it was treasonable for them to meet without his permission. To this Melville answered, that if it were so, then Christ and his apostles must have been guilty of treason, for they called together great multitudes, and taught and governed them, without asking the permission of magistrates. The regent, unable to refute the reasoning of Melville, and almost losing command of his temper, biting the head of his staff, growled, in that deep under-tone which marked his occasional fits of cold, black, ruthless anger: "There will never be quietness in this country till half-a-dozen of you be hanged or banished." "Tush, Sir," replied Melville, "threaten your courtiers after that manner. It is the same to me whether I rot in the air or in the ground. The earth is the Lord's. My country is wherever goodness is. *Patria est ubicunque est bene*. I have been ready to give my life where it would not have been half so well expended, at the pleasure of my God. I have lived out of your country ten years, as well as in it. Let God be glorified: it will not be in your power to hang or exile his truth."*

Morton felt himself for once outdared; but, however indignant, he did not venture to put his threats into execution.

* Melville's Diary, pp. 52, 53; Wodrow edition, p. 68.

seems to have been aware that to proceed to use force would be to insure the defeat of his intentions; and, therefore, he gave a comparatively favourable answer to the assembly respecting their labours in preparing a Book of Policy. But as his intentions were by no means altered, he endeavoured to turn the Assembly aside from its endeavours to perfect its own policy, by employing Adamson to frame a number of frivolous and captious questions, to which he wished answers to be given. He was also not a little embarrassed in political matters. His administration had been so severe, accompanied with so much of a base, avaricious spirit, that it had become intolerable to a large portion of the kingdom, including many of the most influential of the nobility. He felt his power on the wane, and would have been disposed to court the support of the Church, of which he gave some intelligible indications, had the crisis of his life not come on too rapidly to give time for a sufficient modification of his measures.

[1578.]—On the 6th of March 1578, Morton resigned his agency, and King James formally assumed the reins of government, although, being still only in his twelfth year, it was in reality little more than a nominal assumption, the real power passing from Morton, not into the hands of the king, but of a new Court favourite. When the Assembly met in April 1578, they proceeded to consider the system of ecclesiastical polity which their committee had been employed for some time in framing; and its articles having been read over one by one, the whole received, after mature deliberation, the sanction of the General Assembly. The system of ecclesiastical government and discipline thus deliberately prepared and formally sanctioned, is known by the name of the Second Book of Discipline; and from that time forward was, and continues still to be, the authorized standard of the Church of Scotland, in respect of government and discipline.

The same Assembly agreed that the bishops should, for the future, be addressed in the same style as other ministers; and in case of a vacancy occurring in any bishopric, they prohibited the chapters from proceeding to a new elec-

tion before next meeting of Assembly. Commissioners were also appointed to lay the Book of Discipline before the king and Council; and in case a conference were desired respecting it, commissioners were named for such conference. Thus did the Church advance in the maturing of her own principles and forms of government and discipline; and having completed what she thought requisite for regulating her own conduct in matters of a spiritual character, she sought that ratification of the system by the civil court which should protect her from the undue interference of any hostile power, and at the same time give civil effect to all such ecclesiastical decisions as naturally involved civil consequences.

The Assembly which met in the following June extended to all future time the act regarding the election of bishops, ordaining that no new bishops should be made thenceforward. It was also ordained, that the existing bishops should "submit themselves to the General Assembly concerning the reformation of the corruption of that estate of bishops in their own persons," under pain of being excommunicated, in the event of their obstinate refusal. The Bishop of Dunblane, who was present, immediately submitted, according to the act.

Soon after this Assembly closed its sittings, a conference took place between the commissioners of the Church and a commission appointed by the Parliament, at that time met in Stirling, where the king was then residing. Spotswood has preserved the results of this conference in the marginal remarks made upon a copy of the Book of Discipline which was laid before the commission of Parliament.* In these marginal comments the most important of the articles are marked as "agreed;" some, chiefly relating to Church government, are "referred to further reasoning;" and others are agreed to with some slight verbal explanations. Upon the whole, so far as this conference was concerned, the Church had reason to regard her essential principles and regulations as adopted and ratified by the State virtually, and waiting but a more full discussion, to be formally confirmed. By the same Parliament an act was passed closely

* Spotswood, pp. 289-302.

ling the acts of 1567, and ratifying and approving
s and statutes previously made, agreeably to God's
for the maintenance of the liberty of the "true Kirk
."

ther Assembly was held in October the same year,
to consider the result of the conference at Stirling,
rtly to proceed in the exercise of their own inherent
ity, stripping the prelates of their usurped and mis-
owers, and removing their corruptions.

9.]—Before the Assembly again met, and before the
nent had completely ratified the Book of Discipline,
it had seemed on the point of doing, the Earl of
1 regained his ascendancy, and once more swayed the
s of the nation, although no longer in his own name.
ourable sentiments of the king were soon changed;
the Church continued to exercise its authority over
chan bishops manufactured by Morton, the king was
ed upon to interfere with its jurisdiction, and to
by means of orders in Council, the execution of the
the Assembly, and its sentences of excommunication.
assembly which met in July 1579 received a letter
he king, in which he objected to the proceedings
the bishops. This letter did not, however, deter
sembly from both persevering in its course, and re-
ating against this interference with its inherent right
tual jurisdiction.

Parliament was held in October the same year, in
the attempted encroachments of the king were not
nanced; but, on the contrary, two of the acts of
ere expressly re-enacted, and inserted anew in the

Little, however, was done in this Parliament either
against the Church. The elements of political strife
trigue were too numerous and active to allow mere
ans to direct their attention to what they have
regarded as matters of comparatively slight import-
The Earl of Morton was no longer regent; but the
e of the veteran statesman was still so great, that
ung aspirants to political power felt that their own
ency could be securely founded only on his ruin. The

king had already shown his disposition to favouritism—that prevalent vice of weak and irresolute minds; and, as might have been expected, his favourites were those who could rule by flattering, not guide by instructing him. These favourites were Esme Stewart, his own cousin, whom he speedily raised to the dukedom of Lennox; and Captain James Stewart, second son of Lord Ochiltree, afterwards created Earl of Arran. The former had been brought up in France, and was, on his arrival in Scotland, an adherent of the Church of Rome; though not long afterwards he declared himself a convert to the Protestant faith. The latter was a bold, unprincipled licentious man, capable of any crime, and possessing considerable craft in devising, as well as daringness in executing, his ambitious designs. To such men, it may be easily supposed, the Church of Scotland was an object of dislike; and, so far as their influence extended, they, especially Arran, were its natural foes.

[1580.]—The Assembly, perceiving that their desire to have the corrupt form of pseudo-Prelacy abolished, and the Book of Discipline ratified, was continually evaded by the civil magistrate, whether regent or king, resolved to put forth their own inherent powers, both in removing abuses and in completing their own judicial and disciplinary arrangements. Accordingly, the Assembly which met in Dundee in July 1580, passed an act declaring that the office of a bishop, as it was then used and commonly understood, was destitute of warrant and authority from the Word of God, was of mere human invention, introduced by folly and corruption, and tended to the great injury of the Church; ordaining, further, that all such persons as were in possession of the said pretended office should be charged *simpliciter* to demit it, as an office whereunto they were not called by God; appointing the places and times at which they should appear before the provincial synods, and signify their submission to this act. This remarkable act was agreed to by “the whole Assembly with one voice, after liberty given to all men to reason in the matter, none opposing himself in defending the said pretended office.”* So great was the influ-

* Booke of the Universall Kirk, p. 194.

of the Assembly, that notwithstanding the reluctance of the "pretended bishops" to relinquish their usurped power and wealth, and the opposition of the nobility to the loss of their *tulchans*, and of the *milk* thereby extracted, the whole assumed order submitted, with the exception of five, the course of the year in which the act abolishing Episcopacy was passed.*

[1581.]—The year 1581 was an important one in the history of the Church of Scotland. The labours of the ablest men in the Church had been expended for several years in the preparation of a regular system of ecclesiastical polity. This had been at length matured, made the subject of conference with the Privy Council, their remarks considered, the book again laid before the king and council, with the earnest request that it might obtain the ratification of an act of Parliament. But finding their labours still thwarted and evaded, the Assembly resolved to temporize no longer; but as they had already justified their conduct generally in accordance with its principles, they determined now to erect it, by an act of Assembly, into the condition of their avowed and accredited standard of government and discipline. Several of its provisions had been already in operation. Even in 1579 the Assembly had proceeded so far towards the erection of presbyteries, that they had decreed that "the exercise [or weekly meeting of the ministers and elders of contiguous parishes] might be judged a presbytery."† The king, following, as usual, the course of the Church, sent to the Assembly, which met at Glasgow in April 1581, by his commissioner Cunningham Caprington, a request that the Assembly would proceed to the erection of presbyteries, for the purpose of "bringing the ecclesiastical discipline to be far better exercised and executed overall the realm than it had previously been." This request was readily complied with; and an act was passed, erecting at once thirteen presbyteries, and recommending the speedy extension of the system throughout the kingdom. By another act of the same Assembly, the Second Book of

* Calderwood MSS., vol. ii., p. 636; Woodrow edition, vol. iii., p. 470.

† Books of the Universall Kirk, p. 192.

Discipline was ordained to be registered in the Acts of the Church, and to remain therein *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, and copies thereof to be taken by every presbytery.* By the same Assembly another act was passed, ratifying what has often been termed Craig's Confession of Faith, because it was drawn up by John Craig. It is also known by the designation of THE FIRST NATIONAL COVENANT OF SCOTLAND, and forms the first part of every subsequent national covenant entered into by the Church and people of Scotland. The occasion of its being framed and subscribed at this time was the jealousy entertained by the nation of the Duke of Lennox and other nobles, who either openly avowed their adherence to the Church of Rome, or were suspected of attachment to the creed of that dreaded and detested perversion of Christianity. This covenant was subscribed by the king himself, his household, and the greater part of the nobility and gentry throughout the kingdom, and ratified by the Assembly, as has been stated above, and the signing of it zealously promoted by the ministers in every part of the country. The interim office of "readers" was suppressed by this Assembly, because there was now a sufficient number of ministers to supply the churches throughout the kingdom. In this it will be observed that the Church acted with regard to readers exactly as it had done with regard to the other interim offices of superintendents and visitors. They had been called into existence, as an extraordinary office, to meet the necessities of the time; and when these necessities ceased, the extraordinary offices naturally expired, leaving the ordinary and permanent to carry on the healthful functions of the matured Church.

As the Second Book of Discipline, being thus engrossed in the Acts of Assembly, must be regarded as the standard of the Church of Scotland in respect of government and discipline, it seems expedient to give a brief summary of its leading propositions, referring those who wish more minute information to the work itself.

It begins by stating the essential line of distinction between civil and ecclesiastical power. This it does by de-

* Booke of the Universall Kirk, p. 218.

declaring that Jesus Christ has appointed a government in His Church distinct from civil government, which is to be exercised by such office-bearers as He has authorized, and not by civil magistrates, or under their direction. Civil authority has for its direct and proper object the promoting of external peace and quietness among the subjects; ecclesiastical authority, the direction of men in matters of religion, and which pertain to conscience. The former enforces obedience by external means, the latter by spiritual means; yet, "as they be both of God, and tend to one end, if they be rightly used, to wit, to advance the glory of God, and to have good and godly subjects," they ought to co-operate within their respective spheres, and fortify each other. "As ministers are subject to the judgment and punishment of the magistrate in external matters, if they offend, so ought the magistrates to submit themselves to the discipline of the Church, if they transgress in matters of conscience and religion." The government of the Church consists in three things—doctrine, discipline, and distribution. Corresponding to this division, there are three kinds of Church officers—ministers, who are preachers as well as rulers; elders, who are merely rulers; and deacons, who act as distributors of alms and managers of the funds of the Church. The same *bishop* is of the same meaning as that of pastor or minister: it is not expressive of superiority or lordship; and the Scriptures do not allow of a pastor of pastors, or a pastor of many flocks. There should be *elders*, who do not labour in word and doctrine. The eldership is a spiritualunction, as is the ministry. These functionaries ought to assist the pastor in examining those who come to the Lord's table, and in visiting the sick; but their principal office is to hold assemblies with the pastors and doctors, who are also of their number, for establishing good order and execution of discipline. The office-bearers of the Church are to be admitted by election and ordination. None are to be intruded into any ecclesiastical office "contrary to the will of the congregation to which they are appointed." Ecclesiastical assemblies are either particular (consisting of the office-bearers of one congregation or of a number of neigh-

bouring congregations), provincial, national, or ecumenical and general. The presbytery, or eldership as it is called, has the inspection of a number of adjoining congregations in everything relating to religion and manners, and has the power of ordaining, suspending, and deposing ministers, and of exercising discipline within its bounds. The provincial synod possesses the power of all the presbyteries within a province. The General Assembly is composed of commissioners, ministers and elders, from the whole Churches in the realm, and takes cognizance of everything connected with the welfare of the National Church. Appeals for redress of grievances may be taken from every subordinate court to its next superior one, till they reach the General Assembly, whose decision in all matters ecclesiastical is final. All the ecclesiastical assemblies have lawful power to convene for transacting business, and to appoint the times and places of their meeting. The patrimony of the Church includes whatever has been appropriated to her use, whether by donations from individuals or by law and custom. To take any part of this by unlawful means, and apply it to the particular and profane use of individuals, is simony. It belongs to the *deacons* to receive the ecclesiastical goods, and to distribute them according to the appointment of presbyteries. The purposes to which they are to be applied are the four following: The support of ministers; the support of elders where that is necessary, and of a national system of education; the maintenance of the poor and of hospitals; and the reparation of places of worship, and other extraordinary charges of the Church or commonwealth. Among the remaining abuses which ought to be removed, the following are particularly specified: The titles of abbots, and others connected with monastic institutions, with the places which they held, as Churchmen, in the legislative and judicial courts; the usurped superiority of bishops, and their acting in Parliament and Council in the name of the Church, without her commission; the exercise of criminal jurisdiction and the pastoral office by the same individuals; the mixed jurisdiction of commissaries; the holding of pluralities; and patronages and presentations to benefices, whether

by the prince or any inferior person, which lead to intrusion, and are incompatible with "lawful election and the assent of the people over whom the person is placed, as the practice of the apostolical and primitive Kirk and good order, crave."

"Such is the outline of the Presbyterian plan of Church government, as delineated in the Second Book of Discipline. Its leading principles rest upon the express authority of the Word of God. Its subordinate arrangements are supported by the general rules of Scripture: they are simple, calculated to preserve order and promote edification, and adapted to the circumstances of the Church for which they were intended. It is equally opposed to arbitrary and lordly domination on the part of the clergy, and to popular confusion and misrule. It secures the liberty of the people in one of their most important privileges—the choosing of those who shall watch for their souls—without making them the final judges of the qualifications of those who shall be invested with this office. While it establishes an efficient discipline in every congregation, it also preserves that unity which ought to subsist among the different branches of the Church of Christ—secures attention to those numerous cases which are of common concern and general utility—and provides a remedy against particular acts of injustice and maladministration arising from local partialities and partial information, by the institution of larger assemblies acting as courts of appeal and review, in which the interests of all are equally presented, and each enjoys the benefit resulting from the collective wisdom of the whole body. It encourages a friendly co-operation between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities; but it, at the same time, avoids the confounding of their rights—prohibits Church courts from "meddling with any thing pertaining to the civil jurisdiction—establishes their dependence in all matters which belong to their own cognizance—and guards against what is the great bane of religion and curse of the Church, a priesthood which is merely an organized puppet of the State, and moves and acts only as it is directed by a political administration. It is a form of ecclesiastical polity whose practical utility has been proportioned to the purity in which its principles have been main-

tained. Accordingly, it has secured the cordial and lasting attachment of the people of Scotland: whenever it has been wrested from them by arbitrary violence, they have uniformly embraced the first favourable opportunity of demanding its restoration; and the principal secessions which have been made from the National Church in this part of the kingdom have been stated, not in the way of dissent from its constitution, as in England, but in opposition to departures, real or alleged, from its original and genuine principles.”*

To the above quoted just estimate of the merits of the Second Book of Discipline, it would be presumptuous and unnecessary to add a single sentence. And it would be well if those who declaim against the Church of Scotland would have the candour to make themselves acquainted with its standard of government and discipline, before they proceed to misrepresent, vilify, and condemn, what they neither know nor understand. It is a melancholy thought, but, we fear, too near the truth, that the opposition, and even bitter hatred, which the Church of Scotland has had to encounter in every age, has arisen from the fact that her standards of faith and government are too pure and spiritual to be readily apprehended by the darkened mind, or relished by the corrupt heart, of fallen and sinful man. This at least is certain, that her bitterest enemies have always been among the most worldly-minded or the most depraved, and her warmest friends among the wisest, best, and holiest of their age and nation. That a weak, vain, and tyrannical king, and a licentious Court, should hate and endeavour to subvert so pure a Church, was only what might have been expected; that some of her own ambitious or backsliding office-bearers should have been ready to become tools in the hands of her enemies, for the sake of their own self-interested views or base indulgences, was also but too natural; but that men can still be found eager to blacken the character of our heavenly-minded Reformers, and attempt to overthrow the Church which these great men expended their noble lives in establishing, is a matter that must awaken in every well-informed and spiritually-enlightened mind the deepest grief and the

* M'Crie's Life of Melville, pp. 124, 125.

most painful reflections. Is it indeed so, that an institution avowedly divine in its origin and principles, cannot be tolerated by kings, and Governments, and men of rank and power, unless it will consent to abandon all claim to that sacred origin and authority in virtue of which alone it exists—to sacrifice all its God-given principles, intrinsic powers, and divinely-appointed jurisdiction, and submit to become the slave, bedecked and pampered, but fettered and enthralled, of licentious and worldly despotism? Such might have been the sad and depressing thoughts of Knox and Melville, in the early days of the Church of Scotland; and her subsequent history will often force on the thoughtful reader musings of a similarly melancholy character.

But to proceed with the narrative of events. The king and his dissolute and avaricious favourites viewed these proceedings of the Church with equal hatred and alarm. They were well aware, that unless they could preserve the Prelatic element in the Church, they would lose both their power of corrupting and biassing its courts, and of laying hold of the revenues of the larger benefices through the instrumentality of their cringing sycophants the tulchan bishops. An opportunity soon presented itself of putting their schemes in execution. Boyd, archbishop of Glasgow, died in June 1581; and a grant of the revenues of the archbishopric was made by the Privy Council to the Duke of Lennox. But as these revenues could not be drawn in his own name, it was necessary to revive the tulchan system, and procure some hireling to hold the title, and hand over to Lennox the greater portion of the revenues. The transaction was so base, and so directly opposed to the whole acts of the Assembly, especially the more recent ones, condemning and wholly abolishing the Episcopal name and office, that Lennox had some difficulty in finding a person at once sufficiently knavish and reckless to enter into what even Spotswood terms this “vile bargain.” At length Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, “a man,” says Robertson, “vain, feeble, presumptuous, and more apt, by the blemishes of his character, to have alienated the people from an order already beloved, than to reconcile them to one which was the object of their hatred”—this worthless

tained. Accordingly, it has secured the cordial and lasting attachment of the people of Scotland: whenever it has been wrested from them by arbitrary violence, they have uniformly embraced the first favourable opportunity of demanding its restoration; and the principal secessions which have been made from the National Church in this part of the kingdom have been stated, not in the way of dissent from its constitution, as in England, but in opposition to departures, real or alleged, from its original and genuine principles."*

To the above quoted just estimate of the merits of the Second Book of Discipline, it would be presumptuous and unnecessary to add a single sentence. And it would be well if those who declaim against the Church of Scotland would have the candour to make themselves acquainted with its standard of government and discipline, before they proceed to misrepresent, vilify, and condemn, what they neither know nor understand. It is a melancholy thought, but, we fear, too near the truth, that the opposition, and even bitter hatred, which the Church of Scotland has had to encounter in every age, has arisen from the fact that her standards of faith and government are too pure and spiritual to be readily apprehended by the darkened mind, or relished by the corrupt heart, of fallen and sinful man. This at least is certain, that her bitterest enemies have always been among the most worldly-minded or the most depraved, and her warmest friends among the wisest, best, and holiest of their age and nation. That a weak, vain, and tyrannical king, and a licentious Court, should hate and endeavour to subvert so pure a Church, was only what might have been expected; that some of her own ambitious or backsliding office-bearers should have been ready to become tools in the hands of her enemies, for the sake of their own self-interested views or base indulgences, was also but too natural; but that men can still be found eager to blacken the character of our heavenly-minded Reformers, and attempt to overthrow the Church which these great men expended their noble lives in establishing, is a matter that must awaken in every well-informed and spiritually-enlightened mind the deepest grief and the

* M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, pp. 124, 125.

most painful reflections. Is it indeed so, that an institution avowedly divine in its origin and principles, cannot be tolerated by kings, and Governments, and men of rank and power, unless it will consent to abandon all claim to that sacred origin and authority in virtue of which alone it exists—to sacrifice all its God-given principles, intrinsic powers, and divinely-appointed jurisdiction, and submit to become the slave, bedecked and pampered, but fettered and enthralled, of licentious and worldly despotism? Such might have been the sad and depressing thoughts of Knox and Melville, in the early days of the Church of Scotland; and her subsequent history will often force on the thoughtful reader musings of similarly melancholy character.

But to proceed with the narrative of events. The king and his dissolute and avaricious favourites viewed these proceedings of the Church with equal hatred and alarm. They were well aware, that unless they could preserve the Prelatic element in the Church, they would lose both their power of corrupting and biassing its courts, and of laying hold of the revenues of the larger benefices through the instrumentality of their cringing sycophants the tulchan bishops. An opportunity soon presented itself of putting their schemes in execution. Boyd, archbishop of Glasgow, died in June 1581; and a grant of the revenues of the archbishopric was made by the Privy Council to the Duke of Lennox. But as these revenues could not be drawn in his own name, it was necessary to revive the tulchan system, and procure some hireling to hold the title, and hand over to Lennox the greater portion of the revenues. The transaction was so base, and so directly opposed to the whole acts of the Assembly, especially the more recent ones, condemning and wholly abolishing the episcopal name and office, that Lennox had some difficulty in finding a person at once sufficiently knavish and reckless to enter into what even Spotswood terms this “vile bargain.” At length Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, “a man,” says Robertson, “vain, feeble, presumptuous, and more apt, by the blemishes of his character, to have alienated the people from an order already beloved, than to reconcile them to one which was the object of their hatred”—this worthless

man consented to make himself the base instrument of a licentious courtier's sacrilegious avarice.

The Assembly which met in October entered promptly into the consideration of this simoniacal transaction, and called Montgomery to the bar. After proceeding a certain length, the matter was remitted to the Presbytery of Stirling, to deal further in it as necessity might require; and Montgomery was prohibited from accepting the condemned Prelatic office, and from leaving his charge at Stirling. The members of the Synod of Lothian were summoned to appear before the Privy Council, on account of having interfered with Montgomery, in obedience to the orders of the Assembly. They appeared; and Robert Pont, who was at that time one of the Lords of Justiciary, in their name, after protesting their readiness to yield all lawful obedience, declined the judgment of the Council, as incompetent, according to the laws of the land, to take cognizance of a cause which was purely ecclesiastical.

[1582.]—The Assembly met in April 1582 at St Andrews, and immediately proceeded to take up the case of Montgomery, which had been referred to them by the Presbytery of Stirling. The king sent a letter to the Assembly, requesting them not to proceed against Montgomery for anything connected with the archbishopric. The answer was, that they would touch nothing so far as belonged to the civil power, but in other respects would discharge their duty. Soon after, a messenger-at-arms entered the house, and charged the moderator and members of Assembly, on the pain of rebellion, to desist entirely from the prosecution. After serious deliberation, they agreed to address a respectful letter to his majesty; resolved that it was their duty to proceed with the trial; ratified the sentence of the Presbytery of Stirling, suspending him from the exercise of the ministry; and having found eight articles of the charge against him proved, declared that he had incurred the censures of deposition and excommunication. Overawed by this calm and resolute conduct, Montgomery hastened to the house, and, like a self-convicted culprit, humbly crouching before them, acknowledged that he had heavily offended

God and his Church, craved that the sentence might not be pronounced, and solemnly promised to interfere no further with the bishopric. The Assembly accepted his submission, and delayed pronouncing the sentence; but, aware of his character, gave instructions to the Presbytery of Glasgow to watch his conduct, and in case he violated his engagement, to inform the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who were authorized to appoint one of their number to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against him.

The event showed the wisdom of these precautions. Instigated by Lennox, who longed to realize the fruits of his vile bargain," Montgomery revived his claim to the Prebend; and when the Presbytery of Glasgow met to do as they had been directed by the Assembly, he procured an order from the king to stay their procedure, and, at the head of an armed force, entered the house where they were sitting, and presented the order. They refused compliance; and the moderator was dragged from the chair, insulted, beaten, and cast into prison. The presbytery, nevertheless, discharged their duty, found him guilty, and transmitted the result to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who appointed one of their number to pronounce the sentence. In spite of the rage and the threatenings of the Court, the sentence was pronounced, and intimated publicly in all the surrounding churches. A proclamation was immediately issued by the Privy Council, declaring the excommunication of Montgomery null and void. The ministers of Edinburgh were repeatedly called before the Council and insulted; and John Murray was banished from the capital, and prohibited from preaching.

But if the king and the courtiers were furious, the Church was roused and resolute, and its councils were guided by an equal to the emergency. An extraordinary meeting of assembly was convened, and a spirited remonstrance was drawn up, to be presented to the king and Council, complaining of the late proceedings, and craving a redress of grievances. In this very remarkable document they commence the statement of grievances by thus addressing the king: "That your majesty, by device of some councillors,

is caused to take upon you a spiritual power and authority, which properly belongeth unto Christ, as only King and Head of the Church, the ministry and execution whereof is only given unto such as bear office in the ecclesiastical government in the same. So that in your Highness' person some men press to erect a new popedom, as though your majesty could not be full king and head of this commonwealth unless as well the spiritual as temporal sword be put into your Highness' hands—unless Christ be bereft of his authority, and the two jurisdictions confounded which God hath divided, which directly tendeth to the wreck of all true religion.”*

A deputation, at the head of which was Andrew Melville, was appointed to go to Perth, where the king was then residing, and to present this remonstrance. When information of these proceedings reached the Court, the favourites expressed the highest indignation; and an apprehension generally prevailed, that if the ministers ventured to approach the Court, their lives would be sacrificed on the spot. Their more timid and wary friends entreated them not to appear; but Melville answered: “I am not afraid, thank God, nor feeble-spirited in the cause and message of Christ: come what God pleases to send, our commission shall be executed.” Having next day obtained access to the king in Council, he presented the remonstrance. When it had been read, Arran, looking round the assembly with a threatening countenance, exclaimed, “Who dares subscribe these treasonable articles?” “WE DARE,” replied Melville; and advancing to the table, he took the pen from the clerk, and subscribed. The other commissioners immediately followed his example. Even the unprincipled and daring Arran was overawed by the native supremacy of religious principle and true moral courage, and sunk from his look of domineering sternness into the sullen scowl of impotent and baffled malice. Lennox addressed the commissioners in a conciliatory tone; and they were peaceably dismissed. Certain Englishmen, who happened to be present, expressed

* *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, p. 256; *Calderwood*, p. 127; *Wodrow edition*, vol. iii., p. 628.

their astonishment at the bold carriage of the ministers, and could scarcely be persuaded that they had not an armed force at hand to support them.*

But though the deputation escaped personal violence, the king and his favourites were not disposed thus to relinquish the contest. A warrant was given to the Duke of Lennox to hold what was called a Chamberlain's Court, to inquire into the late sedition, and have its authors and abettors duly punished. This court was to be held in Edinburgh on the 27th of August; but before the arrival of that day, an event took place which completely changed the aspect of public affairs. The haughty and tyrannical conduct of Lennox and Arran had excited the hostility of the greater part of the nobility; and, roused from their lethargy by witnessing the free and energetic behaviour of the Church, they resolved to rescue the country from the disgraceful servitude under which it groaned. A combination for effecting this purpose was formed; the person of the king was seized, and restrained for a time to Ruthven Castle, whence this enterprise obtained the name of the Raid of Ruthven. The Duke of Lennox was compelled to retire to France, where he soon after died; Arran was removed from all intercourse with the king; and a proclamation was issued, recalling all the late despotic measures, and putting an end to all hostile procedure against the Church.

When the Assembly met in the month of October, the lords connected with the raid of Ruthven sent a deputation to explain the grounds of the late proceedings. They declared that the causes which moved them were, the dangers to which they perceived the Church and religion, the king and his estate, were exposed, and the confusion and disorder of the commonwealth; requesting the Assembly to give the sanction of their public approval to the enterprise. The Assembly acted with becoming caution in the matter. Ministers were required to state whether it was consistent with their own knowledge that such grievances were prevalent in the kingdom; and a deputation was sent

* Calderwood, p. 128; Melville's Diary, pp. 95, 133, Wodrow edition; M'Crie's Life of Melville, pp. 182, 183; Wodrow edition of Calderwood, vol. iii., p. 631.

to the king, to receive his own account of the transaction, and his own feelings regarding it. The king's answer agreeing with the declaration of the lords and the statements of the ministers from all parts of the country, the Assembly then expressed their approbation of the reformation of the commonwealth intended and begun.

The same Assembly proceeded to the trial and deposition of the corrupt prelates; and commission was given to frame articles to be presented to the king, Council, and Estates, for the further removal of abuses, and maintenance of the liberty and purity of the Church. The notorious Montgomery, seeing little prospect of accomplishing his base designs, offered to submit to the discipline of the Church, and begged to be again received into her communion.

[1583.]—While the king remained under the care of the new administration, peace and contentment prevailed throughout the kingdom. He publicly declared his satisfaction with what had taken place; and, lest any suspicion might remain, emitted an act of indemnity to all in any way connected with the raid of Ruthven. The Church was not only permitted, but even encouraged, to advance in her course of reformation; and a confidential intercourse was commenced between the Court and the Assembly, which seemed to indicate the opening of a more propitious era. Yet the Assembly was not lulled into security; for when certain articles were proposed for their consideration by the king and Council, with a request that a commission might be appointed with powers to deliberate and conclude, the Assembly, remembering well the convention of Leith, answered significantly, "that they had found by experience, commission given to brethren with power to conclude, to have done great hurt to the Church."

But the period of peace and prosperity was near its close; and a storm was ready to burst forth with increased violence. The king, whose mind and morals had been deeply corrupted by his former licentious favourites, became utterly impatient of the restraint in which he was kept by the new administration. Contriving to elude the vigilance of the lords, he hastened to St Andrews, summoned his

former courtly flatterers, and cast himself once more into the arms of the unprincipled Earl of Arran. Immediately the hostile proceedings against the Church were resumed, although for a time the royal and courtly displeasure was directed chiefly against individuals. John Dury was banished from Edinburgh, and restricted to the neighbourhood of Montrose; and severe threatenings were uttered against all who had expressed approbation of the raid of Ruthven.

[1584.]—The year 1584, black in the annals of the Church of Scotland, was ushered in by the commencement of that storm which was soon to shake and devastate the kingdom. On the 15th of February, Andrew Melville was summoned to appear before the Privy Council, to answer for seditious and treasonable speeches, alleged to have been uttered by him in his sermon and prayers on a fast which had been kept during the preceding month. He appeared, gave an account of what he had really said, and proved his innocence; but the Council resolved to proceed with his trial. He then stated objections, which he subsequently put into the form of a protest, the chief point of which was, that his trial should be remitted, *in the first instance*, to the ecclesiastical courts, as the ordinary and proper judges of his ministerial conduct, according to Scripture, the laws of the kingdom, and an agreement lately made between certain commissioners of the Privy Council and of the Church. This modified declinature of the direct and primary jurisdiction of the Privy Council over the conduct of ministers in the discharge of their pastoral functions, gave dire offence to the king, who was jealous to excess of every limitation of his absolute prerogative; and roused the despotic heart of Arran to a degree of ungovernable fury. Nothing could appal the dauntless spirit of Melville. Unclasping his Hebrew Bible from his girdle, and throwing it on the table, he said: "*These* are my instructions: see if any of you can judge of them, or show that I have passed my injunctions." Entreaties and menaces were in vain employed to induce him to withdraw his protest; he steadily refused, unless his cause were remitted to the proper judges. He was then

to the king, to receive his own account of the transaction, and his own feelings regarding it. The king's answer agreeing with the declaration of the lords and the statements of the ministers from all parts of the country, the Assembly then expressed their approbation of the reformation of the commonwealth intended and begun.

The same Assembly proceeded to the trial and deposition of the corrupt prelates; and commission was given to frame articles to be presented to the king, Council, and Estates, for the further removal of abuses, and maintenance of the liberty and purity of the Church. The notorious Montgomery, seeing little prospect of accomplishing his base designs, offered to submit to the discipline of the Church, and begged to be again received into her communion.

[1583.]—While the king remained under the care of the new administration, peace and contentment prevailed throughout the kingdom. He publicly declared his satisfaction with what had taken place; and, lest any suspicion might remain, emitted an act of indemnity to all in any way connected with the raid of Ruthven. The Church was not only permitted, but even encouraged, to advance in her course of reformation; and a confidential intercourse was commenced between the Court and the Assembly, which seemed to indicate the opening of a more propitious era. Yet the Assembly was not lulled into security; for when certain articles were proposed for their consideration by the king and Council, with a request that a commission might be appointed with powers to deliberate and conclude, the Assembly, remembering well the convention of Leith, answered significantly, "that they had found by experience, commission given to brethren with power to conclude, to have done great hurt to the Church."

But the period of peace and prosperity was near its close; and a storm was ready to burst forth with increased violence. The king, whose mind and morals had been deeply corrupted by his former licentious favourites, became utterly impatient of the restraint in which he was kept by the new administration. Contriving to elude the vigilance of the lords, he hastened to St Andrews, summoned his

former courtly flatterers, and cast himself once more into the arms of the unprincipled Earl of Arran. Immediately the hostile proceedings against the Church were resumed, although for a time the royal and courtly displeasure was directed chiefly against individuals. John Dury was banished from Edinburgh, and restricted to the neighbourhood of Montrose; and severe threatenings were uttered against all who had expressed approbation of the raid of Ruthven.

[1584.]—The year 1584, black in the annals of the Church of Scotland, was ushered in by the commencement of that storm which was soon to shake and devastate the kingdom. On the 15th of February, Andrew Melville was summoned to appear before the Privy Council, to answer for seditious and treasonable speeches, alleged to have been uttered by him in his sermon and prayers on a fast which had been kept during the preceding month. He appeared, gave an account of what he had really said, and proved his innocence; but the Council resolved to proceed with his trial. He then stated objections, which he subsequently put into the form of a protest, the chief point of which was, that his trial should be remitted, *in the first instance*, to the ecclesiastical courts, as the ordinary and proper judges of his ministerial conduct, according to Scripture, the laws of the kingdom, and an agreement lately made between certain commissioners of the Privy Council and of the Church. His modified declinature of the direct and primary jurisdiction of the Privy Council over the conduct of ministers in the discharge of their pastoral functions, gave dire offence to the king, who was jealous to excess of every limitation of his absolute prerogative; and roused the despotic heart of Arran to a degree of ungovernable fury. Nothing could quell the dauntless spirit of Melville. Unclasping his Hebrew Bible from his girdle, and throwing it on the table, he said: "*These* are my instructions: see if any of you can contradict them, or show that I have passed my injunctions." Intreaties and menaces were in vain employed to induce him to withdraw his protest; he steadily refused, unless his cause were remitted to the proper judges. He was then

formally accused, and the deposition of a number of witnesses taken. But although most of them were his enemies, nothing could be extracted from their evidence that tended in the slightest degree to criminate him. Notwithstanding this, he was found guilty of declining the judgment of the Council, and behaving, as they said, irreverently before them; and was condemned to be imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh, and to be further punished in his person and goods at his majesty's pleasure. Having learned that his place of confinement was changed to Blackness Castle, kept by a creature of Arran's, and that if once there, he would either never leave his dungeon alive, or only to ascend the scaffold, he fled to Berwick, which he reached in safety, while Arran was preparing a troop of cavalry to convey him to Blackness.*

This harsh and unjustifiable conduct at once roused and alarmed the kingdom. The ministers of Edinburgh prayed publicly for Melville; and the universal lament was, that the king, under the influence of evil counsel, had driven into exile the most learned man in the kingdom, and the ablest defender of religion and the liberties of the Church. The Privy Council issued a proclamation, declaring that his exile was voluntary; but at the same time an act of Council was passed, ordaining that such preachers as were accused should henceforth be apprehended without the formality of a legal charge. This contradictory procedure tended still more to increase the public dissatisfaction, and to deepen the general alarm.

This contest between the Court and Andrew Melville it has been thought necessary to state with some minuteness, because it brings before the reader plainly one of the chief subjects on account of which the Church of Scotland has been often exposed to peril, and almost always to misrepresentation and calumny. The claim that a minister should be tried, *in the first instance*, by an ecclesiastical court, for every accusation brought against him in regard to doctrine and the discharge of his pastoral functions, has been at-

* Calderwood pp. 144-147; vol. iv., p. 12, Wodrow edition; M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, pp. 197-204.

tempted to be identified with the claim maintained by the Popish clergy, of entire immunity from the civil jurisdiction, even in matters civil and in crimes of every kind. That the two claims are essentially different, must be obvious to every clear and unprejudiced mind. Even the bare statement of them, as above, makes it evident that they are totally dissimilar. But it has ever been the policy of the enemies of the Church of Scotland, first to misrepresent her principles, and then to condemn their own misrepresentation, and to punish their slandered victims, as if they were indeed convicted criminals. It is easy to brand a good cause with a bad name, and then to assume the plausible aspect of preventers of evil, or avengers of wrong, when, in reality, those who so act are themselves the calumniators of good and the assailants of right. The Church of Scotland has never denied the right of the civil magistrate to take cognizance of every crime by which public morality and peace were, or might be, injured; but as the liberty of the pulpit is essential to the free and fearless delivery of the Gospel message, and as that liberty would be but a name, were the minister liable to be dragged before a civil tribunal upon the accusation of every ignorant, spiteful, or malicious informer, she has always asserted the right of the minister to be tried, *in the first instance*, by an ecclesiastical court. Should the partiality of such a court shelter a delinquent from condign punishment, it is still competent for the civil magistrate to proceed against him in the exercise of that authority which the antecedent judgment of the Church could neither supersede nor invalidate. And, if accurately examined, this liberty will be found to be the very palladium of civil liberty itself. The freedom of opinion has never existed in any country where religious freedom was unknown; indeed, free public opinion had no existence till the Reformation broke the fetters of religious despotism, and made men free indeed. And in the time of the Scottish Reformation, the press, with its mighty influences, had not sprung into being—Parliamentary proceedings were the records of tyranny or faction—the courts of justice obeyed too generally the arbitrary will of the sovereign, or exhi-

bited the one-sided results of partisanship; and it was from the teachers of religion that the people first learned to know that they were something more than the slaves of their feudal lords or regal despots—that being rational, responsible, and immortal creatures, they were entitled to think, and reason, and act, as conscious of their mysterious nature, and worthy of their high destinies. “Despotism,” says M’Crie, “has rarely been established in any nation without the subserviency of the ministers of religion. And it nearly concerns the cause of public liberty, that those who ought to be the common instructors and the faithful monitors of all classes, should not be converted into the trained sycophants of a corrupt, or the trembling slaves of a tyrannical, administration.”

Soon after the flight of Melville, a proclamation was issued against all who had been concerned in the raid of Ruthven, who were commanded to leave the kingdom within a given time. An abortive attempt was made by the threatened party to defend themselves; but the Earl of Gowrie having been seized, the others fled to England, and Arran obtained the uncontrolled management of the king and the Government. Gowrie was executed, notwithstanding the act of indemnity and the express forgiveness of the king to him personally. Arran urged impetuously forward his schemes at once of tyranny and of revenge. When the Assembly met at St Andrews in April, few in number, and dispirited in consequence of the conduct of the Court, they were peremptorily commanded by the king’s commissioner to rescind the former act expressing approval of the raid of Ruthven, and to pass another, condemning that transaction as treasonable. This the Assembly declined to do; but instead of taking a determined stand against such an encroachment on their liberties, they broke up their meeting, and withdrew from the scene of immediate danger.

A Parliament was held in May, in which the proceedings were of a most extraordinary character. The Lords of the Articles were sworn to secrecy while they were preparing the business of the Parliament; and the meetings of the Parliament were held with closed doors. In spite of these

precautions, it became known that measures subversive of the Presbyterian form of Church government were intended. One minister was seized, when entering the palace gate to supplicate the king in behalf of the Church, and sent to Blackness. And when, on the 25th of May, the acts of Parliament were proclaimed, Pont and Balcanquhall protested formally at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and immediately fled to Berwick. Adamson and Montgomery sat in this infamous Parliament as bishops, directing the despotic measures against the Church and the kingdom.

The acts passed by this Parliament, known as "*the Black Acts of 1584*," were to the following effect: That to decline the judgment of his majesty or of the Privy Council in any matter was treason: That those were guilty of the same crime who should impugn or seek the diminution of the power and authority of the Three Estates of Parliament [By this, all that the Church had done in the abolition of Prelacy was declared treasonable]: That all subjects were prohibited from convening in any assembly, except the ordinary courts, to consult or determine on any matter of State, civil or ecclesiastical, without the special commandment and license of his majesty [This was intended for the suppression of Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies]: That commissions should be given to the bishops, along with such others as the king might appoint, to put order to all ecclesiastical matters in their dioceses: and, That none should presume, in private or public, in sermons or familiar conferences, to censure the conduct of the king, his Council, and proceedings, under the penalties of treasonable offences, to be executed with all rigour. These BLACK ACTS, containing the very essence of despotism, were passed on the 22d of May, publicly proclaimed on the 25th, and basely submitted to by the nobility, barons, and gentry, being opposed alone by the ministers, the dauntless guardians of civil and religious liberty. "There was a spirit awakened in Scotland, mightier far than acts of Parliament or the influence of the Court. The spirit of her ministers was not crushed: they fought on steadily to the end."*

* Dean of Faculty Hope—Speech, Auchterarder Case, p. 205.

Great were the sufferings and protracted the struggle of the Church. Upwards of twenty ministers were compelled to save their lives by a flight to England. A bond was drawn up by Adamson, to be subscribed by all ministers within forty days, obliging themselves to submit to the king's power over all estates, spiritual and temporal, and to the bishops, under the pain of losing their stipends; with certification that they who did not submit within the given time should not be received afterwards, but underlie the penalty without relief. The most of them refused to subscribe; but an ambiguous and deceptive clause was introduced by Adamson, by which several were beguiled into subscription.

[1585.]—But as the arrogance and tyranny of Arran were boundless, and as the kingdom in general sympathized with the suffering ministers, and as even James himself began to grow weary of his domineering favourite, it became evident that a change of administration must speedily ensue. The banished lords returned from England in October 1585; crowds of supporters flocked to them from all quarters; they advanced towards Stirling, where the king and Arran then were; and entering the town, Arran fled, and the king received them into favour, and deprived his unworthy minion of all his previous ill-got power and honours.

By this new change of administration the Church was at once rescued from direct persecution; but the lords were more intent on securing their own interests with the capricious and yet obstinate monarch, than on restoring the rights and privileges of which the Church had been deprived by Arran's infamous Parliament. They excused themselves by the common plea of temporizing insincerity, that it was not expedient yet to annoy the king by pressing the abolition of Prelacy, to which he was so much attached. And, at the same time, the Church was somewhat divided, in consequence of some ministers having been induced to subscribe the servile bond of the Black Acts. Animadversions, supplications, and declarations, passed between the king and the Assembly, which met in December; but nothing of a definite nature was concluded.

[1586.]—In April 1586, the Synod of Fife excommunicated Adamson, pretended archbishop of St Andrews; and Adamson retaliated by excommunicating Andrew Melville, his nephew James, and some other ministers. This matter was brought before the Assembly in May, and after long and sharp controversy, the king using every method to gain his purpose, by intimidation, by flattery of individuals, and by deceptive promises, the sentence was held to be regarded as not pronounced, many protesting against this deliverance. The king was peculiarly urgent with the Assembly to have the pre-eminence of bishops over their brethren recognised, if not on the ground of *jurisdiction*, yet on that of *order*; but the utmost he could obtain was the answer, “That it could not stand with the Word of God: only they must tolerate it, if it be forced upon them by the civil authority.*

[1587.]—Scarcely anything of marked importance occurred during the year 1587. Some slight contests there were, indeed, between the king and the ministers, respecting praying for Queen Mary, who was still alive, but her life placed in the most imminent peril, in consequence of the jealousy of Elizabeth, and the plots of the Papists. By a Parliament held in July, such lands of the Church as had not been already bestowed inalienably upon the nobles or landed gentry, were *annexed to the crown*. This act, detaching the Church lands from all connection with ecclesiastical persons, was a fatal blow to the order of bishops, rendering the subsequent endeavours of James and his successors to restore them to their pristine dignity and authority utterly hopeless. It might have proved a fertile source of revenue to the crown, had not the facile disposition of James led him to bestow the titles to these lands lavishly on almost any one who requested them; as, being generally held at that time by annuitants, he could not himself immediately obtain possession, and little valued property in prospect. But he accompanied his own prodigal act with one of injustice, in conferring along with these Church lands the patronages which had formerly belonged to their ecclesiastical proprietors, and which he thus arbitrarily converted

* Calderwood, p. 212; vol. iv., p. 554.

into lay patronages. Of this arbitrary conduct even Sir George Mackenzie says: "There could be nothing so unjust as these patronages." Against them the Church promptly and strongly protested, in the Assembly which met in August the following year.*

[1588.]—The year 1588 was one of great importance for Scotland and for Europe. We have had occasion to refer to the leagues of the Popish sovereigns for the utter destruction of Protestantism, in which both the queen-regent and Queen Mary were deeply implicated, and on account of which they were continually the objects of jealousy and distrust to their Protestant subjects. Nor did King James escape similar suspicion and distrust. In the early part of his reign, when guided by his favourites Lennox and Arran, it was currently believed that the former was in correspondence with the Popish sovereigns on the Continent, and that the proceedings of James against the Church were chiefly intended either to overthrow the Church of Scotland, and re-introduce Popery, or at least to secure the support of the great continental powers in his pretensions to the throne of England on the death of Elizabeth. And although there is no reason to suppose that James did really intend the overthrow of the Reformed religion in this country, yet a certain suspicion respecting his own stability on the Scottish throne, in case of his mother's liberation, induced him to desire to keep on favourable terms with the Popish sovereigns, and that party in his own realm. While the death of Mary relieved him from one cause of his embarrassment, it tended to throw him into another line of policy, scarcely more favourable to the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Keeping in view his succession to the English throne, he thought it necessary to conciliate the English Church as far as possible, by making known his decided preference to a Prelatic form of Church government. To this, indeed, his own despotic principles naturally inclined him, having found by experience how much more easily a bench of bishops, seated among the temporal lords, might be brow-beaten or

* Calderwood, p. 227; vol. iv., p. 685, Wodrow edition; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 335.

cajoled, than a free Assembly of high-principled and fearless Presbyterian ministers.

The same considerations led him to concur readily in the political schemes of Elizabeth. And as Philip of Spain, after long preparation, was now putting in motion the whole power of his vast empire for the dethronement of the English queen, the Scottish monarch consented to make common cause with her against the common enemy of the Protestant faith. Nobly did the Scottish Church exert herself in this dark and threatening period. An extraordinary meeting of the Assembly was called, to deliberate what steps ought to be taken in this ominous aspect of public affairs. A deputation was sent to the king, to rouse him to due activity; and though he at first seemed inclined to resent this, as an interference with his administration, yet the formidable nature of the impending danger induced him to name a committee of the Privy Council, to co-operate with the commissioners of the Church in providing for the public safety. A solemn bond of allegiance and mutual defence was framed, approved by his majesty, zealously promoted by the ministers of the Church, and sworn by all ranks, knitting the kingdom together by a sacred and patriotic tie. The Spanish armada, fondly termed invincible, was soon after checked and baffled by the determined courage and persevering energy of the English fleet, then smitten and scattered over the stormy ocean by the avenging hand of Omnipotence.

[1589.]—This signal deliverance, and the zeal and energy displayed by the Church in the hour of danger, produced a beneficial influence upon both the king and the nation. An insurrection attempted by the Popish party, of whom the Earls of Huntly, Errol, and Crawford were the leaders, was speedily put down; and the king was earnestly urged to suppress Popery, and especially to expel from the kingdom the Jesuit emissaries of the King of Spain. And the Church, putting forth its own powers, excommunicated Patrick Adamson, for performing the ceremony of marriage, uniting the Popish Earl of Huntly to a lady of the Lennox family.

On the 22d of October, the same year, the king set sail

for Norway, to meet the Princess of Denmark, to whom he had been previously contracted; and their marriage was solemnized at Upsal, on the 24th of November. Before he departed, he had appointed a provisional government to conduct public affairs during his absence; nominating Robert Bruce, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, an extraordinary member of the Privy Council; and declaring that he reposed more confidence in him and his brethren, for preserving the country in peace, than he did in all his nobility. Nor was he disappointed. During the six months that the king was absent, the kingdom exhibited a scene of unwonted tranquillity; and the king was so sensible of the valuable services of the Church, that in his letters to Bruce, he declared that he was "worth the quarter of his kingdom."

[1590.]—When the king returned in May 1590, he took the earliest opportunity of acknowledging his grateful sense of the valuable services rendered to him by the Church, and gave promise of removing all remaining grievances, and providing better measures for the future. In the Assembly which met in August, he pronounced his celebrated panegyric on the purity of the Church of Scotland. "He praised God that he was born in such a time as in the time of the light of the Gospel, and in such a place as to be king in such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in the world." "The Kirk of Geneva," continued he, "keepeth Pasch and Yule. What have they for them? they have no institution. As for our neighbour Kirk in England, their service is an evil-said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly." This speech was received by the Assembly with a transport of joy; "there was nothing heard for a quarter of an hour, but praising God, and praying for the king."*

[1591.]—Nothing of public importance occurred in the year 1591, except the recantation of Patrick Adamson, whose dissolute life had at length so disgusted the king,

* Calderwood, p. 286; Wodrow edition, vol. v., p. 106.

that he ceased to protect and support him; and the miserable victim of ambition was reduced to such extremities, as to be supported by the charity of Andrew Melville, the man whom he had so often maligned and persecuted; and who, in his time of distress, pitied, relieved, and forgave him. The unhappy man, tortured by remorse, and wasted by immorality, sunk into dotage, and died early in the following year.*

An incident took place the same year, which we should not have deemed of sufficient importance to mention, had it not been for the reflex value given to it by the occurrences of modern times. It was a collision between the judicatories of the Church and the Court of Session. The transaction was of a somewhat complicated nature. Graham of Hall-yards, it appears, had corrupted a notary-public to authenticate by his signature a forged instrument, by means of which Graham intended to defraud the feuars of some property belonging to his wife. The matter becoming suspected, the notary was imprisoned, and during his confinement, confessed to Patrick Simpson of Stirling, the minister by whom he was visited, that he had been guilty of the crime. Graham accused Simpson of having suborned the poor notary; and the Assembly took up the case, as implicating the character of a minister. The Lord President, and two other Lords of Session, appeared before the Assembly, requiring them not to proceed with a cause which was within the jurisdiction of the Court of Session, and already before that court. The Assembly declared that they had no intention to interfere with any civil matter; but that as the case in question related to the character of a minister, and to his discharge of his pastoral functions, it was ecclesiastical, and belonged *primario* to the jurisdiction of the Church. Another attempt was made by the Court of Session to set aside this determination; but the Lord Justice-Clerk being "demanded if he acknowledged the judgment and jurisdiction of the Kirk or not?" he answered, "that he acknowledged with reverence the judgment of the Assembly in all causes appertaining to them;" objecting, however,

* Calderwood, pp. 259-264; Wodrow edition, vol. v., pp. 118, 127.

that this was a civil cause, and that therefore the Lords were *primario judices*. The Assembly repelled the objection, found themselves judges in the first instance, and, notwithstanding the protest of the Lord Justice-Clerk, proceeded to try and determine the case. The civil court thought proper to relinquish any further direct interference, but tried the cause in their own way, and left the Church to do the same; which seems, indeed, to be the proper mode of avoiding collisions between co-ordinate jurisdictions.*

[1592.]—On the 22d of May 1592, the General Assembly met at Edinburgh—Robert Bruce, moderator. As the king had appeared more favourable to the Church ever since he had experienced its power to promote the peace of the country during his absence in Norway, this was thought a fitting time to procure an amicable settlement of the protracted conflicts between the Church and the Court. Articles, embodying the chief requests of the Church, were accordingly drawn up and presented to the king. When the Parliament met in June, the same year, these articles were taken into consideration, and an act was passed, greatly through the influence of the Chancellor Maitland, not, indeed, granting all that the Church desired, but of a much more complete and satisfactory nature than any previous legislative enactment.

The act 1592 ratified the General Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, and particular Sessions of the Church; declaring them, with the jurisdiction and discipline belonging to them, to be in all time coming most just, good, and godly, notwithstanding whatsoever statutes, acts, and laws, canon, civil, or municipal, made to the contrary. It ratified and embodied also some of the leading propositions in the Second Book of Discipline, relating to the power of these judicatories. It appointed General Assemblies to be held once every year, or oftener, *pro re nata*, as occasion should require; the time and place of next meeting to be appointed by his majesty or his commissioner, or, provided neither of them should be present, by the Assembly itself. It declared that

* Spotswood, p. 384; Booke of the Universall Kirk, pp. 354, 355; Baillie, Vindication, pp. 62, 63.

the act of the Parliament 1584, respecting the royal supremacy, should be in no wise prejudicial to the privileges of the office-bearers of the Church concerning heads of religion, matters of heresy, excommunication, the appointment or deprivation of ministers, or any such essential censures, warranted by the Word of God. And it declared the act of the same Parliament, granting commission to bishops and their judges appointed by his majesty in ecclesiastical causes, to be null, and of no avail, force, or effect in time coming; and ordained presentations to be directed to presbyteries, who should have full power to give collation to benefices, and to manage all ecclesiastical causes within their bounds, provided they admitted such qualified ministers as were presented by his majesty or other lay patrons. In another part of the same act it was provided, that in case a presbytery could refuse to admit a qualified minister, presented by the patron, it should be lawful to the patron to retain the whole fruits of that benefice in his own hands. Such were the main provisions of the celebrated act 1592; and, notwithstanding several imperfections, both in what it enacts and what it omits, it was then, and has ever since been, regarded as THE GREAT CHARTER OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.*

By this act of Parliament the Church of Scotland was

It deserves to be particularly remarked, that some of the peculiarities of the 1592, c. 116, are directly favourable to the Church in that very respect in which they have been thought unfavourable. No express mention is made of the Second Book of Discipline, but certain of its main topics are ratified, while others are presently passed over. Hence it has been argued, that nothing has been ratified for the Church but what is specifically mentioned in the act itself, and that every proposition in the Book of Discipline must be held to have been rejected. The reason of this peculiarity in the act appears to be the following: When the Second Book of Discipline was laid before the Privy Council, certain articles, chiefly those relating to government and jurisdiction by Assemblies, Synods, and Presbyteries, were referred to further consideration, while others were at once decided. Now, on comparing the copy of the Book of Discipline in Spotswood, where the marginal comments of the Privy Council are given, with the act 1592, it is remarkable, that none of those marked "*agreed*" are contained in the act, while the chief of those marked "*referred*" are. From this the conclusion seems inevitable, that having already agreed to these in the Privy Council, it was not held necessary to specify any but those which had been left for future consideration, consequently, that partly by the concurrence of the Privy Council in 1578, partly by the act 1592, thus combined, the whole of the Second Book of Discipline was ratified, and became the law of the land, as well as the law of the Church.

placed in a much better position for promoting the public welfare, which is the great end of any Church, than she had previously occupied. Not that she regarded any Parliamentary enactment as the basis of her religious constitution, but as merely a legal recognition of those sacred and intrinsic powers which she had always claimed as belonging to her by scriptural institution, and the 'gift of her Divine Head and King; and which she had already, in her Books of Discipline, stated, proved, and put into execution, on the sole authority of the Word of God. The attentive reader must have perceived how steadily the Church pursued her course, amidst the ever-shifting phases of the political world; at one time countenanced and supported, at another opposed, calumniated, and persecuted, according to the varying character and aims of successive civil administrations. But while politicians intrigued, rose into power, plunged into criminal excesses, fell, and perished, the Church displayed the calm grandeur of an institution resting upon the fixed principles of eternal truth, and, whether suffering or triumphant, maintaining her integrity, and following with firm though bleeding steps, the path of right, of mercy, and of love to God and man. From this statesmen might have learned—will they yet learn?—that the Church may be cast down, but cannot be destroyed; that their own devices against her will but issue, sooner or later, in their own ruin; that even sound political sagacity might warn them not to incur the hazard of shattering into fragments their own frail schemes of human expediency against the adamant strength of sacred principles; and that their wisest measure would be, to secure to a scriptural Church the freest and fullest possible development of its own sacred laws and discipline, assured that they would thereby best promote that which ought to be their chief object—the true welfare of the nation.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE GREAT CHARTER OF THE CHURCH, IN 1592, TO THE
RATIFICATION OF THE FIVE ARTICLES OF PERTH,
IN THE YEAR 1621.

Remarks on the Act 1592—Detection of the Conspiracy of the Popish Lords—Duplicity of the King—Excommunication of the Popish Lords by the Synod of Fife—Act of Abolition—Secret Motives of the King—Ratification of the Synod's Sentence by the Assembly—Support given to the King by the Church—Proposal of a regular Arrangement for fixed and local Stipends—Reforming Assembly of 1596—Renewal of the National Covenant—Fresh Alarms from the Popish Lords—Deceitful Conduct of the King—Interview between the King and Andrew Melville—Jealousy between the Court and the Church—Proceedings against David Black—He Declines the Jurisdiction of the Civil Court *in the first instance*—The Church Addresses the King—A Tumult in Edinburgh—Proceedings of the Court—The Ministers of Edinburgh Expelled—First corrupt General Assembly held at Perth—Commissioners of the Church appointed to Deliberate with the King—Proposal to Admit Representatives from the Church into Parliament, 1597—Partially carried in 1598—Completed in 1600—Three Ministers secretly appointed to Bishopricks—The Basilicon Doron—The Gowrie Conspiracy—Injurious consequences to the Church—Robert Bruce Banished by the King—The Covenant virtually Renewed by the King—Assembly of 1602, the last free Assembly—Case of Sempie—The Accession of James to the Throne of England—Hampton Court Conference—Proposals for a Union of Scotland and England—Alarm of the Church—Arbitrary Prorogation of the Assembly—Held at Aberdeen in 1605, notwithstanding the Royal Prorogation—Banishment of the Ministers—Parliament Restores the Temporalities of Bishops in 1606—Andrew Melville Summoned to London, Imprisoned, and Banished—Constant Moderators Appointed—Parliament Restores the Civil Jurisdiction to Bishops in 1609—Court of High Commission in 1610—The Assembly Restores the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Bishops in 1610—This Act Ratified by Parliament in 1612—New Confession of Faith in 1616—Calderwood Banished—Five Articles of Perth in 1618—Ratified by Parliament in 1621—Reflections.

ALTHOUGH the act of Parliament passed in the year 1592, and commonly known as the Great Charter of the Church of Scotland, was then, and must always be, regarded as a very important measure, giving legislative sanction to most of the chief principles of the government and discipline of the Church, yet it was not without several decidedly serious defects. It was evasive in its recognition of the

Book of Discipline, as if leaving it open to dispute whether the engrossing of some of the provisions of that book, formerly "referred," was to be regarded as an implicit sanction of the whole, seeing that the Privy Council had already "agreed" to the rest; or whether it might not be held that every part was excluded except what was expressly mentioned. The former view must have been that which was entertained by the Church, and which not merely every man of candour will entertain, but which also every clear reasoner will see to be necessary, otherwise the act is self-contradictory and absurd. But still, the ambiguity of the act in that respect has given occasion to the legal sophist, in several periods, to bring forward specious objections against the discipline of the Church of Scotland, on the plea of its wanting full statutory authority. Another decided evil was the clause which half prohibited the Assembly from meeting, except when the time and place of its next meeting had been appointed by his majesty or his commissioner; its own authority being enough only when neither the king nor his representative was present. This afterwards enabled the king repeatedly to suspend its meetings altogether; and when it did meet without his previous appointment, gave some colour to his hostile proceedings against its leading members. But the most injurious part of the act 1592 was that which imposed upon both the Church and the people the intolerable yoke and enslaving fetters of lay patronage. How fatal the "binding and astricting" clause has been to the Church, her whole subsequent history testifies, and perhaps no period more so than the present.

The reader will perceive that these defects in this enactment left the Church still exposed to danger in the very points on which she had been always most fiercely and perseveringly assailed. The freedom of the Assembly, and its right to meet for the discharge of its important duties whenever necessity required, had been gainsaid by Secretary Lethington in Queen Mary's days; had been questioned by the Regent Morton; and had been for a time neutralized or overborne by King James, during the period of the tulchan bishops. This was again placed in peril, and that, too, by a regular legislative enactment, on the strength of which the

ing might proceed to greater severities, and more plausibly than had been formerly done. The evasive nature of the recognition of the Book of Discipline showed the unchanged hostility entertained by the king and the nobility against a system of moral and religious discipline too pure and uncompromising to find favour in the estimation of dissolute, aughty, and worldly-minded men. That the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline would still be resisted, was therefore abundantly apparent, notwithstanding the evasive sanction of the act of Parliament. And it was equally evident that, by the rigid retention of lay patronages, the king and the nobility were determined to keep possession of the means whereby they might either corrupt the Church, or contrive to hold fast her patrimony within their sacrilegious grasp.

But although there thus remained these strong elements of antagonism between the king and the Church, there was no urgent reason why they might not have continued in a state of dormancy for an indefinite length of time. That the Church did not wish to urge matters to an immediate contest, was evident from the very fact of her receiving the act of 1592, defective as it was, without opposition, and even with gratitude. And had the king been sincere in his expressions of friendship and estimation, he needed not to have provoked hostility by an early and harsh enforcement of the armful powers which that act enabled him to retain. Their mere existence in the statute-book ought to have been enough to satisfy him that the Church could not, even were she imposed, make any dangerous encroachments upon his cherished prerogatives. And had they been allowed to remain solely as latent but complete preventive checks against any sudden democratic movement of the Church, the whole of what even his jealousy of his arbitrary prerogative deemed necessary might have been peacefully secured; and when that jealousy had subsided, he might have removed these effects from the enactment, and thereby perfected the constitution of the country by the harmonious agreement and mutually supporting connection of Church and State, exerting themselves in their respective spheres, undisturbed by mutual jarrings and suspicions, for the advancement of the

great end of both—the promotion and the security of the civil and sacred welfare of the nation. Such was not, however, to be the case. A short time was sufficient to show that James had caused these elements of strife to be retained in the act 1592, expressly for the purpose of putting them into execution on the earliest opportunity, for the overthrow of a Church whose principles, spirit, and discipline were too sacred, independent, and pure, to suit the taste and comport with the habits of a monarch at once crafty and despotic, and of courtiers both avaricious and dissolute. It may seem strange that James, who had experienced so much treachery on the part of his nobility, and been exposed to personal danger from their factious and daring attempts, and, on the other hand, had found such constant fidelity to his cause, and zeal in his behalf, in every time of peril, from the Church, notwithstanding his injurious treatment of it—that with such strong and repeated proofs which was the more trustworthy party, he could still favour the schemes of the treacherous and selfish aristocracy, and distrust and persecute the faithful and disinterested Church. But it has always been the fault and the misfortune of kings and statesmen to give their countenance to sycophants and mercenary tools, whom they can manage and employ for any purpose, however guilty and base, rather than to men whose principles are too lofty for them to comprehend, and whose integrity is beyond their power to move. And James knew well that he could mould and bias his courtiers by the artifices of that “king-craft” in which he thought himself a most accomplished adept; but that in the high-souled ministers of the Presbyterian Church, when met together in their own free General Assembly, he encountered men whom neither his arts could blind nor his threatenings overawe. Hence his determination to retain, even in the act recognising and ratifying the liberty of the Church, a seeming innocuous clause, by which he might be able to prohibit the meetings of the Assembly, whenever he apprehended from it a decided opposition to his schemes; or to call it together when he should have succeeded in corrupting its members by means of the patronage-enforcing clause.

The preceding remarks we have deemed it expedient to make, for the purpose of placing before our readers clearly the position of the Church after the passing of the Great Charter of 1592, and the dangers still to be apprehended from the defects of that enactment, and the pernicious elements which it contained. But we must now resume the narrative, and trace the progress of events.

The act 1592 almost took the Church by surprise. The ministers had striven so long for a legislative ratification of the liberty of the Church, of General Assemblies, Synods, and Presbyteries, and of discipline, and had met so many disappointments, evasions, and direct violations of the most solemn promises from the ruling powers, that though they continued to strive, they seem almost to have ceased to expect success. They appear to have acted on the great general principle, that for the discharge of known duty man is responsible—for success he is not; and that, therefore, their duty was, to continue their exertions, and leave the result to God, in whose hands are the issues of all events. Yet they have been censured for accepting a measure which fell so far short of what they sought to obtain, and which contained elements capable of being roused into the most pernicious activity. But it should be considered that men who are very far above taking expediency as their rule in matters of duty, may with a safe conscience accept of a measure comparatively defective, for which they could not have striven; regarding it as, though not a satisfactory, and consequently not a final settlement, yet upon the whole a great advancement towards a better state of matters than had previously existed, and containing a ratification of the most essential of their own leading principles. Such appear to have been the sentiments of the most active and influential of the ministers when this very important act was passed; and while they disapproved of those points in it which have been specified, still, as it went beyond their general expectation, they received it with joy and gratitude. It may be mentioned, also, that between the passing of the act and its being publicly proclaimed, the enemies of the Church attempted to deny that any such measure either had been, or

would be, enacted by the Parliament; and their very hostility and opposition would tend to secure for it the more ready and cordial acceptance by all who were friendly to the Church.*

A very short time elapsed, after the passing of this act, when the Church had again occasion to show that her intrinsic powers had not been fettered by an act which professed to ratify her freedom, and that to enter into a solemn compact with the State was not to lay aside her native spiritual independence, and to assume a gilded yoke. Towards the end of the year 1592, the jealousy of all sound-hearted Protestants, and especially of the ministers—those vigilant guardians both of the purity of religion and of the public welfare—was strongly excited, partly by the known presence and activity of priests and Jesuits within the kingdom, and partly by indefinite intimations of danger from abroad. The sense of impending peril, the more alarming on account of its unascertained character and extent, alarmed the country in general, but seemed to give no uneasiness to the king. An extraordinary meeting of the ministers was convoked in Edinburgh on the 15th of November, and measures were framed calculated to provide for the safety of the Church and kingdom, by exerting the utmost vigilance for the detection of the Popish machinations; and to these measures the king gave his approbation.

The necessity and the wisdom of these precautions became very soon evident. Andrew Knox, minister of Paisley, having received secret intelligence respecting one of the Popish emissaries, hastened to the Island of Cumbray, accompanied by a number of Glasgow students and some neighbouring gentlemen, and seized George Ker, brother of Lord Newbattle, as he was on the point of embarking for Spain. A number of letters were found in his possession from priests in Scotland; and several blanks subscribed by the Popish Earls of Huntly, Errol, and Angus, with a commission to William Oughton, a Jesuit, to fill up the blanks, and address them to the persons for whom they were intended. Graham

* Melville's Diary, pp. 198, 201; p. 298, Wedrow edition.

of Fintry was soon afterwards apprehended; and being both examined before the Privy Council, they testified to the genuineness of the signatures, and confessed the nature and extent of the conspiracy. It was, indeed, one of a most perilous and flagrant character. The King of Spain was to have landed thirty thousand men on the west coast of Scotland, part of whom were to invade England, and the remainder, in concert with the forces which the three earls promised to have in readiness, were to suppress the Protestants, and to procure the re-establishment of the Romish religion in Scotland.*

[1593.]—The Privy Council and the ministers of Edinburgh having thus received proof positive of the dangerous conspiracy existing in the kingdom, issued letters calling upon the well-affected to hasten to the capital, for the purpose of consulting what steps were to be taken in a matter of such a formidable character. At the same time they earnestly besought the king, who was at the time absent, to hasten to Edinburgh, and aid his faithful subjects in the defence of the commonwealth. The Earl of Angus, unaware that the conspiracy had been detected, happening to come to the capital at the same time, was seized and committed to the castle. Upon his majesty's arrival, instead of thanking his people for the zeal and vigilance which they had displayed in behalf of the religion and liberties of the country, he broke out into peevish and ill-timed complaints of their conduct in seizing the Earl of Angus, and in convoking the lieges without his previous command, which he resented as a grievous encroachment upon his prerogative. They answered, as such men might have been expected to answer, "that it was no time to attend on warnings, when their religion, prince, country, lives, lands, and all were brought into jeopardy by such treasonable dealings." But when their whole proceedings were detailed, and the full nature and extent of the conspiracy made known to him, his petulant fume passed off, he called Angus "a traitor of traitors," and declared that the crime of the conspirators was too great

* Melville's Diary, p. 205; p. 306, Wodrow edition; Calderwood, pp. 275-280; vol. v., pp. 192-214, Wodrow edition.

for his prerogative to pardon, promising to proceed to trial of the accused "with all diligence and severity."

James now thought it necessary to act with at least the appearance of sincerity. A proclamation was issued, specifying the general nature of the detected conspiracy, and commanding all who hated subjection to foreign tyranny to abstain from intercourse with Popish priests, on pain of treason, and to hold themselves in readiness to defend the country, "as they should be certified by his majesty, or otherwise find the occasion urgent." And as some suspicion of the king's sincerity had been excited by his first expression of displeasure with the prompt zeal of his people, he thought proper to pass an act of Council, prohibiting all from attempting to procure the pardon of the conspirators. The nation immediately testified its delight with the king's conduct, by framing and extensively subscribing a bond in defence of religion and the government, and preparing zealously to protect and support the king and the public peace. The king marched northwards against the conspirators; but they merely concealed themselves from immediate apprehension; and the king, notwithstanding his own act of Privy Council, received favourably those who were sent to intercede in behalf of the detected traitors.

The General Assembly met at Dundee on the 24th of April, according to their own previous arrangement, and without waiting to be called together by his majesty. The proceedings of that Assembly, although of no great moment, furnished sufficient indication of the growing jealousy between the king and the Church. The Assembly appointed commissioners to present to the king an address and petition, containing several articles in regard to which they craved redress. One was, that he would adopt strong measures for the suppression of the Popish party, and in the meantime that they should be excluded from all public official situations, and denied access to his majesty's presence. Another was, that his majesty would consider the great prejudice done to the Church by the erection of the tithes of different prelates into titular lordships. The king, on the other hand, by his commissioner, directed the attention

of the Assembly to that part of the act 1592 which required its meetings to be held by the appointment of his majesty, intimating that he could not with honour see that provision infringed; and further, requested them to make an act prohibiting any minister, on pain of deposition, from uttering in public any animadversions on the conduct of his majesty or the Privy Council. The Assembly agreed to the provision of the act 1592, it being reserved to them to meet on their own authority, provided his majesty or his commissioner were not present; and ordained that no minister "utter any rash or irreverent speeches against his majesty or Council, but that all their public admonitions proceed upon just and necessary causes, in all fear, love, and reverence, under pain of deposition."* These proceedings could give little satisfaction to either party, and indicated but too plainly a mutual distrust, likely ere long to come to an open rupture. Some steps were taken by that Assembly to prevent further dilapidation of Church property, and for the enforcement of discipline and the maintenance of public morality and peace.

The Parliament met in July, and proceeded with the trial of the Popish lords; but Ker had been permitted to escape a short while previously; and the Parliament listened to the offers of submission made by the conspirators, and rejected the bill of attainder against them, on the pretext of want of evidence. Great and general was the dissatisfaction caused by this injudicious lenity to men guilty of repeated acts of treason; and strong suspicions arose in the minds of many that his majesty's own attachment to the Protestant faith was but hollow and insincere. The Synod of Fife, at its meeting in September, determined to take such steps as were competent to it, as a Church court, towards counteracting the injurious lenity of the king and Parliament. On the ground that the Earls of Angus and Errol had, when students at St Andrews, within the bounds of that synod, subscribed the Confession of Faith, and thereby rendered themselves amenable to its jurisdiction, and that Huntly had murdered the Earl of Murray within its bounds, the

* Booke of the Universall Kirk, pp. 385, 386.

Synod of Fife proceeded to pass the sentence of excommunication against these apostate conspirators, and sent intimation of what had been done throughout the country. Intimation was also given, that a general meeting of commissioners from the different counties of the kingdom, consisting of noblemen, gentlemen, burgesses, and ministers, was to be held at Edinburgh on the 17th of October. The king was extremely annoyed with these measures. They were so completely in unison with his former declarations against the Popish conspirators, and so naturally resulting from the bond of defence previously subscribed with his concurrence, that he could not justly find direct fault with them, and yet so contrary to his recent treatment of the traitors that he could not approve of them. With his usual craft, he attempted to tamper with several of the noblemen and the ministers, to prevent the intimation of the sentence of excommunication, and also to impair the effect of the coming convention. Not succeeding in his schemes, he again dissembled; and being about to proceed to the borders to suppress some seditious and turbulent affairs, he promised that he would show no favour to the conspirators.

On the very same day on which this promise was given, the king admitted the conspirators to his presence at Fala, and made arrangements with them respecting their trial. The convention appointed commissioners to follow James to Jedburgh, and lay their complaints before him. The reception given by his majesty to his faithful and zealous subjects was very different from that which he had granted to the traitors a few days before. He termed the convention an unlawful meeting, complained of the sentence of excommunication, and even threatened to call a Parliament for the purpose of overthrowing Presbytery, and restoring Prelacy. When he had expended his wrath in idle threats, he grew calmer, and returned to the petition of the commissioners a written answer, containing promises sufficiently fair, but as idle.* It is unnecessary to dwell upon the wretched tergiversation of the king in this very important matter. A Convention of Estates was held in October, and arrange-

* Melville's Diary, p. 208; pp. 310, 311, Wodrow edition.

ments were made for the final trial of the rebel lords at Holyrood House in the following month. The conclusion of the trial was the passing of what was termed an "act of abolition," by which the Popish lords were ordained to give satisfaction to the Church, and to embrace the Protestant faith, or else to leave the kingdom within a limited time; the process against them was dropped and consigned to oblivion; and they were declared "free and unaccusable in all time coming" of the crimes laid to their charge, provided they did not for the future enter into any treasonable correspondence with foreigners.

This arrangement was equally unsatisfactory to the Church, and to the greater part of the nation. It was well understood at that time, and might be still, that the determined adherents of Popery could easily obtain absolution from Rome for any oaths or concessions made to Protestants, provided they continued to plot the destruction of the Protestant religion; and therefore, that to think of binding such men with oaths and protestations, however solemn, was about as wise as to think of fettering a beast of prey with a skein of rotten silk. Nor was it without reason that James was himself distrusted. He had repeatedly broken his most solemn pledges, and brought his word into such suspicion, that the more earnestly he protested the less he was believed. Besides, the ruling motives of his whole policy were well known to such men as Andrew Melville and Robert Bruce. They were aware of his secret intercourse with England, for the purpose of promoting his succession to the throne of that kingdom; and they knew that he would hesitate at nothing, however base and deceptive, which seemed likely to forward his views. He knew that there was a strong Popish party still in England, and he was desirous of conciliating them and procuring their support, which he sought to do by his lenient treatment of his own Popish rebels. To this it may be added, that the political principles of Papists were more agreeable to a monarch so devoted to despotic power and uncontrolled prerogative as James, than could possibly be the free spirit which lived and breathed in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. For the same reason Episcopacy ob-

tained his peculiar favour; as his cunning enabled him to perceive, that he might more easily exercise an influence upon prelates who derived from him their wealth and titles, and who, as seekers of such selfish pre-eminence, were likely to be worldly-minded and sycophantish men, than he could ever hope to do upon ministers who, deriving nothing from him, owed him nothing but natural allegiance. And he had another reason for wishing to restore Prelacy: he thought that his doing so would recommend him to the favour and support of the English prelates, who both hated and feared the Presbyterian Church government of Scotland, as a standing rebuke to their own unscriptural system. All these reasons combined to induce this crafty yet weak-minded monarch to favour the treacherous abettors of despotism, civil and religious, and to discountenance the friends of genuine freedom—a line of policy which he pursued throughout his life, and left as a dire heritage to his successors, and which they followed with infatuated pertinacity, till the ill-omened race reaped the baneful fruits of generations of falsehood and oppression, and became extinct after years of exiled, discrowned, unhonoured, and unpitied wretchedness.

[1594.]—It is for the civil historian to relate the minor turmoils of the nation; such as those caused by the turbulent and ambitious Earl of Bothwell, the successor in title and in character of him by whom Darnley was murdered and Mary disgraced and ruined, but an illegitimate scion of the royal race, being a grandson of James V. The only reason why such events are mentioned here is, that their effects were not unfrequently felt in ecclesiastical matters; as, for example, where Bothwell, anxious to gain strength, pretended to befriend the Church, and thought thereby to procure the support of individual ministers at least, if not of the Assembly, so completely did the Church stand aloof from him and his measures, that he was able to deceive and ensnare but one minister; and upon the complaint of the king, that minister was deposed, till he should satisfy his majesty and the Church.*

* Booke of the Universall Kirk, p. 408.

The same Assembly which so readily testified its abhorrence of treason, by punishing one of its own members who had been accused of favouring that crime, dealt in the same manner with those higher delinquents, whose greater offence the king seemed more willing to forgive. The sentence of excommunication pronounced against the conspirators by the Synod of Fife, was approved and ratified by the Assembly; but Lord Home, who had also been excommunicated, appearing and confessing his offence, abjured Popery, and was released from the sentence. It deserves to be remarked, that the moderator of the Assembly, Andrew Melville, not being satisfied with Lord Home's professions of repentance, not doubting their sincerity, felt conscientious scruples respecting pronouncing the act of absolution; and the Assembly, with a due regard to his feelings, appointed another person to discharge that duty. In more modern times, men who made no pretension to tenderness of conscience themselves, showed no such toleration of the conscientious convictions and difficulties of others. Yet this is not strange, though deplorable; for men naturally estimate others by their own standard; and he who knows that for him to plead tenderness of conscience would be hypocrisy, regards that plea in others as entitled to no better name.

Another instance of the loyalty, public spirit, and energy of the Church may be stated. The Popish lords, who had previously entered into a treasonable correspondence with the King of Spain, and who had been so leniently treated by James, were again detected continuing their treacherous plots. The king, irritated into sincerity, gave commission to the Earl of Argyle to march against the traitors, and to subdue them by force, while he himself proposed to proceed by Aberdeen, to see the command fully executed. Argyle encountered the rebel lords, but sustained a partial defeat. On the day after this conflict the king left Edinburgh, and marched towards Aberdeen, taking with him Andrew and James Melville, and some other ministers, to witness his zealous discharge of his determination to suppress wholly the Popish conspirators. But before any decisive measures had been taken, the money raised by the king for the sup-

port of the army was so far expended, that the troops were on the point of being disbanded for want of pay. In this emergency James Melville was sent back to Edinburgh, for the purpose of inducing the ministers to raise, by the contributions of their congregations, a sum of money to assist the king. This mission he accomplished with extraordinary speed and success, and thereby enabled the king to keep his forces together till the object of the expedition was effected, by the demolition of the strongholds of the conspirators. Even this was nearly defeated by the vacillation of the unstable monarch. Scarcely had James Melville left the camp, when James was on the point of frustrating the whole scheme, by yielding to the advice of those who wished him to spare the rebels. The energy and high principle of Andrew Melville prevailed even in the councils of the camp, and saved his sovereign from this disgrace. A little, a very little, real wisdom might have enabled James to perceive who were his best friends and wisest councillors, and upon whom he might with the greatest confidence depend in any time of emergency; but, unfortunately for himself and the kingdom, he loved flattery better than advice, and preferred courtly sycophants to bold and honest patriots.

[1595.]—An Assembly was held at Montrose in June 1595, in which no matters of great importance were transacted; but some suggestions were brought forward, containing the germs of much possible good, although afterwards employed for evil. It was proposed that the acts of Assembly should be examined, and those which had special reference to the practice of the Church extracted, and joined with the Book of Discipline, for the information and guidance of all ministers throughout the kingdom. The proposal was not carried into execution; but it served to show how completely the Book of Discipline was regarded by the Church as her standard of government. A commission was also given to certain brethren to inquire into the state of the revenues of the Church in every presbytery, to prevent dilapidations, and to secure that they should be expended in the support of the ministry, according to their original destination. But the suggestion of greatest moment

arose from a desire to provide a remedy for an abuse which had been productive of great injury to the cause of religion. From the time of the Regent Morton's administration it had been customary for men in power to endeavour to throw two or three parishes into one, appointing but one minister for all, and retaining the fruits of the remaining benefices in their own hands; and also, to change the amount of the tiend (or tithe) from year to year, so as not unfrequently to compel the minister to leave his charge from positive want of the necessaries of life. The act of annexation, and the erection of titular lordships, had greatly increased the process of spoliation. To remedy these grievances, the Assembly proposed that some of the most intelligent of the ministers from every province should make themselves well acquainted with the affairs of their own districts, and then convene in Edinburgh, and draw up a statement respecting the number of parish churches which ought to be in each presbytery, the amount of available tithes, by whom held, and on what tenure; that, acting upon the certain knowledge thus acquired, a continuing form, or durable arrangement, might be made, by which such injurious proceedings might for the future be prevented. This "constant plat," as it was termed, might have been productive of much good, had it been carried into effect; but the king, seeing the anxiety of the Church to have the arrangement made, availed himself of it as a measure, by promising to ratify which he might induce the ministers to comply with some ensnaring scheme of his own.

[1596.]—The year 1596 is peculiarly memorable in the history of the Church of Scotland. "It had," says James Melville, "a strange mixture and variety: the beginning thereof with a show of profit, in planting the churches with perpetual local stipends; the midst of it very comfortable for the exercise of reformation and renewing the covenant; but the end of it tragical, in wasting the Zion of our Jerusalem, the Church of Edinburgh, and threatening no less to many of the rest."* The first thing which occupied the attention of the Assembly was an overture from John David-

* Melville's Diary, p. 222; Wodrow edition, p. 330.

son, minister of Prestonpans, concerning the necessity of reforming the many prevalent corruptions of the Church and the country. The overture met with unanimous approbation, the conscience of every man present convincing him of his own need of humiliation and repentance. Order was given that a written form of confession should be drawn up, containing an enumeration of the evils to be reformed, under the four following heads: Corruptions in the persons and lives of the ministers of the Gospel; offences in his majesty's house; the common corruptions of all estates; and offences in the courts of justice. On the motion of Melville, the means to be employed for reforming ministers, and the censures to be inflicted on them for particular acts of delinquency, were specified. As confession is the primary step of reformation, the members of Assembly agreed to meet by themselves, for the purpose of jointly confessing their sins, and "making promise before the Majesty of God" to amend their conduct. They met, accordingly, in the Little Church, on Tuesday the 30th of March. John Davidson, the author of the overture, was chosen to preside and lead their devotional exercises. So deeply searching were his words, that they wrought conviction in every heart; and his earnest and humble confession of sin drew tears of sincere penitence from every eye. While they were in this frame of mind, he called upon them to pause, and in the privacy of their own souls to acknowledge, each man for himself, his personal guilt before God. For a quarter of an hour a solemn stillness reigned, broken only by deep-drawn sighs and heavy half-stifled sobs, as each man searched apart the dark chambers of his own bosom. After another fervent prayer and impressive address, they rose from their seats at his desire, and lifting up their right hands, they renewed their covenant with God, "protesting to walk more warily in their ways, and to be more diligent in their charges." "There have been many days," says Calderwood, "of humiliation for present judgments or imminent dangers, but the like for sin and defection was never seen since the Reformation."*

* Calderwood, pp. 317, 318; vol. v., pp. 406, 407, Wodrow edition; Melville's Diary, pp. 232, 233; pp. 346-352, Wodrow edition; Booke of the Universall Kirk, pp. 426-429.

As this solemn confession of sin regarded the nation, that it might be done nationally, the Assembly ordained that it should be repeated in the several synods and presbyteries, and that it should also be extended to congregations. This ordinance was obeyed with such a degree of readiness and fervour, and with such manifestations of sincere contrition, as proved that it both sprang from, and was accompanied by, the all-pervading power of the Spirit of God. At Dunfermline the Synod of Fife met, and conducted the duties of the solemn transaction in a peculiarly impressive manner. The synod was addressed by David Ferguson, one of the first six ministers engaged in the Reformation, and now the sole survivor, who, after giving a brief account of the perils that had been encountered and difficulties surmounted in that great work, urged his younger brethren to fidelity and zeal in their less hazardous toils and duties. Many a dark and stormy day had the Reforming patriarch seen and struggled through; and his grave words must have sounded to his younger brethren like the voice of warning, admonition, and encouragement, breathed forth to his sons by a departing father.

Men of the world may smile at the thought; but we do not hesitate to say, that we regard this solemn confession of sin and renewal of the covenant as an express means employed by Divine Providence to prepare the Church for the wasting conflict in which she was soon to be engaged—the fiery trial through which she was soon to pass. It was the communication of spiritual strength enabling her to live through a period of dreary oppression and prostrate suffering, without which she must have perished; like the food given to Elijah by the angel, to sustain him in his journey through the wilderness, which would otherwise have been “too great for him.”

The attempt to establish the mode of supporting the ministry on a firm and satisfactory basis, called by the writers of that period the “constant plat,” occupied a portion of the attention of the Assembly. The scheme proposed for consideration was drawn up by Secretary Lindsay, and may be seen at length in Melville’s Diary.* It deserves the

* Melville’s Diary, pp. 223–292; Wodrow edition, pp. 332–345.

attention of public men yet, containing many suggestions which, if carried into effect, would greatly promote the welfare of the community. But its principles were too sound, and its arrangements too liberal, to gain the favour of the king and his avaricious courtiers; who, having seized upon what even this scheme terms "the patrimony of the Church," could not be prevailed upon to make restitution of the pillage. The main principles of Lindsay's scheme were the same as those which had been proposed by Knox and the early Reformers: That the whole tithes should be regarded as the patrimony of the Church; and that they should be expended in the support of the ministers of the Gospel, a national system of education, and the poor of the land. Could this scheme have been carried into effect, it must have prevented many evils, and produced benefits altogether incalculable. It would have placed the ministers in that happy medium, congenial to the spirit of Presbytery, alike remote from the evils and temptations of wealth and of poverty—rendering the return of Prelacy impracticable, and delivering the Church from those insidious arts by which James sought to gain the aid of the poor and the ambitious. It might also have produced such a harmonious adjustment of all the great interests of the community—at once cultivating the national mind and mitigating the bitter evils of poverty and want—as would have secured the peace and happiness of the commonwealth to a degree that never yet has been experienced in any age or country. But, like every scheme of Christian benevolence devised by the Church of Scotland, and from time to time re-produced, it was frustrated by the narrow and selfish views of kings and statesmen, who seem never yet to have learned that to secure the nation's good, and not their own aggrandizement, is the very end of their public being, and that indeed their own true welfare and that of the community are one.

To proceed with our narrative: Rumours of a near impending Spanish invasion began again to pervade the kingdom. While men's minds were in a state of great anxiety on account of these tidings, and after the king had himself given orders for military musters, and urged the ministers

to exhort their people to take arms, provide supplies, and prepare to meet the meditated attacks—while the public mind was in this state of tremulous excitement, an additional element of alarm was given by the tidings that the Popish lords had secretly entered the kingdom. The affairs of the Court tended to increase the public distrust and anxiety. Since the death of Chancellor Maitland the administration of affairs had been intrusted to eight persons, commonly called *Octavians*, the greater part of whom were either known or suspected Papists. It was at once believed that they were ready to the return of the conspirators, and would exert themselves to procure for those traitors both indemnity and admission to his majesty's councils; in which case the nation might speedily be exposed to all the horrors of a Popish persecution, of which it had not yet lost the remembrance.

It soon appeared that these suspicions were too well founded. A meeting of the Privy Council was summoned at Falkland, to take into consideration an offer of submission by Huntly, for himself and his associates. Certain ministers, whom the Court judged more complying than the rest, were invited to attend this meeting, to give their advice. Plausible arguments were employed by the friends of the exiled noblemen, to induce the Council to sanction their return, lest, like Coriolanus and Themistocles, they should join the enemies of their country; but Andrew Melville, who had of his own accord joined the other ministers, uttered a bold and strong remonstrance against receiving into favour convicted traitors and Popish apostates—enemies at once of their native country and of the Gospel. Melville was commanded to withdraw, his presence not having been required; which he did, having thus first exonerated his conscience. The Council came to the resolution that Huntly might be restored, upon his acceding to such conditions as the king and Council should prescribe. This resolution gave so much offence, that the king thought proper twice to declare publicly that he did not mean to act upon it; yet a short time afterwards a Convention of Estates was held at Dunfermline, and the Falkland resolution there approved of and ratified.

His majesty's manifest breach of faith increased the

public alarm so greatly, that the commissioners of the Assembly and some country gentlemen met at Cupar in Fife, and appointed a deputation to wait on the king, and petition him to prevent the evil consequences which must result from such proceedings. It had been agreed that James Melville should be the person to address his majesty, because of his courteous manner, and the favourable regard which the king had shown him. Scarcely had he begun to speak when the king interrupted him, challenged the meeting at Cupar as seditious, and accused them of exciting causeless fears in the minds of the people. As James Melville was beginning a reply, couched in his mildest terms, his uncle, Andrew, finding that the occasion demanded a full and uncompromising statement of first principles, quitted the subordinate position which he had been willing for the time to occupy, and confronting the king, began to address him. James endeavoured authoritatively to command Melville to silence; but his high spirit was roused, and could not be overborne. Seizing the king's robe by the sleeve, in the earnestness of his mind and action, and terming him "*God's silly vassal*," he addressed him in a strain such as few kings have ever had the happiness to hear, "uttering their commission as from the mighty God."

"Sir," said he, "we will always humbly reverence your majesty in public; but since we have this occasion to be with your majesty in private, and since you are brought in extreme danger of your life and crown, and along with you the country and the Church of God are like to go to wreck, for not telling you the truth and giving you faithful counsel, we must discharge our duty, or else be traitors both to Christ and you. Therefore, Sir, as divers times before I have told you, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is King James, the head of the commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus, the King of the Church, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member. Sir, those whom Christ has called and commanded to watch over his Church have power and authority from Him to govern his spiritual kingdom both

jointly and severally; the which no Christian king or prince should control and discharge, but fortify and assist; otherwise they are not faithful subjects of Christ and members of his Church. We will yield to you your place, and give you 'all due obedience; but again, I say, you are not the head of the Church; you cannot give us that eternal life which we seek for even in this world, and you cannot deprive us of it. Permit us, then, freely to meet in the name of Christ, and to attend to the interests of that Church of which you are the chief member. Sir, when you were in your swaddling clothes, Christ Jesus reigned freely in this land, in spite of all his enemies. His officers and ministers convened and assembled for the ruling and welfare of his Church, which was ever for your welfare, defence, and preservation, when these same enemies were seeking your destruction. Their assemblies since that time continually have been terrible to these enemies, and most stedfast to you. And now, when there is more than extreme necessity for the continuance and discharge of that duty, will you (drawn to your own destruction by a most pernicious counsel) begin to hinder and dishearten Christ's servants and your most faithful subjects, quarrelling them for their convening and the care they have of their duty to Christ and you, when you should rather commend and countenance them, as the godly kings and emperors did? The wisdom of your Council, which I call devilish, is this, that ye must be served by all sorts of men, to come to your purpose and grandeur—Jew and Gentile, Papist and Protestant; and because the Protestants and ministers of Scotland are over strong, and control the king, they must be weakened and brought low by stirring up a party against them, and, the king being equal and indifferent, both should be fain to flee to him. But, Sir, if God's wisdom be the only true wisdom, this will prove mere and mad folly; His curse cannot but light upon it; in seeking both, ye shall lose both; whereas in cleaving uprightly to God, His true servants would be your sure friends, and he would compel the rest counterfeitley and lyingly to give over themselves and serve you."*

* Melville's *Diary*, pp. 245, 246; Wodrow edition, pp. 370, 371.

The dignity and power of these high sentiments overbore the petulant anger of the king; his heart was awed, and his soul felt for a space the hallowed energy of sacred truth. He uttered no wrathful reply; he attempted not to dispute the principles to which he had been compelled to listen; but declaring that the Popish lords had returned without his previous knowledge, he pledged his word that the proposals which they had made to the Privy Council should not be received till they left the kingdom, and that even then he would show them no favour before they satisfied the Church. So ended that remarkable interview between the king and Melville, in which the latter gave free expression to the sentiments and principles which the Church of Scotland has always held as essential to the constitutional freedom and purity of the Christian Church. That such principles would not find favour in the eyes of an arbitrary monarch, was not surprising; but that men who at least affect to be strenuous advocates of religious and civil liberty, should reprehend them as lawless and rebellious, might well excite feelings of indignant astonishment, were it not for the painful truth, that men of the world will not perceive and acknowledge the inseparable connection between religious freedom and civil liberty—the former as the sacred cause, the latter as the effect. Religious freedom cannot long exist without producing civil liberty; and civil liberty can neither come into being without religious liberty, nor survive it, even for a day. The Church was then, and evermore must be, the parent and the guardian of liberty, sacred and civil, and therefore doubly dear to every free-born and free-hearted Christian man.

The solemn pledge of the king was soon found to be, as formerly, a frail security. Steps for restoring the Popish conspirators were taken; of which public intimation sufficiently intelligible was given, by the invitation of the Countess of Huntly to the baptism of the Princess Elizabeth, and the appointment of Lady Livingston, an adherent to the Romish Church, to have charge of the person of the royal infant. These ominous proceedings were not unmarked by the nation's vigilant guardians. The commis-

sioners of the Assembly met at Edinburgh in October, and wrote circular letters to all the presbyteries, pointing out the imminent dangers of the present crisis, and specifying the measures necessary to be taken, to meet, and, if possible, to avert the peril. These remedial measures were, the appointment of a day of humiliation and prayer—the renewal of the excommunication of the Popish conspirators—the summoning of a certain number of ministers from different parts of the kingdom, to form, along with the Presbytery of Edinburgh, an extraordinary council of the Church, to receive information, deliberate, and convoke, if necessary, a meeting of the General Assembly.

This energetic procedure of the Church convinced the Court that something more than mere deceit would be necessary for the subversion of religious and civil liberty. It was, therefore, determined to make a direct assault upon the privileges of the Church, hoping thereby forcibly to subdue, since they could not guilefully delude her. This intention came first to the knowledge of the commissioners at an interview which they had requested with the king, for the purpose of endeavouring to remove the jealousies which existed between them. On that occasion, the king told them plainly, that there could be no agreement between him and them, “till the marches of their jurisdiction were rid,” and unless the following points were yielded to him: That the preachers should not introduce matters of State into their sermons; that the General Assembly should not be convened without his authority and special command; that nothing done in it should be held valid until ratified by him in the same manner as acts of Parliament; and that none of the Church courts should take cognizance of any offence which was punishable by the criminal law of the land. Some, even in the present day, will think that the Church ought at once to have assented to these conditions. But those who are adequately acquainted with the history of that period will be well aware, that to have done so, would have been putting it into the king’s power to establish at once a pure despotism; while those who have studied the nature of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as contradistin-

guished from that of civil courts, must also know, that compliance with the king's demands would have been yielding up the very essence of everything which constitutes a Church, and placing all matters of doctrine, government, and discipline, entirely under his control. Such an institution as that would have been, might have been termed the King's Church, but could have been no longer the Church of Christ.

The slightest shadow of doubt respecting the ultimate designs of the Court, if any had still remained, was soon removed by the information that David Black, minister of St Andrews, had been summoned to answer before the Privy Council for certain expressions said to have been used by him in his sermons. It was now evident that the entire overthrow of the liberties of the Church was intended; and the commissioners resolved to make a firm and united resistance to this premeditated attack. They wrote to the presbyteries to warn them against any attempt to disunite them, directing their attention particularly to those subjects likely to be controverted, and to the acts of Privy Council and Parliament by which the liberties of the Church had received the sanction of the civil powers. To avoid, if possible, a direct collision, they endeavoured to persuade the king to abandon the prosecution of Black; but finding all their efforts ineffectual, and being well aware that if they did not resist this attempt, it would speedily become a precedent for subjecting the whole jurisdiction of the Church to the arbitrary will of the king, they came to the resolution of advising Black to decline the judgment of the Privy Council, as incompetent to decide, *in the first instance*, on the accusation brought against him. A declinature having been drawn up to that effect, it was sent through the presbyteries, and in a very short time subscribed by upwards of three hundred ministers.

There was now an open and avowed contest between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities; and not merely the peace of the kingdom, but the interests of religion for generations, were involved in the issue. The Church displayed an extraordinary degree of unanimity in this dangerous

crisis; even those who were not peculiarly distinguished for zeal in ordinary cases cast aside their lethargy, and joined warmly in the defence of the threatened right of the Church. Spotswood himself was, or seemed to be, peculiarly forward to defend the men and the cause whom he was afterwards more than suspected of at that very time secretly betraying, and whom he afterwards basely and falsely calumniated. Previous to giving in his general declinature, Black was summoned before the Privy Council, *super inquirendis*, about unspecified matters into which inquiry was to be made; and when he objected to this mode of procedure as inquisitorial and illegal, he was then told that the accusation was restricted to matters complained of by the English ambassador, as assailing the character of Elizabeth. So trivial was the first form of accusation, that even the king said he 'did not think much of that matter; only he should take some course for pacifying the English ambassador; but take heed that you do not decline the judicatory; for if you do, it will be worse than anything that has yet fallen out.' The English ambassador was easily pacified; but that did not serve the king's purpose; and accordingly a new charge was brought against him, ranging over the alleged improper language of the three preceding years. In vain did Black produce testimonials from the provost and the professors of St Andrews; the Council was determined to proceed. On the day fixed for hearing the cause, he was assisted by Pont and Bruce; but the Council rejected the declinature, disregarded the testimonials, found the charges against him proved, and sentenced him to be confined beyond the Tay, until his majesty resolved what further punishment should be inflicted.

This unjust and oppressive sentence was not pronounced without a very solemn warning having been previously given by the Church. On the morning of Black's trial, the commissioners presented to the king and Council an address, containing their deliberate sentiments respecting the nature of the contest in which they were engaged, and the momentous consequences which it involved. A portion of this document must be given, for the vindication of the Church

of Scotland from the calumnies of her enemies, and for the exposition of the truly Christian and patriotic sentiments by which the ministers were animated:—

“We are compelled, for clearing of our ministry from all suspicion of such unnatural affection and offices towards your majesty and the state of your majesty’s country, to call that great Judge who searcheth the hearts, and shall give recompense to every one conform to the secret thought thereof, to be judge betwixt us and the authors of all these malicious calumnies. Before his tribunal we protest, that we always bore, now bear, and shall bear, God willing, to our life’s end, as loyal affection to your majesty as any of your majesty’s best subjects within your majesty’s realm, of whatsoever degree; and according to our power and calling shall be, by the grace of God, as ready to procure and maintain your majesty’s welfare, peace, and advancement, as any of the best-affectioned whosoever. We call your majesty’s own heart to record, whether you have not found it so in effect to your majesty’s straits, and if your majesty be not persuaded to find the like of us all, if it shall fall out that your majesty have occasion in these difficulties to have the trial of the affection of your subjects again. Whatsoever we have uttered, either in our doctrine or in other actions toward your majesty, it hath proceeded of a zealous affection toward your majesty’s welfare, above all things next to the honour of God, as we protest; choosing rather by the liberty of our admonitions to hazard ourselves, than by our silence to suffer your majesty to draw on the guiltiness of any sin that might involve your majesty in the wrath and judgment of God. In respect whereof we most humbly beseech your majesty so to esteem of us and our proceedings, as tending always, in great sincerity of our hearts, to the establishing of religion, the surety of your majesty’s estate and crown (which we acknowledge to be inseparably joined therewith), and to the common peace and welfare of the whole country. We persuade ourselves, that howsoever the first motion of this action might have proceeded upon a purpose of your majesty to have the limits of the spiritual jurisdiction distinguished from the civil, yet the same is entertained and blown up by

the favourers of those that are, and shall prove in the end, the greatest enemies that either your majesty or the cause of God can have in this country; thinking thereby to engender such a misliking betwixt your majesty and the ministry as shall by time take away all further trust, and in end work a division irreconcilable, wherethrough your majesty might be brought to think your greatest friends to be your enemies, and your greatest enemies to be your friends. There is no necessity at this time, nor occasion offered on our part, to insist on the decision of intricate and unprofitable questions and processes; albeit, by the subtle craft of adversaries of your majesty's quietness, some absurd and almost incredible suppositions (which the Lord forbid should enter in the part of Christians, let be in the hearts of the Lord's messengers) be drawn in and urged importunately at this time, as if the surety and privilege of your majesty's crown and authority royal depended on the present decision thereof. We most humbly beseech your majesty to remit the decision thereof to our lawful Assembly, that might determine thereupon according to the Word of God. For, this we protest in the sight of God, according to the light that he hath given us in his truth, that the special cause of the blessing that remaineth and hath remained upon your majesty and your majesty's country, since your coronation, hath been, and is, the liberty which the Gospel hath had within your realm; and if your majesty, under whatsoever colour, abridge the same directly or indirectly, the wrath of the Lord shall be kindled against your majesty and the kingdom, which we, in the name of the Lord Jesus, forewarn you of, that your majesty's and your Council's blood lie not upon us."*

These solemn and evidently heart-wrung remonstrances had no effect upon James and his Council: they were so intent upon their great design of humbling the Church, that the earnest pathos and fervent piety of the ministers made no impression upon their callous and haughty hearts. Still, with astonishing forbearance and patience, the commissioners of the Church continued to strive for peace, if it could be obtained without the abandonment of sacred principles.

* Calderwood, pp. 344, 345; Wodrow edition, vol. v., pp. 472-474.

Again they sought an interview with his majesty, for the purpose of attempting an agreement; but nothing would satisfy the king, except the complete submission of Black to every point of his accusation. The ministers answered with sad and solemn earnestness, "that if the matter concerned only the life of Mr Black, or that of a dozen others, they would have thought it of comparatively trifling importance; but as it was the liberty of the Gospel, and the spiritual sovereignty of the Lord Jesus, that was assailed, they could not submit, but must oppose all such proceeding, to the extreme hazard of their lives." This declaration, uttered by Bruce in his grave and serious manner, moved the heart of the king for a moment, till he even shed tears; and that night he pondered anxiously and rested little, perceiving that his attempt was likely to be followed by consequences which he had not anticipated.* But his courtly parasites soon regained their ascendancy: the Lord President Seaton persuaded him that he could not, without loss of honour, abandon the prosecution; his remorse passed away; and again he prosecuted his designs, with even increased asperity and violence.

The king, by a proclamation, ordered the commissioners of the Assembly to leave Edinburgh, declaring their powers unwarranted and illegal; and an act of Council was passed, ordaining the ministers, before receiving payment of their stipends, to subscribe a bond, in which they promised to submit to the judgment of the king and the Privy Council as often as they were accused of seditious or treasonable doctrine; and commanding all magistrates in burghs, and noblemen and gentlemen in country parishes, to interrupt and imprison any preachers whom they should hear uttering such language from pulpits. At the same time a circular missive was prepared, for calling a Convention of Estates, and a General Assembly, to be held at Edinburgh, on the 15th of the following February, to take into consideration "the whole order and policy of the Kirk." From this it was perfectly evident that the entire overthrow of the Presbyterian Church was intended.

* Calderwood, p. 349; Wodrow edition, vol. v., p. 482, 483; Life of Bruce; Livingston's Memorable Characters, p. 74.

On the 17th of December, a rumour being spread that the Earl of Huntly had arrived in the capital, and been admitted to the presence of the king, the ministers and the citizens became greatly alarmed; which was increased by the fact, that a charge had just been given to twenty-four of the most zealous of the townsmen to remove from Edinburgh. In this state of excitement an evil-disposed person supposed to be an emissary of that courtier party called the *Cubiculars*) gave an alarm that the Papists were coming to massacre the Protestants. Absurd as this outcry would have appeared in a cooler moment, it was enough to raise a temporary tumult, through the combined influence of fear and imagination. No injury, however, was done to any one, either in person or property; and by the exertions of the ministers and the magistrates the tumult was speedily quieted. This tumult, although utterly insignificant in itself, gave the king and the courtiers the opportunity for which they had so long wished, of a colour to their own violent proceedings. Next morning early the king quitted Holyrood House, and hastened to Linlithgow. Immediately upon his departure, a proclamation was issued, requiring all in public office to repair to him at Linlithgow, and commanding all strangers instantly to leave the capital. Fiercer proclamations immediately followed. The ministers of Edinburgh were ordered to enter into confinement in the castle; the magistrates were commanded to apprehend them; and the tumult was declared to be "a cruel and barbarous attempt against his majesty's royal person, his nobility, and Council, at the instigation of certain seditious ministers and barons;" and all who had been accessory to it, or should assist them, were declared to be liable to the penalties of treason. A short time afterwards the king entered Edinburgh at the head of a hostile array, as if he had been taking possession of a captured town, breathing forth denunciations of vengeance, and threatening to raze the city to the ground, and to erect a monument where it stood, to perpetuate the memory of such an execrable treason! The terrified citizens crouched before the storm of royal wrath, surrendered all their rights civil and sacred,

lawful, with an explanation; its acts were approved, but with certain qualifications; and the additional answers now given to the king's questions were very guardedly expressed. To advance his schemes with an Assembly so much on its guard, required all the peculiar cunning of the crafty monarch; but craft was his element, and false pretences were his weapons; and thus he prevailed over men who were too honest themselves thoroughly to understand his guile. He requested them to appoint a committee of their number, with whom he might advise on certain important affairs which they could not at present find leisure to determine, such as, the arrangements to be made respecting the ministers of Edinburgh and St Andrews, the planting of vacant churches in general, and the providing of local and fixed stipends for the ministers throughout the kingdom. To this the Assembly agreed, and nominated fourteen ministers, to whom, or any seven of them, they granted power to convene with his majesty, for the above purposes, and to give him advice "in all affairs concerning the weal of the Church, and entertainment of peace and obedience to his majesty within his realm."* This was indeed, as Calderwood says, "a wedge taken out of the Church, to rend her with her own forces." It enabled the king to frame and mature his devices, and to introduce them into the Church through what might be termed his ecclesiastical council. By their means, also, he called before him presbyteries, reversed their decisions, and restored one suspended minister to his office—a species of direct interference with ecclesiastical government to which at least one parallel might be pointed out, with this important difference, that what the king prevailed on his ecclesiastical council to do, a modern civil court has done of itself.†

Availing himself of the advantage he had gained, James induced his ecclesiastical council to present a petition to the Parliament which met in December, requesting that the Church might be represented and have a voice in the supreme council of the nation. This petition the king induced

* Booke of the Universall Kirk, p. 461.

† The Strathbogie Case.

the Parliament to grant; and it was declared that Prelacy was the third estate of the kingdom; that such ministers as his majesty should please to raise to the dignity of prelates should have full right to sit and vote in Parliament; and that bishoprics, as they became vacant, should be conferred on none but such as were qualified and disposed to act as ministers or preachers. The spiritual power to be exercised by bishops in the government of the Church was left by Parliament to be arranged by his majesty and the General Assembly. Thus the introduction of Episcopacy was attempted to be concealed under the pretext of giving to the Church a vote in the national councils, for the security of her rights and the advancement of her welfare.

It will be observed by the attentive and intelligent reader, that even in this innovation there was an intermixture of constitutional propriety. It was so contrived, that the proposal for representatives in Parliament came first from the commissioners of the Church; and when the Parliament agreed to the request, its enactment provided only that all ministers appointed to prelacies should have vote in Parliament; that is, it restored the political rank of prelates, but left to the Church its own province untouched, to restore or not the Prelatic office. And had the Church not been so much corrupted by the king, but refused to allow ministers to accept of prelacies, the act of Parliament must have remained a dead letter, and the scheme proved abortive. It may be added, that the king had a double object in view in the matter—both to obtain the means of silencing the bold and free admonitions and censures of the Church, by subjecting the ecclesiastical to the civil judicatories, and to acquire a body of creatures of his own within the Parliament, by whose assistance he might control all its proceedings. The measure, in short, was a deadly blow aimed at the very heart of liberty, civil and religious, as subsequent events ere long very clearly proved.

[1598.]—Measures being thus far prepared, the next step was to prevail upon the Church to accede to the arrangement proposed by the act of Parliament; and for this purpose the commissioners, who were wholly gained over by the

king, wrote a circular letter to their brethren, putting the most plausible construction on the scheme, and in particular representing it as essential to the procuring of legislative sanction to the "constant plat"—the provision for a permanent ministry and fixed local stipends. This letter gave rise to long and keen debates in the several synods, particularly in that of Fife, where it was strongly opposed by both the Melvilles, by the venerable Reforming patriarch Ferguson, and by Davidson, who, pointing out clearly that the proposed Parliamentary voter was a bishop in disguise, exclaimed, "Busk, busk, busk him as bonnilie as ye can, and fetch him in as fairlie as ye will, we see him weill aneugh; we see the horns of his mitre."*

A meeting of the General Assembly was convoked by the king, at Dundee, in the month of March 1598, expressly for the purpose of taking the late act of Parliament into consideration. The most strenuous exertions were made by his majesty to get the Assembly packed and constructed according to his mind. The Aberdeenshire legion was again importunately summoned to the scene; his own ecclesiastical council was thoroughly trained for its appointed task; every means had been used to bring as elders from the presbyteries those noblemen and gentlemen who had already voted for the measure in Parliament; and even after the Assembly met, several days were spent, before entering into business, by his majesty, in holding private personal intercourse with the members, endeavouring to corrupt, intimidate, or cajole them into compliance. Not even then did he venture to proceed with his pernicious scheme, till he had banished Andrew Melville, not only from the Assembly, but even out of the town. The business was then introduced by a speech from his majesty himself; in which, after descanting complacently on the great services he had rendered the Church, and his anxiety still further to promote her welfare, which, he alleged, could only be done by the proposed measure, he solemnly disclaimed any intention of bringing in Popish or Anglican bishops, averring that his sole object was, that some of the best and wisest of the ministry, chosen by the

* Melville's Diary, p. 289; Woodrow edition, p. 437.

General Assembly, should have a place in the Privy Council and Parliament, to sit in judgment on their own affairs, and not to stand, as they had too long stood, at the door, like poor suppliants, disregarded and despised.*

The question was put in this form: "Whether it was necessary and expedient, for the welfare of the Church, that the ministry, as the third estate of this realm, should, in the name of the Church, have a vote in Parliament?" A warm and protracted debate ensued, all the best and ablest of the ministers rejecting earnestly that elevation to wealth, rank, and power, which weak, worldly-minded, and ambitious men so greatly covet. It was at length carried in the affirmative, by the slender majority of ten, after all the artifices which the king had employed, and carried chiefly by the votes of the elders, a number of whom, it was asserted, had no commission. A protest was then given in by Davidson against the proceedings of this and the two foregoing Assemblies, on the ground of their not being free, but overawed by the king, and restricted in their due and wonted privileges; to which protest upwards of forty ministers adhered. It was then agreed by the Assembly that fifty-one ministers should be chosen to represent the Church, according to the ancient number of the bishops, abbots, and priors; and that their election should belong partly to the king and partly to the Church. But when resolutions respecting the manner of electing the Parliamentary representatives, the duration of their commission, their name and revenues, were proposed, many of the king's party began to waver, alarmed at the consequences of their own act; and it was deemed expedient to leave these matters for further consideration by the presbyteries, synods, and the next Assembly, which was appointed to meet at Aberdeen in July 1599.

Numerous meetings and conferences were held throughout the kingdom; and the more that the measure was investigated, the less was it approved of by the ministers. In a conference held at Falkland, the whole measure met such a decided opposition, that the king thought proper to prorogue the appointed meeting of Assembly, and had recourse

* Calderwood, p. 418, vol. v., p. 694.

again to that private influence to which he owed his previous success.

[1599.]—In November 1599, another conference was held at Holyrood House, called by the king, and attended by ministers from all parts of the country. The whole subject was then fully discussed, chiefly, it appears, for the purpose of ascertaining the arguments likely to be used against the measure in the next Assembly, that the Court party might be prepared with their answers. The substance of this remarkable conference is given by James Melville in his Diary, and will well repay a careful perusal by those who wish to ascertain the real sentiments of the Church of Scotland at this memorable period of her history. The conclusion of this conference was, that James, finding the discussion going decidedly against him, broke it off in anger, threatening that he would leave the refractory ministers to sink deeper and deeper into poverty; and would, besides, of his own authority, put into the vacant bishoprics persons who would accept of them, and who would do their duty to him and to his kingdom.*

[1600.]—On the 28th day of March 1600, the General Assembly met at Montrose. The most intense interest was felt by the whole kingdom in the meeting and the proceedings of this Assembly; as it was manifest that upon its decision would depend the continuation or the overthrow of the Presbyterian form of Church government in Scotland. The previous conferences had made both parties aware of each other's arguments, and in a great measure of each other's strength; and each appears to have entertained strong expectations of success. On the one hand, the staunch Presbyterians, holding firm by the great principles of the Reformation, by the acts of Parliament formerly passed in their favour, and, above all, by the clear and plain language of Scripture, confided in the goodness of their cause, and trusted in the support of their divine Head and King. On the other, the Court party, aware of the dislike entertained by the sovereign, the nobility, and all the looser-living part of the community, against the strictness and impartiality of

* Melville's Diary, pp. 296-308; Wodrow edition, pp. 446-462.

Presbyterian discipline, and knowing the influence which the temptations of wealth, rank, and power must always exercise upon the selfish minds of poor and ambitious men, trusted that, by these considerations, and by the personal exertions of the crafty monarch himself, the triumph of their measure would be secured.

Andrew Melville had been chosen by the Presbytery of St Andrews as one of their representatives, and went accordingly to Montrose; but the king, dreading his influence and his power of argument, strictly prohibited him from taking his seat in the Assembly. He remained, nevertheless, in the town, and gave his brethren the benefit of his advice, during the course of the proceedings. After some preliminary business had been arranged, the Assembly proceeded to the consideration of that which was the great object of its meeting—the propriety of ministers voting in Parliament. The opponents of the measure brought forward a formidable train of arguments against it, such as its supporters felt it impossible to answer; who thereupon had recourse to evasions, and deceptive endeavours to draw their antagonists from their impregnable position. The king, perceiving his party evidently losing ground, and the whole scheme exposed to imminent peril, interposed his arbitrary authority, declaring that the preceding Assembly had already decided the general question in the affirmative, that its decision must be held final on that point, and that they had only to determine respecting minor arrangements. This interference on the part of his majesty saved his measure from defeat; for there is reason to think, that if the general question had been then put to the vote, the whole scheme would have been negatived. For, on the subordinate but kindred question, Whether the Parliamentary voters should retain their place for life, or be annually elected? it was carried, in spite of all the influence of the Court, by a majority of three, in favour of annual election. Yet James, in the exercise of his favourite “king-craft,” prevailed upon the clerk to draw up the minute stating that vote in such a manner as essentially to change its meaning, and virtually to grant the very thing which it was intended to reject; and in this vitiated form

he contrived to procure for it the sanction of the Assembly, towards the close of its sittings, when its vigilance was diminished.*

To render the introduction of this measure somewhat less intolerable than it would otherwise have been, the Court party agreed to all the "caveats" or cautions which had been proposed in the conference at Falkland, for protecting the liberties of the Church, and guarding against the introduction of Prelacy. The voters were to have the name, not of bishops, but of commissioners of the Church in Parliament. The General Assembly, with the advice of synods and presbyteries, were to nominate six in each province, of whom his majesty should choose one, as the ecclesiastical representative of that province. The commissioner was to be allowed the rents of the benefice to which he should be presented, after provision had been made out of them for the churches, colleges, and schools. And, that he might not abuse his power, it was provided—That he should not propose anything to Parliament, Convention, or Council, in the name of the Church, without her express warrant and direction, nor consent to the passing of any act prejudicial to the Church, under the penalty of deposition from his office: That at each General Assembly he should give an account of the manner in which he had discharged his commission, and submit, without appeal, to the censure of the Assembly, under the pain of infamy and excommunication: That he should rest satisfied with the part of the benefice allotted to him, without encroaching upon what was assigned to other ministers within his province: That he should not dilapidate his benefice, nor dispose of any part of its rents, without the consent of the General Assembly: That he should perform all the duties of the pastoral office within his own particular congregation, subject to the censures of the presbytery and synod to which he belonged: That in all parts of ecclesiastical government and discipline, he should claim no more power or jurisdiction than what belonged to other ministers, under the pain of deprivation: That in meetings of presbytery and

* Calderwood, pp. 438, 439; Wodrow edition, vol. vi., pp. 16, 17; M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, vol. ii., pp. 58–62.

er Church courts he should behave himself in all things, l be subject to censure, in the same manner as his thren: That he should have no right to sit in the General ssembly without a commission from the presbytery: That, if osed from the office of the ministry, he should lose his e in Parliament, and his benefice should become vacant: d that the very fact of ambitiously soliciting the office, uld itself, on conviction, be a sufficient cause of deposi- 1 and all its consequences. It was ordained, that these aveats" should be inserted, "as most necessary and sub- ntial points," in the body of an act of Parliament to be de for confirming the vote of the Church; and that every amissioner should subscribe and swear to observe them, en he was admitted to that peculiar appointment.*

It will be admitted, that these regulations were well pted to render the king's measures as harmless as sible, if strictly observed. But, to use the words of otswood, "it was neither the king's intention, nor the ids of the *wiser sort*, to have these cautions stand in ee; but, to have matters peaceably ended, and the re- mation of the policy made without any noise, the king re way to these conceits."† And yet these "conceits" re publicly ratified by act of Parliament, and Spotswood elf, as well as others of the "wiser sort," solemnly ore to observe them. But to such an accomplished master "king-craft" as James, and to such worldly-wise Church- n as Spotswood and his coadjutors, the violation of ional faith, and the direct perjury of men styling them- ves ministers of the Gospel, seemed but a slight sacrifice make for the introduction of their beloved Prelacy into hurch and a kingdom, both of which cordially abhorred l dreaded its very name and nature, regarding it as ally a corruption of the Christian ministry and an instru- nt of political despotism.

The perfidious designs of the king and the "wiser sort" re very soon displayed. A meeting of the commissioners the General Assembly was called by the king in the month October following, to have their advice respecting the

Booke of the Universall Kirk, pp. 482-487.

† Spotswood, p. 453.

settlement of ministers in Edinburgh, and to consult on other matters to be proposed to Parliament for the good of the Church and kingdom. Pursuing his usual policy, the king got James Melville and two other ministers appointed on a committee to transact some other business; and during their absence, he, with the consent of those present, summarily nominated David Lindsay, Peter Blackburn, and George Gladstones, to the vacant bishoprics of Ross, Aberdeen, and Caithness. This transaction was carefully concealed from the absent members until the meeting was dissolved; and the bishops appointed in this clandestine manner sat and voted in the ensuing Parliament, in direct violation of the cautions to which they had so lately given their consent. But these cautions, though thus early violated, and though their protective power was thus proved to be ineffectual to prevent the lawless deeds of a treacherous king and perfidious Churchmen, were not therefore of no avail. Their enactment served to show the mind and the principles of the purer part of the Church of Scotland: and, remaining on the statute-book unrepealed, like the clause of the convention of Leith subjecting bishops to the General Assembly, they, together with that clause, being revived and called into operation in better times, gave to the Church of Scotland the means and the power of deposing and excommunicating her perjured betrayers.

If the Church of Scotland had been in any doubt respecting the arbitrary intentions of the king, that doubt must have been completely dispelled by two different works published by the royal author about this time. These were, his *Free Law of Free Monarchies*, and his *Basilicon Doron*, or instructions of the king to his son Prince Henry. In the former of these productions his majesty expresses with abundant clearness his notions of a free monarchy, which, according to him, is the government of “a free and absolute monarch”—a king free to do what he pleases—in short, a perfect despotism, in which the arbitrary will of the sovereign is above all law; with a Parliament to register and execute his commands, and a people his passively-obedient and unresisting slaves. In the latter, the *Basilicon Doron*,

and nature of the king's hatred of the Presbyterian was revealed, as may be seen from the protracted from that treatise, and condemned by the Assembly of Fife. These propositions were the following: That the office of a king is of a mixed kind—partly civil and partly ecclesiastical: That a principal part of his function is ruling the Church: That it belongs to him to appoint and depose preachers who wander from their text; and that it is the duty of the people to submit to his judgment in such cases ought to be publicly punished: That no ecclesiastical assemblies should be held without his consent: That no man is more proud of a king than a proud Puritan: That parity of rank between king and ministers is irreconcilable with monarchy, inimical to the mother of confusion: That Puritans had no right to the commonwealth and Church of Scotland, but were engaged to engross the civil government as tribunes of the people, to fight the introduction of democracy into the State, and to be obedient to the king because he was a king: That persons among them should not be allowed to receive any lands: And that parity in the Church should be maintained by the Episcopacy set up, and all who preached against it should be severely and publicly punished.*

No man of common intelligence and candour will doubt that the Church of Scotland had good reason to be angry with a monarch who could pen such gross slanders and opinions; and yet, at the very same time, the same man was publicly and loudly declaring that nothing was further from his mind than the introduction of the Episcopacy into Scotland! But oaths and laws were in the hands of iron to Presbyterian ministers and the people; and threads of gossamer to kings and prelates. Of principle he knew not, because he was himself a Puritan; but the policy of falsehood, cunning, and sycophancy, well understood and practised, and crowded its way into his favourite ecclesiastico-political aphorism, "*no bishop, no king*," which his own comment explains to be "*no bishop, no despot*."

It occurred in the same year, 1600, the counsel given in Melville's Diary, p. 395; pp. 444, 445, Wodrow edition.

quences of which proved exceedingly detrimental to the Church of Scotland. This was that mysterious event known in history by the name of the Gowrie Conspiracy, the true nature of which has never been fully unveiled. Leaving the discussion of such topics to the civil historian, to whose province they belong, we proceed to state the baneful consequences to the Church arising out of this strange conspiracy. An order was issued by the Privy Council, commanding all ministers to give thanks for his majesty's deliverance, according to a prescribed form; and for not using the very words of that form the ministers of Edinburgh were called before the Council, and candidly acknowledged that they were not thoroughly convinced of Gowrie's treason, although they respected the king's account of the matter, and were willing to express thankfulness that he had been delivered from danger, provided they were not at the same time obliged to express any opinion respecting its nature and extent. Five of them were immediately banished from the capital, and prohibited from preaching in Scotland. Of these, four soon submitted; but the remaining one, Robert Bruce, not being convinced, would not violate his conscience by saying what he did not believe, and was banished from the kingdom. He was afterwards allowed to return to his native country, but not to Edinburgh; and his offence was never forgiven—an offence in which nearly all the kingdom, and almost every historian, shared. After his return, he was banished for a time to Inverness; then allowed to reside in his own house at Kinnaird, near Stirling; then removed to the vicinity of Glasgow, watched and persecuted by the bishops, and beloved and revered by every good and pious man throughout the kingdom, many of whom, and among others the celebrated Alexander Henderson, owed their conversion to his instrumentality. But James could never forgive him for two dire offences; he had rendered great services to his country, and he had been injured by the king; for the one the sovereign hated him, because it could neither be denied nor compensated; and for the other, because it is natural for malignant men to hate those whom they injure. To this may be added, that the king bore towards Bruce

that instinctive antipathy which men of little minds cherish against those in the presence of whom their dwarfish intellect shrinks into its native insignificance, rebuked and crouching.*

A considerable number of the ministers throughout the country were brought into much trouble on account of their expressing sympathy with the ministers of Edinburgh, and with Bruce in particular. And it deserves to be mentioned, that the king availed himself of the confusion and distress into which this affair had cast the Church, for completing his eversive schemes; for it was while James Melville and two of his like-minded brethren were conversing with the persecuted ministers of Edinburgh, that James nominated three of his creatures to the vacant bishoprics, as above related.†

[1601.]—A meeting of the General Assembly was held at Burntisland in May 1601, by the appointment of James, who called it two months earlier than had been previously arranged. He was induced, probably, to take this step, partly in consequence of the failure of an embassy which he had sent to Rome to propitiate the Papal influence, and partly because of the odium which he had incurred by the slaughter of the Earl of Gowrie, the accusation of treason against whom the mass of the nation could not be induced to believe. To this Assembly James Melville sent a letter, pointing out very faithfully the corruptions still remaining in the Church and nation, and urging his brethren to fidelity in the discharge of their public duty; but this letter the king thought proper to suppress. A letter to the same effect, but expressed in stronger terms, written by the venerable John Davidson, was read in the Assembly, contrary to his majesty's inclination. Davidson's letter was instrumental in leading the Assembly back to the sacred ground so frequently occupied by its predecessors. They entered into a serious deliberation on the "causes of the general defections from the purity, zeal, and practice of the true religion in all estates of the country, and how the same may be most effec-

* Calderwood, pp. 444-446; vol. vi., pp. 56, 59, Wodrow edition.

† Calderwood, pp. 445, 446; vol. vi., pp. 95, 96, Wodrow edition.

tually remedied." The king himself either yielded to, or for a short while participated in, the general feeling. He rose up and addressed the Assembly with great appearance of sincerity, tears moistening his eyes as he spoke. He confessed his offences and mismanagement in the government of the kingdom; and lifting up his hand, he vowed, in the presence of God and of the Assembly, that he would, by the grace of God, live and die in the religion presently professed in the realm of Scotland, defend it against all its adversaries, minister justice faithfully to his subjects, reform whatever was amiss in his person or family, and perform all the duties of a good and a Christian king better than he had hitherto performed them. At the request of his majesty, the members of Assembly in a similar manner renewed their vows; and it was ordained that this mutual vow should be intimated from the pulpits on the following Sabbath, to convince the people of the good dispositions of his majesty, and the cordiality subsisting between him and the Church.*

Various other matters were transacted in this Assembly, of little public importance, with one exception—a proposal to review and improve the common translation of the Bible, and the metrical version of the Psalms. Into this proposal the king entered with great cordiality, availed himself of the opportunity of displaying his acquaintance with the Scriptures, and his knowledge of their original languages, and subsequently set himself to the task of attempting a new poetical version of the Psalms.

Although the king had, in the Assembly held at Burntisland, made the most solemn declaration of love to the Church of Scotland, yet as soon as his fit of devotion, and perhaps of remorse, wore off, he returned to his course, and continued to prosecute his measures for the subversion of that Church which he so often swore to maintain. Upon the representation of his parasite Gladstones, he confined Andrew Melville within the precincts of the College of St Andrews; and he continued to demand from Bruce concessions which he well knew that upright man could never make,

* Melville's *Diary*, pp. 329-331; p. 544, Wodrow edition; Calderwood, pp. 447-456; vol. vi., p. 125, Wodrow edition; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 491-499.

that he might have some pretext for continuing to prosecute and oppress him. And when the Synod of Fife met, and proceeded, with accustomed sincerity and boldness, to express complaints and animadversions respecting public matters, the king endeavoured first to circumvent, and then to intimidate James Melville; in neither of which attempts did he succeed.

[1602.]—The Assembly had been appointed to meet in July 1602, at St Andrews; but the king, on his own authority, postponed it till November, changing the place of meeting to the chapel at Holyrood House. This arbitrary mode of dealing with the meetings of the Assembly excited considerable apprehension, numbers of the most faithful ministers regarding it as, what in all probability it was intended for, a mode of familiarizing the minds of the ministers generally with the idea that the meeting of the Assembly was wholly dependent on the pleasure of his majesty, and might be postponed indefinitely, or altogether disallowed, whenever he should think proper. A protestation against this arbitrary procedure was given in by James Melville. Yet when the Assembly fairly entered upon its duties, it was soon apparent that a great number of the ministers were still true Presbyterians. Several important acts were passed concerning the visitation, examination, and censure of synods, presbyteries, pastors, and congregations; and regulations were framed of a very searching nature, well calculated to test the conduct and character of the Church, both office-bearers and ordinary members, and to prevent that laxity of discipline and morals which the Prelatic party were but too certain to introduce, should their machinations be successful.

In this Assembly's records we find mention of a case of some importance, as indicative of the views of the Church respecting the appointment of ministers at that period. The Synod of Glasgow brought a complaint against Mr George Semple, who had been presented to the parish of Killelane, and whom the synod had forbidden to intermeddle with the ministry in that parish, for various reasons, but especially on account of a great dislike which several of

tually remedied." The king himself either yielded to, or for a short while participated in, the general feeling. He rose up and addressed the Assembly with great appearance of sincerity, tears moistening his eyes as he spoke. He confessed his offences and mismanagement in the government of the kingdom; and lifting up his hand, he vowed, in the presence of God and of the Assembly, that he would, by the grace of God, live and die in the religion presently professed in the realm of Scotland, defend it against all its adversaries, minister justice faithfully to his subjects, reform whatever was amiss in his person or family, and perform all the duties of a good and a Christian king better than he had hitherto performed them. At the request of his majesty, the members of Assembly in a similar manner renewed their vows; and it was ordained that this mutual vow should be intimated from the pulpits on the following Sabbath, to convince the people of the good dispositions of his majesty, and the cordiality subsisting between him and the Church.*

Various other matters were transacted in this Assembly, of little public importance, with one exception—a proposal to review and improve the common translation of the Bible, and the metrical version of the Psalms. Into this proposal the king entered with great cordiality, availed himself of the opportunity of displaying his acquaintance with the Scriptures, and his knowledge of their original languages, and subsequently set himself to the task of attempting a new poetical version of the Psalms.

Although the king had, in the Assembly held at Burntisland, made the most solemn declaration of love to the Church of Scotland, yet as soon as his fit of devotion, and perhaps of remorse, wore off, he returned to his course, and continued to prosecute his measures for the subversion of that Church which he so often swore to maintain. Upon the representation of his parasite Gladstones, he confined Andrew Melville within the precincts of the College of St Andrews; and he continued to demand from Bruce concessions which he well knew that upright man could never make,

* Melville's *Diary*, pp. 329-331; p. 544, Wodrow edition; Calderwood, pp. 447-456; vol. vi., p. 125, Wodrow edition; *Bookes of the Universall Kirk*, pp. 491-499.

that he might have some pretext for continuing to prosecute and oppress him. And when the Synod of Fife met, and proceeded, with accustomed sincerity and boldness, to express complaints and animadversions respecting public matters, the king endeavoured first to circumvent, and then to intimidate James Melville; in neither of which attempts did he succeed.

[1602.]—The Assembly had been appointed to meet in July 1602, at St Andrews; but the king, on his own authority, postponed it till November, changing the place of meeting to the chapel at Holyrood House. This arbitrary mode of dealing with the meetings of the Assembly excited considerable apprehension, numbers of the most faithful ministers regarding it as, what in all probability it was intended for, a mode of familiarizing the minds of the ministers generally with the idea that the meeting of the Assembly was wholly dependent on the pleasure of his majesty, and might be postponed indefinitely, or altogether disallowed, whenever he should think proper. A protestation against this arbitrary procedure was given in by James Melville. Yet when the Assembly fairly entered upon its duties, it was soon apparent that a great number of the ministers were still true Presbyterians. Several important acts were passed concerning the visitation, examination, and censure of synods, presbyteries, pastors, and congregations; and regulations were framed of a very searching nature, well calculated to test the conduct and character of the Church, both office-bearers and ordinary members, and to prevent that laxity of discipline and morals which the Prelatic party were but too certain to introduce, should their machinations be successful.

In this Assembly's records we find mention of a case of some importance, as indicative of the views of the Church respecting the appointment of ministers at that period. The Synod of Glasgow brought a complaint against Mr George Semple, who had been presented to the parish of Killelane, and whom the synod had forbidden to intermeddle with the ministry in that parish, for various reasons, but especially on account of a great dislike which several of

the parishioners entertained against him. The Assembly inquired into the case, acquitted Mr Semple of the charges brought against his character in general; but, in respect of the great dislike between him and the parishioners, "think it not good that he be planted minister at the said kirk, and therefore ordained him to desist therefrom, and demit the presentation made to him of the benefice thereof."*

This Assembly was the last which was recognised by the Church of Scotland as a free and lawful Assembly, from that time till the year 1638. And indeed even the Assembly of 1602 can scarcely be called a free Assembly. It was held in the very precincts of the palace; some of the most influential men in the Church were violently prevented from attending it; and on several occasions the king and his minions interrupted the proceedings, when these began to take a course of which the despotic monarch and his flatterers did not approve; as, for instance, when an accusation was brought against Spotswood, that he had been present at the superstitious and idolatrous Popish service of the mass, when he was recently in France, the Court party interfered, and contrived to prevent the process against him from going forward.

[1603.]—On the last day of March 1603, intelligence of the death of Queen Elizabeth having reached Scotland, James was proclaimed King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland; and in the High Church of Edinburgh on the following Sabbath he addressed the assembled people, and once more declared his approbation of the Church of Scotland, disclaiming all intention of making any further alteration in its government. But even in the moment of his exultation on account of his easy accession to such an increase of wealth and power, he relented not in his determination to perpetuate the punishments which he had inflicted on Bruce and Davidson, unless they would confess themselves guilty of an offence in a matter in which they saw nothing guilty or offensive. If they could have flattered and falsified, they might easily have regained his favour; that is, they might have regained, by ceasing to deserve it;

* Booke of the Universall Kirk, p. 529.

out because they could not be other than honest and conscientious men, they could not recover the favour of their vain, weak-minded, and obstinate sovereign.

The Presbyterian Church of Scotland had little reason to expect that its government and discipline would obtain additional favour from a sovereign who had long plotted their overthrow, now that he had obtained a vast accession of wealth and power, and was surrounded by the dignitaries of the Prelatic Church of England. Still, it was not from the English bishops, so much as from their own treacherous countrymen, that the Scottish ministers were most apprehensive of danger; according to the well-known fact, that the renegade becomes the greatest zealot. The Hampton Court conference between the High Church party and the Puritan Nonconformists, which took place soon after James' arrival in London, indicated with sufficient distinctness what might be expected; especially when his majesty, in his first speech in Parliament, expressed his tender indulgence of Papal errors, and his utter detestation of the Puritans, with 'their confused form of policy and parity,' whom he termed 'a sect insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth.' The proposal for a union of the two kingdoms gave additional alarm to the Church of Scotland, who saw in such a measure, especially after the utterance of such sentiments, the greatest danger to the Presbyterian Establishment.

In this dangerous juncture the Synod of Fife again put itself boldly in the front of the conflict. When the Scottish Parliament met to deliberate upon the proposal for a union, the Synod of Fife applied for liberty to hold a General Assembly; and when this was declined, the synod addressed the commissioners of the Assembly, reminded them of their duty and their responsibility to the Church at all times, and particularly in this hour of danger. They adjured the commissioners to defend the government of the Church of Scotland, as not resting upon conventional grounds, capable of being changed or altered, but upon divine authority, equally as the other articles of religion did; declaring that they would rather suffer death itself than see the overthrow of

the Presbyterian Church. This spirited remonstrance had a most beneficial effect. The Parliament passed an act in conformity with its views, declaring that the commissioners for the union should have no power to treat of anything that concerned the religion and ecclesiastical discipline of Scotland.* This, it may be remarked, was of the very same nature as the celebrated Act of Security, passed about a century afterwards, as the basis of the union then really formed; and we shall have occasion to show how little such an act was able to accomplish directly the purpose for which it was intended, but yet, as in the other instances, of how much service it may finally be productive. A great constitutional principle, law, or declaration, may remain for any indefinite length of time not dead, but dormant; and may at length be aroused into potential activity, so as to realize the full development of that precious germ which it so long preserved.

[1604.]—Events very soon proved that the dangers dreaded by the Church were not imaginary. When the time approached that the General Assembly should meet, which had been appointed to be on the last Tuesday of July 1604, at Aberdeen, his majesty prorogued it till the conferences respecting the union should be over, and postponed its meeting till the same month of the following year. But the Presbytery of St Andrews being resolved to exonerate themselves from the blame of allowing their sacred rights to be violated without remonstrance, enjoined their representatives to keep the appointed meeting, notwithstanding the royal prorogation, which they accordingly did; and finding none present to assist them in holding an Assembly, they took a formal protest that they had done their duty, and that the danger to the privileges and rights of the Church, arising from the cowardly neglect of others, should not be imputed to them.

This bold and faithful conduct acted like the kindling of a beacon in the time of a threatened invasion. The next meeting of the Synod of Fife bore the aspect of a General

* Calderwood, pp. 479-482; vol. vi., p. 263; M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, vol. i., pp. 106, 109.

sembly, so many delegates from all parts of the kingdom assembled, to consult what course should now be taken in defence of their religious liberties. This synodical meeting, and an extraordinary one subsequently held at Perth, went as direct to the cause of these evils as they constitutionally could, charging not the king, but the Parliamentary bishops, with hindering the meeting of the Assembly for the purpose of prolonging their own powers, and of adding the censures which their conduct had deserved. It was resolved that petitions should be sent from all the shires, requesting his majesty to allow the Assembly to meet for the transaction of important business. The terror and wrath of the Parliamentary bishops and expectant commissioners were great; and Gladstones procured an order from the king to throw the two Melvilles into prison, in revenge for their activity—an order which the Privy Council did not deem it expedient at the time to execute.

[1605.]—But the king had resolved upon his course, and when the time for the meeting of the General Assembly again drew near, it was again prorogued, notwithstanding the numerous petitions sent to Court requesting its meeting to be allowed. And, as if to remove all doubt respecting his design, his majesty, in proroguing the Assembly, mentioned no time for its next meeting. This rendered it evident that nothing less than its entire suppression was intended, and, as an inevitable consequence, the overthrow of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and the erection of Prelacy. This was directly contrary to the act of Parliament 1592, in which it was expressly stipulated that the Assembly should meet at least once every year: it was contrary even to the acts of Parliament and Assembly passed for the introducing of commissioners of the Church into Parliament, who were annually to render to the Assembly an account of their conduct, subject to censure and deposition, if they had acted improperly. The suppression of the meeting of Assembly was a virtual bestowal of permanence in their function on these parliamentary bishops and commissioners; and, to that extent was directly evasive of the constitution and government of the Presbyterian Church. It was, therefore, impo-

ratively necessary for the Church *now* to oppose these perfidious and arbitrary encroachments, and to defend her sacred liberties, or to be for ever enslaved.

When the Assembly was thus prorogued, the time of its meeting was so near at hand that several presbyteries had already chosen their representatives. The interval was too short to admit of such deliberations and transmission of opinions as would have enabled the whole Church to act in a body, and according to one systematic plan; but ~~nine~~ presbyteries resolved to send their representatives to Aberdeen, with instructions to constitute the Assembly, and adjourn it to a particular day, without proceeding to transact any business. For it was still hoped that his majesty might be prevailed upon to alter his course; and the Church was extremely reluctant to take any exasperating steps, but merely to secure formally its sacred and statutory rights.

On the 2d of July 1605, nineteen ministers met, after sermon, in the session-house of Aberdeen; and the king's commissioner, Straiton of Lauriston, presented to them a letter from the lords of the Privy Council, addressed "To the brethren of the ministry convened at their Assembly in Aberdeen." The very address of this letter not only authorized the Assembly, but rendered it necessary that it should be formally constituted before the letter could with propriety be read. This was done accordingly; and while they were engaged in reading the letter, a messenger-at-arms entered, and in the king's name charged them to dismiss, on the pain of rebellion. The Assembly declaring their readiness to comply with this order, requested [the commissioner to name a day and place for their next meeting; and upon his refusal, the moderator appointed the Assembly to meet again in the same place on the last Tuesday of September ensuing, and then dissolved the meeting with prayer. It was afterwards pretended by the commissioner that he had prohibited the Assembly by open proclamation at the market-cross of Aberdeen on the day before it met; but when Andrew Melville charged him, in the presence of the king, with having falsified the date, he

had nothing to answer, and could not produce a single person who had heard the proclamation on that day.*

Is there one man who understands the principles and values the rights of religious and civil liberty, that will condemn the proceedings of this much-calumniated Assembly? The right of the ministers of the Church of Scotland to meet at least once a-year in a General Assembly had been always asserted, had been secured by acts of Parliament, and had received repeatedly the express sanction of his majesty; and when these sacred rights and legislative enactments were attempted to be destroyed by the arbitrary will of the sovereign, on the bare authority of a royal proclamation, the ministers of the Church of Scotland would have been unworthy of the names they bore, the station they occupied, and the great cause in defence of which they stood forth, had they acted in any other manner than they did—had they not confronted every danger, rather than submit to measures which aimed at the establishment of a perfect despotism. It does not seem too much to say, that these high-principled Christian ministers were the chosen instruments in the hand of the Divine Head and King of the Church for the preservation of that sacred principle—the right of the office-bearers and members of the Christian Church to meet and deliberate respecting religious matters, and to exercise a spiritual jurisdiction therein, free from all civil control. And though for a time the strong arm of power might crush the devoted defenders of that sacred principle, the principle itself, when once fully made known and resolutely asserted, was indestructible, because it was true, and because God was its defender.

The wrath of the king, when informed of the meeting of the Assembly at Aberdeen, knew no bounds. He instantly sent orders to Scotland to proceed with the utmost rigour against the ministers who had presumed to contravene his command. Fourteen of the most eminent were sent to prison to wait their trial—John Forbes, moderator of the late Assembly, and John Welsh, son-in-law of Knox, being confined in separate dungeons in the Castle of Blackness.

* Calderwood, pp. 492–494; Wodrow edition, vol. vi., pp. 286–574.

Acting according to the principles of the Church of Scotland, they declined the jurisdiction of the Privy Council in a matter purely ecclesiastical; and this being, as formerly, regarded as an aggravation of their offence, they were indicted to stand trial for high treason before the Court of the Justiciary at Linlithgow. The able defence of Forbes and Welsh, supported by the legal reasonings of Thomas Hope, and countenanced by Andrew Melville, could not avail to rescue the victims from the grips of the tyrant. Every species of corruption was employed by James' unworthy minions to secure a verdict against them, which was at length obtained by a majority of no more than three.*

Six eminently pious and able ministers were thus condemned and cast into prison, to wait his majesty's pleasure what sentence should be pronounced. Eight more remained for trial; and the relentless despot sent orders to proceed without delay to a repetition of the same perversion of law and justice. But the heart of Scotland began to swell with sympathy for the sufferers; and the Privy Council sent intimation to the king, that it would not be safe to proceed with the trial in the present temper and feeling of the nation. James yielded to the remonstrance so far as to release the eight ministers from prison, but banished them to the remotest parts of the kingdom. The six who had been convicted, after suffering fourteen months' imprisonment in the Castle of Blackness, were banished into France.

Such were the first fruits of the introduction of Prelacy into Scotland—the violation of acts of Parliament, the corruption of the courts of justice, and the banishment of ministers eminently distinguished by personal piety, and by success in the discharge of their sacred duties; and so early was the foundation laid in Scottish experience for what has become a national proverb—"that Prelatic Episcopacy never appeared in Scotland but as a persecutor."

[1606.]—In the month of February 1606, an evasive attempt was made by the king, at the instigation of the bishops, to procure the consent of the synods to five articles, intended to secure the bishops and commissioners from the

* Calderwood, pp. 499-516; Wodrow edition, vol. vi., p. 388.

consequences of their violation of all the cautions they had sworn to observe, and also to admit the power which the king claimed over the meetings of the General Assembly. But although the synods were cunningly summoned to meet on the same day all over the kingdom, so that there could be no interchange of opinion among them, the result was, that only one synod, that of Angus, assented to the proposed articles.

A Parliament was held at Perth in August the same year, for the purpose chiefly of proceeding with the restoration of Prelacy. In order to effect this, it was necessary to repeal the statute annexing the temporalities of bishoprics to the crown, and to restore them to those who should be nominated to the Episcopal office. This intention becoming known, the ministers from all quarters repaired to Perth, remonstrated against this design, and finally gave in a protest to each of the three estates. This protest was signed by forty-two ministers, three of whom not long afterwards accepted bishoprics, to their perpetual disgrace. The protest itself may be seen in Calderwood, and also in the introduction to Stevenson, and deserves an attentive perusal, as an able embodiment of the opinions entertained by the leading men in the Church at that period—opinions which all ages would do well to cherish. An arrangement was made between the nobility and the Prelatic party to the following effect: That the wealth and lands formerly possessed by abbots, priors, &c., in virtue of which those persons had voted in Parliament, and as representing which so many commissioners of the Church had recently been admitted to sit and vote, should be alienated from the Church, and erected into temporal lordships; and that, on the other hand, there should be seventeen prelacies erected, and the bishops restored to all their ancient honours, dignities, privileges, and prerogatives. In the preamble to the strange and arbitrary act by which this base arrangement was ratified, and which was for a considerable time kept as secret as possible, his majesty is recognised as “absolute prince, judge, and governor over all estates, persons, and causes, both spiritual and temporal.”*

* Act Parl. Scot., iv., pp. 281-283; Calderwood, p. 532; vol. vi., p. 495, Wodrow edition.

A short while previous to the meeting of Parliament, letters were sent by the king to six of the most distinguished of the ministers who had not been already seized on account of the Aberdeen Assembly. These six were, Andrew and James Melville, William Scott, John Carmichael, William Watson, James Balfour, Adam Colt, and Robert Wallace. They were commanded to repair to London, that his majesty might treat with them concerning such things as would settle the peace of the Church, and would justify to the world the measures which his majesty, after such extraordinary condescension, might find it necessary to adopt for repressing the obstinate and turbulent. The ministers had little doubt what would be the issue. The course of the king's conduct in times past pointed out with sufficient plainness what was his probable design. Like the tyrant of antiquity, James knew that the safest method of reducing a nation to slavery was to begin by cutting off its leading and free-spirited men. Bruce and Welsh were already in exile; and if the Melvilles could also be removed, he might secure the comparatively easy accomplishment of his favourite scheme, the overthrow of the Church of Scotland, and the establishment of Prelacy.

The heart sickens at the recital of such a continued course of royal knavery and Prelatic treachery; and we feel compelled to trace with more rapid and summary course the remaining stages of this disgraceful period of our national history. When the six ministers arrived at London, they were admitted to an interview with the king, and questioned respecting their opinion of the Assembly which met at Aberdeen notwithstanding the royal prorogation. Every endeavour was used to draw them into the use of language which might furnish a plausible pretext for instituting proceedings against them; and at length, on the despicable charge against Andrew Melville, of having written an epigram censuring pointedly the superstitious ceremonies which he had been compelled to witness in the Chapel Royal, he was brought to trial as guilty of a treasonable act. Notwithstanding the singularly able and eloquent defence of Melville, he was committed to the Tower, subjected to a tedious

imprisonment of four years, and at length allowed to go to Sedan, where he remained till his death. His nephew was also prohibited from returning to Scotland, and the remaining four from returning to their parishes, although not implicated in the offence charged against him; but thus the crafty tyrant contrived to cut down the tallest.

The king and his bishops thinking themselves now tolerably secure of carrying their measures, hastened with keen speed to the work. Missives were addressed by the king to the several presbyteries, informing them that an Assembly was to be held at Linlithgow on the 10th of December, and naming the persons whom they were to send as representatives. Thus even the choice of their own representatives was to be taken away before the king could expect to threaten or cajole the Presbyterian ministers into the reception of his beloved Prelacy. Some of the presbyteries refused to grant any commission to the king's nominees, and others strictly prohibited them from taking part in the decision of any ecclesiastical question. When this packed Assembly met, a letter from his majesty was read, recommending the appointment of constant moderators of presbyteries, and that the bishops should be the moderators of the presbyteries within whose bounds they resided. Even in this carefully-selected Assembly it required all the art of the king's commissioner, and a repetition of the deceitful protestations and cautions of the perjured prelates, to carry a measure so repugnant to every Presbyterian principle. It was carried, however; and when sent to his majesty to be ratified, it returned with an interpolation, appointing the bishops to be moderators of provincial synods, as well as of presbyteries. Legal charges were sent to all the synods and presbyteries to admit the constant moderators; and the Synod of Angus confirmed its bad pre-eminence by being the only one that did not refuse.* Fierce, violent, and outrageous, were the attempts made by the king's agents to force the bishops as constant moderators upon the synods and presbyteries, and in almost every instance unsuccessfully, though many ministers were thrown into

* Calderwood, pp. 550-554; Wodrow edition, vol. vi., p. 677.

prison, and disgraceful tumults raised by the Prelatic party.

[1607.]—The whole of the year 1607 was employed by the prelates and their supporters in the endeavour to force the constant moderators upon synods and presbyteries, by every method which craft could devise or tyranny execute.

[1608.]—But the bishops perceiving that these forcible measures were rousing the spirit of the country, had recourse to a stratagem which wrought more effectually. A conference was held at Falkland, between the Prelatists and the faithful Presbyterians, with the pretext of attempting to come to an amicable arrangement, and put an end to the strifes and divisions by which the country was distracted. Following up this policy, an Assembly was held at Linlithgow about the end of July, in which the Prelatists repeated their wish for a peaceful and amicable discussion on the points in dispute, some of them pretending that they began to be of opinion that Prelacy was more agreeable to Scripture than the Presbyterian form of Church government. This fallacious pretext produced the desired effect. It lulled many of the vigilant Presbyterians into security, or directed their attention to speculative discussions, while their wily antagonists were pressing forward their machinations practically.

[1609.]—A Parliament was held at Edinburgh in 1609, in which the bishops were present, but none of the ministers received intimation of its meeting, that they might, as usual, present their requests to the national Legislature. Considerable progress was accordingly made by the prelates in the prosecution of their measures. Spotswood, now archbishop of Glasgow, was made a Lord of Session; and the bishops were empowered to modify and fix the stipends of ministers—a power which they did not scruple to employ for the purpose of bribing adherents, and of starving antagonists. Thus were the bishops restored by Parliament to the civil jurisdiction formerly held by the Popish prelates.

[1610.]—On the 16th of February 1610, a commission was given under the great seal to the two archbishops of

St Andrews and Glasgow, to hold two Courts of High Commission. These courts, it may be mentioned here, were united in 1615, when Spotswood was translated to St Andrews, and thereby became possessed of what in Popish times had been the primacy. Next was a more tyrannical court instituted than that of High Commission. It was regulated by no fixed laws or forms of justice, and was armed with the united terrors of civil and ecclesiastical despotism. It had the power of receiving appeals from any ecclesiastical judicatory; of calling before it all persons accused of immorality, heresy, sedition, or any imaginary offence; of finding them guilty upon evidence which no court of justice would have sustained; and of inflicting any punishment, either civil or ecclesiastical, or both, which it thought proper. "As it exalted the bishops far above any prelate that ever was in Scotland, so it put the king in possession of what he had long desired, namely, the royal prerogative and absolute power to use the bodies and goods of his subjects at his pleasure, without form or process of law: so that our bishops were fit instruments of the overthrow of the freedom and liberty both of the Church and realm of Scotland."

An Assembly was held at Glasgow on the 8th of June, the same year. Previous to its meeting, the king, by the direction of the bishops, sent circular letters to the presbyteries, nominating, as on a former occasion, their representatives; and the Earl of Dunbar was sent from London, as king's commissioner, well provided with golden persuasives to use in lack of better arguments. His majesty's dictatorial letter was read; threats and promises were plentifully employed; and at length the whole of the Prelatic measures were carried, only five votes being given against them. The Aberdeen Assembly of 1605 was condemned; the right of calling and dismissing Assemblies was declared to belong to the royal prerogative; the bishops were declared moderators of diocesan synods; and all presentations to benefices

* Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, pp. 270-276; pp. 787-792, Wodrow edition; Calderwood pp. 616-619. As the last volume of the Wodrow edition of Calderwood is not yet printed, no further reference to it can at present be given.

were appointed to be directed to them; and the power of excommunicating and absolving offenders, and of visiting the Churches within their respective dioceses, was conferred on them. Thus did this packed, and intimidated, and bribed convention (often called the *Angelical Assembly*, in allusion to the *angels*, a gold coin used in bribing the mercenary Prelatists), consent to the introduction of the corrupt and corrupting Prelatic system of Church government. Not more strongly contrasted are Prelacy and Presbytery in their forms and ceremonies, than in the methods by which they were established in Scotland. The faithful preaching of the Gospel, open and manly argument, and the pure lives of its teachers, were the means employed by Presbytery to fix itself in the heart of Scotland: arbitrary power, dissimulation, perfidy, treachery, corruption, and persecution, were the methods by which Prelacy was introduced, nourished, and confirmed. Till these facts have perished from the records of history, little else will be required by any right-hearted and unprejudiced man, to enable him to answer the question, Which of the two systems is of human invention, and which of divine institution!

The perfidious acts of the Glasgow Assembly were kept for a time concealed, till the prelates were ready to have them enforced. Yet great opposition was made in many parts of the country, and the persecution of faithful ministers was resumed. Spotswood, Lambe, and Hamilton went to London to obtain consecration to their Episcopal functions, and that they might afterwards legitimately consecrate their Prelatic brethren.

[1612.]—Nearly two years elapsed between the Glasgow Assembly and the ratification of its acts by the Parliament, in October 1612; but in the ratification the acts were so far changed as to render them more according to the wish of the prelates, especially of Spotswood, who directly asserts that this act rescinded and annulled that of 1592.* By the influence of the same ambitious man, also, the Courts of High Commission were subsequently united in 1615, and he was placed at the head of this Prelatic inquisition.

* Spotswood, p. 518.

[1616.]—No Assembly was held till August 1616, when it was summoned to meet at Aberdeen. It is chiefly remarkable on account of a new Confession of Faith, drawn up by the Prelatic party, sufficiently orthodox in its doctrines, but meagre and evasive in respect of Church government and discipline, for a very evident reason.* By this accommodating Assembly the Popish lords were received into favour, and subscribed the new Confession. The Prelatic party had indeed outgrown the patriarchs of the Reformation.

[1617.]—In 1617, the king paid a visit to his ancient dominions; expecting, probably, to find matters more to his liking under the Prelatic sway than formerly. He soon found, however, that the ancient spirit was not wholly fled. A considerable number of the ministers gave in a protestation against a proposal that the king, with the advice of the prelates, and some of the ministry, should have power to enact ecclesiastical laws; and when David Calderwood was summoned before the Court of High Commission, on account of this protestation, he declined its jurisdiction. Some sharp altercation passed between him and the king, which Calderwood has himself recorded in a very graphic manner.† The result was, that he was banished out of the kingdom, and compelled to depart during the stormy winter weather; the king coarsely saying, that should he be drowned, it would save him from a worse fate. A sort of Assembly was held at St Andrews in the end of October, for the purpose of completing the Prelatic innovations; but it proved rather premature, and that completion was reserved for the following year.

[1618.]—On the 25th of August 1618, the General Assembly met at Perth, in obedience to the royal mandate. During the preceding summer months, every possible device which craft or despotism could suggest, had been used to prepare such an Assembly as would be sufficiently subservient; and when the Assembly met, nothing was left undone to insure a Prelatic triumph. They met in what was called the Little Kirk, in which a long table was placed in the

* Calderwood, pp. 667–673.

† Ibid., pp. 681–683.

centre, benches arranged on each side of it, and at the head a cross table, with chairs for his majesty's commissioners and the moderator. The nobility, gentry, and prelates placed themselves on the benches, leaving the ministers to stand behind them, unaccommodated with seats, as if indicating the subordinate part which they were to perform; and Spotswood took the moderator's chair, without being elected to that office. When it was proposed that the moderator should be elected, according to the usual order of procedure, Spotswood would not permit it, on the ground that as the Assembly was held within the bounds of his diocese, he was entitled to preside. The ministers were then required to give in their commissions; but these commissions were not examined publicly, so that it could not be known whether they were all genuine or not, till the conclusion of the proceedings, when it was ascertained that many of them were not legal. The question was asked by some of the ministers, whether all the noblemen, barons, and burgesses present were to vote, since many of them had no commissions as elders. Spotswood answered, that all who had come in compliance with his majesty's missives should vote, although this was directly contrary to the constitution of the Assembly. The Dean of Winchester was then introduced, who read a long letter from the king, strongly recommending the measures which he proposed, and warmly expostulating with the Church on account of its reluctance to comply with his suggestions. The dean followed up this letter with a speech, strenuously urging compliance with all the king's desires and suggestions, in a strain of sycophantic adulation.

The struggle immediately began between the faithful ministers and the innovating Prelatic party. A private conference was held, for the purpose of putting the proposed articles into regular form for the consideration of the Assembly. In the conference, Spotswood endeavoured to procure the sanction of these articles by a vote, which would have precluded the liberty of reasoning in the Assembly; and in this he was partially successful. When the articles were laid before the Assembly on the 27th, a scene of tyrannical violence ensued, such as has been seldom equalled.

Spotswood addressed the Assembly in the most haughty and domineering style, urging submission to his majesty's desires; commanding implicit and immediate obedience, deriding the idea that any ministers would submit to be expelled from their parishes and stipends rather than yield, and assuring them that the people would not support them, or, if such a thing should happen, "wishing that the king would make him a captain, and never one of these braggers would come to the field." Others of the prelates followed in a similar strain and spirit; and every attempt made by the faithful Presbyterians to reason and argue was overborne by the rude clamours and taunting jeers of the haughty barons and more haughty prelates. A protestation against such a course of procedure was given in by some of the ministers; but after a few sentences had been read it was cast aside and neglected. The vote was then loudly demanded by the self-chosen moderator, and the king's letter was again read, to overawe the opposing ministers. In putting the vote, the question was often couched in these terms: "*Will you consent to these articles, or disobey the king?*" and Spotswood even declared, that whosoever voted against these articles, his name should be marked and transmitted to his majesty. Thus surrounded by the half-armed retainers of the nobility, and threatened with the vengeance of the king, the ministers were compelled to proceed to the vote in the midst of confusion and alarm. Even then many stood true and unshaken; but the *Five Articles of Perth*, as they are usually called, were carried by a majority, one nobleman, Lord Ochiltree, one doctor, and forty-five ministers, voting in the negative. These *Five Articles* were—~~knelling at the communion—the observance of holidays—Episcopal confirmation—private baptism—and the private dispensation of the Lord's supper.~~ Thus, by a formidable combination of fraud and violence, the king and his minions succeeded in perpetrating another glaring innovation upon the government, discipline, and ritual of the Presbyterian Church; yet so narrowly, that if none had voted except those who had commissions, the attempt would have been defeated.* These articles being

* Calderwood, pp. 697-713.

thus forcibly carried in the Assembly, the Court of High Commission set about enforcing their observance, by means of civil penalties; thus yielding another practical proof, that civil and religious liberties perish or exist together.

[1621.]—Trusting that the spirit of the nation was now subdued, after three years of High Commission tyranny, the Parliament was summoned to meet in Edinburgh on the 25th of July 1621, chiefly for the ratification of the Five Articles of Perth. The faithful ministers who still survived to watch over the welfare of the Church endeavoured to move the Parliament by earnest remonstrances, but in vain: the course was predetermined, and the result prepared. At length all preliminary arrangements being completed, the Parliament proceeded to vote for the ratification or rejection of the Five Articles, without deliberation, and as if they had formed but one topic. Even then the opposition was very strong. Fifteen lords and fifty-four commissioners of shires and burghs voted against the measure, and it was carried by a small majority. On Saturday the 4th of August 1621, this vote, subversive of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, was thus carried, chiefly by means of men who had solemnly sworn to maintain what they had thus conspired to overthrow. This day, sadly memorable in the annals of the Church of Scotland, was marked also by a singular coincident event, recorded by the historians of that time. The morning had been lowering and gloomy, and as the day advanced the gloom waxed deeper and deeper, as the gathering clouds seemed to concentrate their huge voluminous masses around and over the city. At the very moment the Marquis of Hamilton, the Lord High Commissioner, rose to give the formal ratification to the acts, by touching them with the sceptre, a keen blue flash of forked lightning blazed through the murky gloom, followed instantaneously by another, and another, so dazzlingly bright as to blind the startled and terrified Parliament, in the act of consummating its guilty deed. Three terrific peals of thunder followed in quick succession, appalling the trembling conclave, as if the thunder-voice of heaven were uttering denouncements of vengeance against the insulters of the dread Majesty on

Then descended hailstones of prodigious magnitude, sheeted rains so heavy and continuous as to imprison in hour and a half the Parliament which had perpetrated this act of treason against the King of kings, by subjecting his Church to an earthly monarch. This dark and troublous day was long known in Scotland by the designation of "BLACK SATURDAY"—"black with man's guilt, and the frowns of heaven."*

We have now reached the close of another period of the Church of Scotland's eventful history—a period full of instruction for the thoughtful Christian reader. It is painful to peruse the records of a crafty monarch's fraud and guile—of aristocratic selfishness and avarice—of the hypocrisy and deceit of ambitious and sycophantic Churchmen, struggling for Prelatic pre-eminence in wealth and power—and the sufferings to which the true-hearted and noble-minded members of the Church of Scotland were exposed, as they endeavored faithfully, though ineffectually, to maintain her principles and defend her rights; yet it affords a signal illustration of a great truth, that the Church of Christ and the world are each other's natural antagonists, and that the more fully a Church cleaves to its Divine Head and King, and obeys his precepts and following his example, the more likely is it to incur the hostility of crafty, irreligious, and worldly-minded men of every rank and station. It shows, that the greatest danger a Church has to encounter is arising from internal corruption. King James could overthrow the Church of Scotland till he had gained over some of its ministers, and thereby succeeded in corrupting its courts, so as to obtain its own apparent sanction of successive invasions of its rights and privileges. And it serves also to be remarked, that even when zealously pursuing the ruin of the Church, there was in all the crafty monarch's measures a strange tacit recognition of one of the very principles which he sought to overthrow—the independent right of the Church to regulate its own procedure by its own authority. Every one of the destructive acts by which a Presbytery was overthrown and Prelacy introduced

* Calderwood, p. 783; Spotswood, p. 542.

was so contrived as to have its origin in some court or mission of the Church—never first in a civil court; the practically admitting, not only that the Church courts possessed of complete co-ordinate jurisdiction, but even they were supreme in ecclesiastical matters. When Parliament even seemed to take the primary step, it only in affairs manifestly civil, such as the restoration of the civil emoluments and civil jurisdiction to prelates; the existence of the Prelatic function itself, and the election of ministers to the Prelacy, were matters with which the Parliament did not interfere, till the Church had been induced to pass the acts which were competent alone to its jurisdiction. The hatred shown by the king to the decline of civil jurisdiction in matters ecclesiastical, may be regarded as a proof that he was aware how constitutionally so and religiously just was the claim of the Presbyterian Church; and that he, as a tyrant, detested it the more because of its constitutional and sacred character.

CHAPTER V.

RATIFICATION OF THE FIVE ARTICLES OF PERTH, IN
YEAR 1621, TO THE NATIONAL COVENANT IN 1638.

er from the King—Conduct of his Majesty and the Prelates—John
bert Bruce—Proceedings of the Court of High Commission against
as, Universities, Probationers, and People—David Dickson—Robert
rt Blair—The People and Magistrates of Edinburgh—Death of
—Charles I.—Despotic Temper and Proceedings of Charles—
the Courts of Session and Justiciary—Commission of Teinds—
ct of Revocation—Intention to assimilate the Church of Scotland
England—Ambition and Rashness of the younger Prelates—Revivals
at Irvine, Stewarton, and Shotts—Growth of Arminianism among
party—Visit of the King to Scotland—"Act anent the Royal
and the Apparel of Churchmen"—Fraudulent manner in which it
l—Edinburgh made a Bishopric—Trial of Balmerino—Diocesan
gh Commission—Book of Canons—Pride and Ambition of the Prelates
gy—Riot in Edinburgh at its Introduction—Arbitrary Conduct of
—The Feelings of the Kingdom roused—Alexander Henderson—
erians crowd to Edinburgh—The Privy Council—Commutations—
clamations—Increased Agitation—The Presbyterians Accuse the
being the direct Cause of all the National Troubles—The Formation
r Tables—Deceitful Proceedings of the Privy Council—Evasive
as—Pernicious Advice given to the King by Spotswood and Laud—
the Earl of Traquair—Skillful Management of the Presbyterians—
f the Privy Council—Injudicious Proclamation—THE NATIONAL

ie interval which elapsed between the passing
e Articles of Perth in the Assembly 1618, and
cation by the Parliament of 1621, there had been
l struggle between the prelates and the Presby-
isters; the former endeavouring to enforce obedi-
se articles by the authority of the Court of High
n; the latter protesting, refusing obedience, and
otwithstanding the sufferings to which they were
But still something was wanting to complete the
he prelates, and to give a more legal aspect to

their aggressions; for the minds of men in general revolted against the glaring tyranny of the High Commission—a court depending solely upon the arbitrary will and command of the sovereign, but not recognised by constitutional law. The act of Parliament ratifying the Five Articles of Perth supplied what had been wanting, and gave a constitutional sanction to the despotism and the treachery of these subversive measures. It was not the intention of either the king or the prelates to allow this power to remain unemployed. A short time after the passing of the act, Spotswood, archbishop of St Andrews, received a letter from the king, not merely giving full warrant to proceed to extremity in the enforcement of the Five Articles, but even urging forward men who were already abundantly disposed to tyrannize over and persecute their brethren. “The greatest matter,” said the king, in this remarkable letter, “the Puritans had to object against the Church government was, that your proceedings were warranted by no law, which now, by this last Parliament, is cutted short; so that hereafter that rebellious, disobedient, and seditious crew must either obey or resist God, their natural king, and the law of the country. It resteth, therefore, to you to be encouraged and comforted by this happy occasion, and to lose no more time to procure a settled obedience to God, and to us, by the good endeavours of our commissioner, and our other true-hearted subjects and servants. The sword is now put into your hands: go on, therefore, to use it, and let it rust no longer, till ye have perfected the service intrusted to you.”* Such were the instructions of the infatuated king to his not less infatuated Prelatic minions, for the destruction of a Church which he had termed “the sincerest Church in the world,” and had repeatedly sworn to defend. And the enormity of these instructions is certainly not diminished, if, as Calderwood suggests, and other authors more distinctly assert, this letter was actually a mere transcript of one sent to the king by Spotswood, to be copied and returned to Scotland, stamped with the royal authority—a procedure which, it appears, was often adopted by the

* Calderwood, p. 784.

treacherous and tyrannical Scottish prelates.* A letter of a similar import was also sent to the Privy Council, commanding all the officers of State to conform, under pain of dismissal; and enjoining them to see that all persons filling any subordinate official station, members of the Courts of Session and Justiciary, advocates, sheriffs, magistrates of burghs, and even clerks and sheriff-officers, should either render implicit obedience, or be declared incapable of holding office.

The Court of High Commission was not composed of men likely to let the sword of double despotism which had been put into their hands rust for want of being used. Its freshly-whetted edge was directed keenly against the faithful ministers, and against all who refused to mould their faith according to acts of Parliament. And, as if for the very purpose of proving that the cruelty of the king and of the prelates was equally fierce and implacable, its effects were exhibited almost simultaneously by his majesty and by them. The celebrated John Welch, who had suffered a banishment of fourteen years' duration on account of the part he took in the prorogued Assembly of Aberdeen in 1605, had fallen into such a state of ill health, that a return to his native country was recommended, as the only means of saving his life. By great solicitations he obtained permission to return to London; but when his wife, a daughter of John Knox, obtained an interview with the king, and requested that her dying husband might be allowed to breathe once more his native air, his majesty, with coarse oaths, refused, unless she would persuade her husband to submit to the bishops. "Please your majesty," replied the heroic matron, lifting up her apron, and holding it forth, as if in the act of receiving her husband's decollated and falling head, "I would rather keep [receive] his head there!"—James would not even permit the dying man to preach, till, hearing that he was at the point of death, he in mockery sent permission then, when he believed it could not be accepted. But Welch joyfully hastened to embrace the opportunity of once more proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation; and having

* Wodrow's Collection of Lives, particularly the lives of Gladstones and Spotswood.

preached long and fervently, returned to his chamber, and within two hours rested from his labours, and escaped from the cruel and insulting tyranny of his oppressors.

About the same time Robert Bruce, who had been residing for some years in his own house at Kinnaird, having been permitted to return from Inverness, was accused of seditious conduct, and of transgressing the bounds of his confinement. He was imprisoned for a time in the Castle of Edinburgh, and then sentence passed that he should again be sent to Inverness, and restricted to that town and four miles around it during the king's pleasure; this sentence being accompanied by the sneering expression, "We will have no more Popish pilgrimages to Kinnaird"—in allusion to the frequent intercourse between Bruce and the most pious people of the surrounding country, who resorted to Kinnaird to enjoy the benefit of his instructive conversation. The Prelatic party exulted in the opportunity of inflicting their mean, malicious vengeance upon a man whom the king, in an unwonted fit of truth and gratitude, had pronounced worth the quarter of his kingdom. But what was meant as a punishment to him, became a precious blessing to the people of Inverness and its vicinity, who acquired then a relish for the pure Gospel, which, there is reason to believe, has never since been lost.

[1622.].—Not contented with these severe proceedings against the venerable fathers of the Church, the prelates directed their attention to every minister of eminence throughout the kingdom, requiring from each submission to the Perth Articles. They had a twofold purpose in demanding urgently the compliance of such men: by far the majority of the people regarded these articles with extreme dislike; and the prelates were well aware, that if they could prevail upon the best ministers to subscribe, those ministers would either bring with them the people who were strongly attached to them, or they would lose that popular influence which they possessed. There was another alternative which they seem not to have taken into their calculation: they do not appear to have thought it probable that those ministers would continue to resist, braving the terrors of the Court

of High Commission, and by their sufferings increasing the popular detestation of the Prelatic system, much more than all their arguments could have done. They were aware that they would themselves have yielded to any measure, when, by so yielding, they would both escape personal suffering and obtain the prospect of personal wealth, rank, and power; and they could not conceive nor credit the higher principles of their antagonists. But it has often been the lot of cunning men to over-reach themselves; and such was the lot of the Scottish prelates. The prelates held a Court of High Commission early in January 1622, and commenced their despotic course by summoning before them the Rev. Messrs Dickson of Irvine, Dunbar of Ayr, Row of Carnock, Murray of Dunfermline, and Johnstone of Ancrum. All these were men of great piety, much beloved by their people, and highly respected in the districts of the country where they respectively resided. Their submission was therefore earnestly desired by the prelates; or, at least, their forcible removal to distant parts of the country, where, being unknown, they would possess little influence, and their oppressors would the more easily carry forward their pernicious designs.

Of all these ministers, the case of Mr David Dickson of Irvine seems to have excited the most attention. This eminent man was assailed by the prelates at one time in the language of entreaty, at another in that of fierce vituperative threats, to induce him to submit. His own congregation employed every effort for his protection; and the Earl of Eglinton personally entreated the prelates not to remove him from his charge. But all entreaties were ineffectual; he had declined the jurisdiction of that despotic court, the High Commission, and this was an offence which could not be forgiven. He was banished to Turriff, in the Synod of Aberdeen, where, however, he continued to exercise his ministry, greatly to the advantage of the inhabitants of that district, till he was afterwards permitted to return to Irvine. The other ministers, whose names were mentioned above, were also subjected to similar penalties, some being banished to one part of the country, others to another, and only one, so far as appears,

permitted to remain in his own parish, but strictly prohibited from passing beyond its boundaries.*

The tyranny of the Prelatic party fell not less heavily on the people than on the ministers; for the people were everywhere as much opposed to compliance with the Perth Articles as their pastors could be, and in some places much more so; for in every parish where the minister was Prelatic, the opposition was of course made by the people alone. In such instances the Prelatic ministers strove to persuade or to force the people to comply with the Five Articles of Perth; and as the article which commanded kneeling at the communion was that which was most exposed to public observation, it gave rise to the greatest part of the contentions by which the peace of the country was destroyed. Many most disgraceful scenes of strife and confusion took place, even at the communion table, in consequence of the Prelatic party attempting forcibly to compel the people to submit to what they justly regarded as an attitude not warranted by Scripture, and bearing a close resemblance to the idolatrous service of the Church of Rome. Notwithstanding all their exertions, they could not prevail upon the people to comply. A few, and those in general the least respectable in character, did gratify the prelates by adopting their superstitious ceremonies; but by far the greater number either ceased to communicate at all, or resorted to the churches of those ministers who continued to follow the simple and scriptural customs of their fathers.

The universities did not escape the vigilance of the prelates, who were aware of the influence which the opinions of eminent professors naturally exercise upon the minds of their students. The celebrated Robert Boyd of Trochrigg was first obliged to leave Glasgow College, in consequence of the hostility of Archbishop Law; and having been appointed principal of Edinburgh College, the Prelatic party complained to the king, and obtained from his majesty a positive command to the magistrates to urge Mr Boyd to conform to the Perth Articles, on pain of being expelled from his office. He was accordingly removed, to the joy of the Prelatists,

* Calderwood, pp. 792-794.

and to the great grief both of the students and of the religious part of the inhabitants. About the same time, Mr Robert Blair was deprived of his professorship in Glasgow, and obliged to retire to Ireland, where he became minister of Bangour, and was honoured in being made the instrument of much spiritual good in that country. In addition to the removal of true Presbyterians from the professorships, the Prelatic party did all in their power to corrupt the young aspirants to the ministry; proceeding even to the extent of exacting an oath from these young students, before investing them with the office of preaching, that they would conform to the Perth Articles, and submit to the Prelatic form of Church government. This ensnaring oath they rigidly enforced; and if any conscientious young man expressed unwillingness to bind himself by such an obligation, he was at once rejected. By this process it was hoped that all the growth of the Church would be directed into the Prelatic channel, so that within the course of another generation it would become universal, and Episcopacy would be as firmly settled in Scotland as in England.

The prelates do not seem to have been aware of some symptoms which even then were beginning to appear, and speedily assumed a formidable aspect. Of these, the two most important were, the alienation of the nobility, and the increasing direct hostility of the people. Even so early as the Perth Assembly of 1618, the prelates had given offence to the nobility by their haughty and overbearing manners; and as prosperity did not tend to abate their insolence, it soon became intolerable to the proud Scottish barons. An ill-suppressed jealousy from that time prevailed, which waited but an opportunity to rise into open strife—so soon, at least, as the selfish interests of the rival parties should manifestly bear in opposite directions. That the people were opposed to all their proceedings, the Prelatic party were well aware; but considering themselves “lords over God’s heritage,” they disregarded equally the entreaties and the expressions of dissatisfaction addressed to them by the poor suffering congregations of the oppressed Presbyterian Church. Spotswood and his coadjutors thought that these popular discontents

permitted to remain in his own parish, but strictly prohibited from passing beyond its boundaries.*

The tyranny of the Prelatic party fell not less heavily on the people than on the ministers; for the people were everywhere as much opposed to compliance with the Perth Articles as their pastors could be, and in some places much more so; for in every parish where the minister was Prelatic, the opposition was of course made by the people alone. In such instances the Prelatic ministers strove to persuade or to force the people to comply with the Five Articles of Perth; and as the article which commanded kneeling at the communion was that which was most exposed to public observation, it gave rise to the greatest part of the contentions by which the peace of the country was destroyed. Many most disgraceful scenes of strife and confusion took place, even at the communion table, in consequence of the Prelatic party attempting forcibly to compel the people to submit to what they justly regarded as an attitude not warranted by Scripture, and bearing a close resemblance to the idolatrous service of the Church of Rome. Notwithstanding all their exertions, they could not prevail upon the people to comply. A few, and those in general the least respectable in character, did gratify the prelates by adopting their superstitious ceremonies; but by far the greater number either ceased to communicate at all, or resorted to the churches of those ministers who continued to follow the simple and scriptural customs of their fathers.

The universities did not escape the vigilance of the prelates, who were aware of the influence which the opinions of eminent professors naturally exercise upon the minds of their students. The celebrated Robert Boyd of Trochrigg was first obliged to leave Glasgow College, in consequence of the hostility of Archbishop Law; and having been appointed principal of Edinburgh College, the Prelatic party complained to the king, and obtained from his majesty a positive command to the magistrates to urge Mr Boyd to conform to the Perth Articles, on pain of being expelled from his office. He was accordingly removed, to the joy of the Prelatists,

* Calderwood, pp. 792-794.

and to the great grief both of the students and of the religious part of the inhabitants. About the same time, Mr Robert Blair was deprived of his professorship in Glasgow, and obliged to retire to Ireland, where he became minister of Bangour, and was honoured in being made the instrument of much spiritual good in that country. In addition to the removal of true Presbyterians from the professorships, the Prelatic party did all in their power to corrupt the young aspirants to the ministry; proceeding even to the extent of exacting an oath from these young students, before investing them with the office of preaching, that they would conform to the Perth Articles, and submit to the Prelatic form of Church government. This ensnaring oath they rigidly enforced; and if any conscientious young man expressed unwillingness to bind himself by such an obligation, he was at once rejected. By this process it was hoped that all the growth of the Church would be directed into the Prelatic channel, so that within the course of another generation it would become universal, and Episcopacy would be as firmly settled in Scotland as in England.

The prelates do not seem to have been aware of some symptoms which even then were beginning to appear, and speedily assumed a formidable aspect. Of these, the two most important were, the alienation of the nobility, and the increasing direct hostility of the people. Even so early as the Perth Assembly of 1618, the prelates had given offence to the nobility by their haughty and overbearing manners; and as prosperity did not tend to abate their insolence, it soon became intolerable to the proud Scottish barons. An ill-suppressed jealousy from that time prevailed, which waited but an opportunity to rise into open strife—so soon, at least, as the selfish interests of the rival parties should manifestly bear in opposite directions. That the people were opposed to all their proceedings, the Prelatic party were well aware; but considering themselves “lords over God’s heritage,” they disregarded equally the entreaties and the expressions of dissatisfaction addressed to them by the poor suffering congregations of the oppressed Presbyterian Church. Spotswood and his coadjutors thought that these popular discontents

would soon subside, when they had succeeded in removing from their parishes the most eminent of the ministers who refused to conform to the Articles of Perth. And when they were not startled by sudden outbursts of popular indignation, they flattered themselves that the kingdom was acquiescing in their measures, or at least passively submitting to what could not any longer be successfully opposed. They might have heard, from time to time, of private meetings for prayer, among the more pious ministers and their adherents; but they seem in general to have despised those private meetings, being themselves ignorant of the sacred might of prayer. They do not seem to have marked the difference between a ripple on the surface, and a deep, calm under-current: the ripple dies away with the breeze that produced it; but the under-current moves steadily on, imperceptible to the eye, but irresistible in its silent and viewless power.

[1623.]—The tyranny of the prelates continued throughout the year 1623, displacing nonconforming ministers, insulting congregations, enforcing the oppressive enactments of previous years, and relaxing those only which had been made against Papists. The intercourse at that time existing between his majesty and the Court of Spain, during the negotiations for the marriage of the prince to the Spanish infanta, may have been the cause of this toleration to the adherents of the Papal Church; but certainly it had no tendency to gratify the people of Scotland, who saw more favour shown to the corrupt Church of Rome than to their own, although the one was prohibited and the other established, by the most solemn national enactments.

[1624.]—A contest arose in Edinburgh in 1624, which excited considerable attention, and had no slight effect in deepening and confirming the popular feeling against the Prelatic party. It had been customary for many years, that, previous to the communion Sabbath, a day was appointed on which all who were at enmity with each other were summoned to appear before the kirk-session, that they might be exhorted to lay aside their strife, give and accept forgiveness, and thereby prepare to make the communion indeed a feast of

mutual love. It was usual at the same time to institute some general inquiries into the conduct of the members of the session, both minister and elders, with regard to the manner in which they had discharged their duties, each member withdrawing during the inquiry into his course of life and behaviour. While engaged in the discharge of this customary investigation, one of the citizens complained that Mr William Forbes, recently appointed minister of one of the city churches, had taught that there might easily be a reconciliation effected between the Church of Rome and the Protestant Churches. This complaint was repeated by other respectable citizens, who requested that Mr Forbes might be questioned by the presbytery, whether he really meant to teach doctrines subversive of the Reformation.

Forbes, who had been brought from Aberdeen to Edinburgh expressly on account of his high Prelatic opinions, was excessively indignant that the people should presume to express disapprobation of his doctrine. And his brethren making it a common cause, applied to Spotswood, and through him obtained from the king an order empowering a select number of the Privy Council to try those citizens for their conduct in expressing disapprobation of the doctrine of the ministers; and, in particular, for having requested that the communion might be observed in the former manner, and not according to the Articles of Perth. The result was, that William Rigg, one of the magistrates of Edinburgh, was deprived of his office, and imprisoned in the Castle of Blackness till he should pay a ruinous fine; and five other highly respectable citizens were punished, some by imprisonment, others by banishment to remote parts of the country.

The Prelatic party being somewhat alarmed by the spirit manifested in this trial, complained to the king that several of the nonconforming ministers who had been deprived of their parishes, were in the habit of resorting to Edinburgh, and holding "private conventicles," whereby the people were stirred up, and the public peace disturbed. In answer to this complaint, the king sent a proclamation, prepared, says Calderwood, as was constantly reported, by the Archbishop

of St Andrews; in which, after reprehending in very severe terms the conduct of the citizens in listening to the "turbulent persuasions of restless ministers, either deprived from their functions, or confined for just causes," he strictly prohibited all such private conventicles. A short while afterwards his majesty sent a letter of censure to the magistrates of Edinburgh, reprehending them severely for not giving obedience to the Perth Articles, and for remissness in the enforcement of these articles upon others; threatening to remove from the town the Courts of Session and Justiciary, if these orders were not more punctually obeyed.

Every attentive reader of history must often be struck with the close similarity in language and sentiment of men who lived in periods very remote from each other. It seems that oppressors are always the men who most loudly complain of resistance: the despot most vehemently exclaims against rebellion; and the subverters of pure religion cry out against the turbulence of restless ministers. But it appears to be very natural, and certainly it is very easy, for men to disguise a bad cause under a good name, and to try to blacken a good cause by fixing upon it an offensive designation.

[1625.]—King James had determined to have Christmas celebrated with extreme pomp and ceremony, as a public triumph; and had given orders to that effect; but the plague breaking out in Edinburgh, suspended his scheme. As Easter approached he renewed his commands, to prepare for celebrating the communion on that day, in conformity with the Articles of Perth, threatening very severe punishment to all who should refuse implicit obedience. But the close of his despotic career was at hand. On the 27th of March 1625, he departed this life, leaving behind him a kingdom sunk from glory to disgrace through his mean misgovernment—filled with the elements of private strife and social discord, fermenting and heaving onward to a revolution; a son, the inheritor of his despotic principles, and of all the evils which they had engendered; and a name, lauded by a few Prelatic flatterers, who could term their "earthly creator" the "Solomon of the age," but scorned

by the haughty, mocked by the witty, despised by men of learning and genius, and not hated, only because pitied and deplored, by the persecuted yet loyal and forgiving Church of Scotland.

The death of King James paralyzed the power of the Prelatic party for a time, and allowed many of the persecuted Presbyterians to escape from actual, and also from threatened sufferings. The proceedings against the Edinburgh citizens were suspended, Robert Bruce returned from Inverness, David Dickson was allowed to resume without interruption the discharge of his ministry at Irvine, and many other sufferers for the sake of truth and conscience obtained a temporary respite. The direct reason of this cessation of the prelates from their tyrannical procedure was, that the Court of High Commission expired with the monarch, from whose arbitrary will it derived its existence. The people of Scotland could not fail to perceive, that the prelates were the instigators, and even the perpetrators, of all the judicial despotism under which they had so long groaned; so that this very cessation of their sufferings would increase their detestation of the system under which they had suffered, and of the men by whom these sufferings had been inflicted.

Although the death of one sovereign and the accession of another caused a suspension of the active progress of Prelatic domination, till the intentions of the new monarch should be known, and allowed a brief breathing-time to the ministers and people, yet the relief was but slight, and the favourable hopes entertained by the Presbyterians were soon clouded with doubts. Soon after his accession to the throne, Charles I. wrote to Archbishop Spotswood, directing him to proceed with the affairs of the Church as formerly, and assuring him that it was his majesty's special will to have all the laws enforced which had been enacted in the former reign concerning ecclesiastical affairs; and, as if to remove all remaining doubt respecting his intentions, the king issued a proclamation on the 1st of August, commanding conformity to the Perth Articles, and ordering severe and rigorous punishment to be inflicted on all who dared to disobey. Next month, September, a royal letter was sent to the Town

would soon subside, when they had succeeded in removing from their parishes the most eminent of the ministers who refused to conform to the Articles of Perth. And when they were not startled by sudden outbursts of popular indignation, they flattered themselves that the kingdom was acquiescing in their measures, or at least passively submitting to what could not any longer be successfully opposed. They might have heard, from time to time, of private meetings for prayer, among the more pious ministers and their adherents; but they seem in general to have despised those private meetings, being themselves ignorant of the sacred might of prayer. They do not seem to have marked the difference between a ripple on the surface, and a deep, calm under-current: the ripple dies away with the breeze that produced it; but the under-current moves steadily on, imperceptible to the eye, but irresistible in its silent and viewless power.

[1623.]—The tyranny of the prelates continued throughout the year 1623, displacing nonconforming ministers, insulting congregations, enforcing the oppressive enactments of previous years, and relaxing those only which had been made against Papists. The intercourse at that time existing between his majesty and the Court of Spain, during the negotiations for the marriage of the prince to the Spanish infanta, may have been the cause of this toleration to the adherents of the Papal Church; but certainly it had no tendency to gratify the people of Scotland, who saw more favour shown to the corrupt Church of Rome than to their own, although the one was prohibited and the other established, by the most solemn national enactments.

[1624.]—A contest arose in Edinburgh in 1624, which excited considerable attention, and had no slight effect in deepening and confirming the popular feeling against the Prelatic party. It had been customary for many years, that, previous to the communion Sabbath, a day was appointed on which all who were at enmity with each other were summoned to appear before the kirk-session, that they might be exhorted to lay aside their strife, give and accept forgiveness, and thereby prepare to make the communion indeed a feast of

mutual love. It was usual at the same time to institute some general inquiries into the conduct of the members of the session, both minister and elders, with regard to the manner in which they had discharged their duties, each member withdrawing during the inquiry into his course of life and behaviour. While engaged in the discharge of this customary investigation, one of the citizens complained that Mr William Forbes, recently appointed minister of one of the city churches, had taught that there might easily be a reconciliation effected between the Church of Rome and the Protestant Churches. This complaint was repeated by other respectable citizens, who requested that Mr Forbes might be questioned by the presbytery, whether he really meant to teach doctrines subversive of the Reformation.

Forbes, who had been brought from Aberdeen to Edinburgh expressly on account of his high Prelatic opinions, was excessively indignant that the people should presume to express disapprobation of his doctrine. And his brethren making it a common cause, applied to Spotswood, and through him obtained from the king an order empowering a select number of the Privy Council to try those citizens for their conduct in expressing disapprobation of the doctrine of the ministers; and, in particular, for having requested that the communion might be observed in the former manner, and not according to the Articles of Perth. The result was, that William Rigg, one of the magistrates of Edinburgh, was deprived of his office, and imprisoned in the Castle of Blackness till he should pay a ruinous fine; and five other highly respectable citizens were punished, some by imprisonment, others by banishment to remote parts of the country.

The Prelatic party being somewhat alarmed by the spirit manifested in this trial, complained to the king that several of the nonconforming ministers who had been deprived of their parishes, were in the habit of resorting to Edinburgh, and holding "private conventicles," whereby the people were stirred up, and the public peace disturbed. In answer to this complaint, the king sent a proclamation, prepared, says Calderwood, as was constantly reported, by the Archbishop

of St Andrews: in which, after reprehending in very severe terms the conduct of the citizens in listening to the "turbulent persuasions of restless ministers, either deprived from their functions, or confined for just causes," he strictly prohibited all such private conventicles. A short while afterwards his majesty sent a letter of censure to the magistrates of Edinburgh, reprehending them severely for not giving obedience to the Perth Articles, and for remissness in the enforcement of these articles upon others; threatening to remove from the town the Courts of Session and Justiciary, if these orders were not more punctually obeyed.

Every attentive reader of history must often be struck with the close similarity in language and sentiment of men who lived in periods very remote from each other. It seems that oppressors are always the men who most loudly complain of resistance: the despot most vehemently exclaims against rebellion; and the subverters of pure religion cry out against the turbulence of restless ministers. But it appears to be very natural, and certainly it is very easy, for men to disguise a bad cause under a good name, and to try to blacken a good cause by fixing upon it an offensive designation.

[1625.]—King James had determined to have Christmas celebrated with extreme pomp and ceremony, as a public triumph; and had given orders to that effect; but the plague breaking out in Edinburgh, suspended his scheme. As Easter approached he renewed his commands, to prepare for celebrating the communion on that day, in conformity with the Articles of Perth, threatening very severe punishment to all who should refuse implicit obedience. But the close of his despotic career was at hand. On the 27th of March 1625, he departed this life, leaving behind him a kingdom sunk from glory to disgrace through his mean misgovernment—filled with the elements of private strife and social discord, fermenting and heaving onward to a revolution; a son, the inheritor of his despotic principles, and of all the evils which they had engendered; and a name, lauded by a few Prelatic flatterers, who could term their "earthly creator" the "Solomon of the age," but scorned

by the haughty, mocked by the witty, despised by men of learning and genius, and not hated, only because pitied and deplored, by the persecuted yet loyal and forgiving Church of Scotland.

The death of King James paralyzed the power of the Prelatic party for a time, and allowed many of the persecuted Presbyterians to escape from actual, and also from threatened sufferings. The proceedings against the Edinburgh citizens were suspended, Robert Bruce returned from Inverness, David Dickson was allowed to resume without interruption the discharge of his ministry at Irvine, and many other sufferers for the sake of truth and conscience obtained a temporary respite. The direct reason of this cessation of the prelates from their tyrannical procedure was, that the Court of High Commission expired with the monarch, from whose arbitrary will it derived its existence. The people of Scotland could not fail to perceive, that the prelates were the instigators, and even the perpetrators, of all the judicial despotism under which they had so long groaned; so that this very cessation of their sufferings would increase their detestation of the system under which they had suffered, and of the men by whom these sufferings had been inflicted.

Although the death of one sovereign and the accession of another caused a suspension of the active progress of Prelatic domination, till the intentions of the new monarch should be known, and allowed a brief breathing-time to the ministers and people, yet the relief was but slight, and the favourable hopes entertained by the Presbyterians were soon clouded with doubts. Soon after his accession to the throne, Charles I. wrote to Archbishop Spotswood, directing him to proceed with the affairs of the Church as formerly, and assuring him that it was his majesty's special will to have all the laws enforced which had been enacted in the former reign concerning ecclesiastical affairs; and, as if to remove all remaining doubt respecting his intentions, the king issued a proclamation on the 1st of August, commanding conformity to the Perth Articles, and ordering severe and rigorous punishment to be inflicted on all who dared to disobey. Next month, September, a royal letter was sent to the Town

Council of Edinburgh, commanding them to choose for magistrates those only who observed the Articles of Perth. By this arbitrary command a sufficiently plain indication was given of the principles held by the young king, and a proof that he meant to carry into effect that despotism which his father held in theory, but wanted firmness and tenacity of purpose to enforce.

The greater firmness of purpose by which Charles was characterized impelled him to the adoption of more decisive, but also more dangerous measures, than those which his father had employed. One of these, essential to his future schemes, was at the same time both ungracious in itself, and calculated to excite the jealousy of the nobles with regard to a matter in which they felt peculiarly sensitive. Charles was well aware, that if he expected Prelacy to take ere long the same high ground in Scotland which it occupied in England, he must not merely secure to the prelates their titles, but also reinstate them in the possession of their wealth and power. The first step towards the execution of that design was taken in November 1625, when, by proclamation, his majesty revoked all the deeds of his father in prejudice of the crown. This, it was tolerably evident, was preparatory to a resumption of those crown lands, many of them previously Church lands, which his father had erected into temporal lordships, and bestowed upon his unworthy favourites, and upon others whose support he wished to secure. But as no direct consequences immediately followed the proclamation, the jealousy of the nobles partially subsided, though it did not entirely pass away.

[1626.]—Although the king's attention was very much occupied with the Spanish war, in which he was engaged with little success, and also with those beginnings of resistance to his arbitrary conduct in England which ought to have warned him to desist from his dangerous course, he nevertheless found leisure to interfere in Scottish affairs enough to increase the dissatisfaction already prevalent. The Scottish nobles were not sufficiently servile for a monarch so arbitrary. He resolved, therefore, to make extensive changes throughout the whole public administration of the

kingdom, removing men of independent mind, and introducing those who would be subservient to his will. He remodelled the Courts of Session and Justiciary, the Privy Council, and the Lords of the Exchequer, placing several of the prelates in the two latter departments; and he erected a Commission of Grievances, which occupied the position of the Star-Chamber in England, reviving also the Court of High Commission, created in the former reign. By these changes the king hoped to cut off all opposition, and to obtain the means of carrying all his measures into execution.

These alterations having been made, and a little time allowed for the new officials to become acquainted with their duties, a Convention of Estates was held in July the same year, for the purpose of proceeding with the recovery of the tithes and the Church lands. But the opposition of the nobility was still too strong; and all that the Convention did was naming four of each estate, as a commission, to examine the state of the teinds, to ascertain who were the proprietors, and by what tenure they were held. The titulars and possessors of teinds not relishing this intended inquiry, sent the Earls of Rothes, Linlithgow, and Loudon, as a deputation, to endeavour to prevail upon the king to abandon that measure; but their efforts proved ineffectual.

About the same time, Charles did one of the few even seemingly prudent acts of his strangely imprudent life. He ordained that such of the ministers as had been admitted before the Assembly of 1618, should not be compelled to conform to the Perth Articles, provided they did not publicly assail the king's authority and the form of Church government; and that all who had been banished, confined, or suspended, should be restored to their charges on the same condition; but that conformity should be strictly enforced on all who had been admitted since 1618, and on every new entrant into the ministry. This measure was one of deep and dangerous policy; and its steady operation would have been far more deadly to the Presbyterian Church than the most direct and fierce persecution. But the intolerant zeal of the prelates could not endure this wary

policy, even on account of what made it dangerous—its lenient aspect. It is probable that this scheme was devised by Spotswood; but the younger prelates, and those who expected to reach the prelacy, were beginning to obtain a greater influence with the king than his more aged and sagacious counsellors.

[1627.]—Early in the year 1627, commissioners from the Church were sent to the king, to supplicate his majesty for certain important alterations and improvements in ecclesiastical matters. An attempt was made to give to this deputation the aspect of being a full representation of the whole Church—both the Prelatic and the Presbyterian parties; but the overbearing conduct of the Prelatists caused the Presbyterian commissioner to withdraw, so that the purpose remained unaccomplished.

The commissioners for the teinds also prosecuted their labours, but with little harmony of purpose, and consequently with little success. Yet a tolerably complete return of the state of teinds throughout the country having been obtained, it was resolved that every man should have liberty to purchase back his own teind at a reasonable price; and all were required to come to the commissioners for that purpose. Although this measure was introduced at first with a view to prepare for the restoration of Prelacy to all its golden honours, it has proved, on the whole, very beneficial to the Church and people of Scotland, by being instrumental in removing the obstacles which the method of levying tithes in kind opposes to national prosperity and peace.

[1628.]—In the spring of 1628, a meeting of synod was held in Edinburgh, in which, after long and earnest reasoning, it was resolved to send a deputation to his majesty, to entreat release from the compulsive obligation to comply with the Perth Articles, especially that of kneeling at the communion, to which the people could not be brought to submit. But the king expressed himself highly displeased that the people durst presume to petition against a measure which had his approbation; and commanded that condign punishment should be inflicted on the petitioners, to deter

thers from the like presumption. The result was, there was no communion at Edinburgh that year.

The king seems to have thought that the public mind was now sufficiently prepared for the act of revocation which he meditated. In order, however, to introduce it as plausibly as might be, he privately purchased the Abbey of Arbroath from the Marquis of Hamilton, and the lordship of Glasgow from the Duke of Lennox, and bestowed them on the two archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, giving to the transaction such an aspect as if these two noblemen had voluntarily surrendered that property. By this, and several similar private purchases of estates, Charles hoped to induce the nobility and gentry to comply with the act of revocation. But when he sent the Earl of Nithsdale to propose the measure to a Convention of Estates, with this inducement, that those who willingly submitted should experience his majesty's favour, while the most rigorous proceedings should be instituted against those who refused, the nobility instantly determined to resist, and to employ force, if arguments should not prevail. It was resolved, at a private meeting of the irritated barons, that if Nithsdale should continue to press the measure, he and his adherents should be assailed and put to death in the open court. So determinedly was this purpose entertained, that Lord Belhaven, a man blind by very age, requested to be placed beside one of Nithsdale's party, and he would make sure of that one. Being set beside the Earl of Dumfries, and holding him fast with one hand, apologizing for doing so, as necessary for support in his blindness, he clutched fast with the other the hilt of a dagger, which he kept concealed in his bosom, ready to plunge it into the heart of his victim, should the signal for violence be given. But the Earl of Nithsdale read enough in the stern and frowning looks of the Scottish barons around him, to induce him to suppress the main part of his instructions, and to give up the attempt as hopeless.*

[1629.]—Nothing of peculiar public importance occurred during the year 1629—nothing, indeed, except the continua-

* Burnet's History of his own Times, folio edition of 1724, pp. 20, 21.

tion of the insolence displayed, and the persecutions inflicted on the Presbyterian ministers and people, by the prelates. Some attempts were made to induce the king himself to interpose in behalf of his suffering people; but he paid no attention to the statement of grievances which they laid before him. Previous to this time there had been some symptoms of division in the Prelatic party, although Spotswood continued to be regarded as its head; but now the younger prelates began to undermine his influence with the king. The most active of these intriguers was John Maxwell, at that time one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and soon afterwards Bishop of Ross. This able and unscrupulous man contrived to work himself into the confidence of the notorious Laud, by whose pernicious counsels the king was almost entirely guided. In this manner there arose a decided and growing dissension among the prelates; and the violence of the younger and more impetuous party had the effect of stimulating the rash despotism of the king, and increasing the hostility of the nobles, who could not brook the insolence and pride of these haughty Churchmen.

[1630.]—In the year 1630, Maxwell, who had been at London on some private commission, brought down from the king a letter to Spotswood, directing him to convene the other prelates, and the most Prelatic of the ministers, and to inform them that it was his majesty's pleasure that the whole order of the Church of England should be received in Scotland. "This," Wodrow says in his *Life of Spotswood*, "was the first motion for the English Liturgy in Scotland, in King Charles' reign." The most prudent of the prelates, apprehensive of the consequences, opposed this measure as too dangerous, considering the already excited state of the country; and it was postponed. In July the same year, at a Convention of Estates, the nonconforming ministers gave in a paper of grievances, of which they craved redress; but though it was supported by several of the nobility, it was not permitted to be read.

[1631.]—The year 1631 is chiefly remarkable for the progress made by the commissioners of teinds, in the discharge of their duty. The landed proprietors began to

perceive the advantage of obtaining possession of their own lands at a moderate price, and many, accordingly, applied to the commissioners, and made the purchase. Some attempts were made this year by the Prelatic party to introduce organs, choristers, surplices, and the other mummeries to the cathedral service, with little success.

[1632.]—Some changes took place among the prelates this year, by which, instead of being strengthened, they were hurried forward to their suicidal doom. Law, archbishop of Glasgow, died, and Lindsay, bishop of Ross, was appointed to succeed him, and Maxwell was raised to the bishopric of Ross. But this promotion only opened the way to others, which his elevation to the Prelacy rendered him eligible; and in a short time Maxwell became a Lord of Session, a Lord of Exchequer, and a member of the Privy Council; which accumulation of offices, belike, he thought that he was most convincingly proving the scriptural character of Prelacy, and his own indubitable claims to the sacredness of pure apostolical succession!

All further innovations were suspended for a time, in consequence of his majesty having intimated that it was his intention to visit his ancient kingdom next year, to be formally crowned king of Scotland, and to make all the arrangements which might be desirable for promoting the peace and happiness of that portion of his dominions. The preparations for that visit, which were made on the most magnificent scale, so thoroughly occupied the public mind, that almost everything else was disregarded, all men vying with each other how they might best do honour to the long-expected visit of their native king.

The preceding brief outline of the progress of public events, from the accession of Charles to the year in which he purposed to visit Scotland, has been given, that the reader might obtain a continuous view of the external aspect of what was done or attempted. And for the same reason it is now intended to retrace the same period of years, that a continuous view may be obtained of matters immeasurably more important than the despotism of kings, the plots of courtiers, and the perfidious ambition of prelates.

Reference has already been made to the remarkable effects which frequently attended the preaching of Robert Bruce, both before he was banished from Edinburgh, and in his various places of confinement. Had the prelates understood the influence of a man thus highly honoured by success in his divine Master's work, they would have either left him untouched, or put him to utter silence. But while they sent him, in the wantonness of their malicious power, from district to district of the kingdom, they even compelled him to kindle in many quarters that sacred fire by which they were destined to be consumed. Many able and fervent young ministers were deeply impressed by what they heard uttered by the venerable man; and thus his principles were infused into the minds of men in the rising prime of life, able and willing to expend their unbroken energies in the sacred cause. There were few of the eminent men of that day who did not cheerfully acknowledge how much, under God, they owed to Bruce.

But there were many other ministers of decided piety, whose labours the Head of the Church also owned and blessed to a very great extent. Of these, David Dickson of Irvine deserves particular mention. It has been already stated, that he was so greatly beloved by his congregation, that when brought before the court of the tyrannical prelates, every effort was made by the devoted flock to secure the enjoyment of their pastor's precious labours. They did not at first succeed; but in the year 1624, he was allowed to return to Irvine, and remain there during his majesty's pleasure. Suffering in Christ's cause gives a very deeply spiritual character to a Christian minister's labours. Soon after Mr Dickson's return to his charge, striking effects began to appear among his people, and in the adjoining parish of Stewarton, where he frequently preached. This remarkable revival of vital religion began, it appears, in 1625, and lasted for about five years. "This," says Fleming, "by the profane rabble of that time was called *the Stewarton sickness*; for in that parish first, but afterwards through much of that country, particularly at Irvine, under the ministry of Mr Dickson, it was remarkable; where it can be said (which divers

ministers and Christians yet alive can witness) that for a considerable time few Sabbaths did pass without some evidently converted, or some convincing proof of the power of God accompanying his Word. And truly this great spring-ple, as I may call it, of the Gospel was not of a short time, but of some years' continuance: yea thus, like a spreading conflagration, the power of godliness did advance from one place to another, which put a marvellous lustre on those parts of the country, the savour whereof brought many from other parts of the land to see its truth." *

Another token for good to the suffering Church of Scotland occurred in the year 1628. At a meeting of the synod at Edinburgh in the spring of that year, it had been agreed upon to apply to his majesty that a general fast might be held all over the kingdom. The ostensible causes adduced for this proposal by the prelates were, the dangerous state of Protestant Churches abroad, the prevalence of vice and immorality at home, and to implore the divine blessing upon his majesty's arms, being at that time involved in hostilities both with France and with the house of Austria. To these causes the Presbyterians naturally added the consideration of their own suffering state, and of the oppressive innovations forced upon the people. Much of the searching power of the Holy Spirit seems to have been granted to both ministers and people during their solemn fast; and many testify, that in humbling themselves before God, and making an earnest confession of sin, both national and individual, they obtained a strength not their own—a spiritual strength—preparing them for greater sufferings, and giving earnest of final deliverance. And let any truly pious person imagine the contrast between the cold, formal, and insincere services of the Prelatists, and the deep, earnest, heart-wrung supplications of the Presbyterian sufferers, breathing the very essence of spiritual contrition, and he cannot fail to perceive the mighty cause of the disrespect with which the former were regarded, and the powerful hold which the latter possessed of the nation's heart.

In no individual instance, probably, was the converting

* Fleming's *Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, vol. i., p. 355.

power of the Spirit more signally displayed than at the Kirk of Shotts, on Monday the 21st of June 1630. It appears that John Livingston, a young man of about twenty-seven years of age, who was at that time domestic chaplain to the Countess of Wigton, had gone to attend the dispensation of the Lord's supper at the Kirk of Shotts. There had been a great confluence of both ministers and people from all the adjoining country; and the sacred services of the communion Sabbath had been marked with much solemnity of manner, and great apparent depth and sincerity of devotional feeling. When the Monday came, the large assembly of pious Christians felt reluctant to part without another day of thanksgiving to that God whose redeeming love they had been commemorating. Livingston was prevailed upon to preach, though reluctantly, and with heavy misgivings of mind, at the thought of his own unworthiness to address so many experienced Christians. He even endeavoured to withdraw himself secretly from the multitude; but a strong constraining impulse within his mind caused him to return, and proceed with the duty to which he had been appointed. Towards the close of the sermon, the audience, and even the preacher himself, were affected with a deep unusual awe, melting their hearts and subduing their minds, stripping off inveterate prejudices, awaking the indifferent, producing conviction in the hardened, bowing down the stubborn, and imparting to many an enlightened Christian a large increase of grace and spirituality. "It was known," says Fleming, "as I can speak on sure ground, that nearly five hundred had at that time a discernible change wrought on them, of whom most proved lively Christians afterwards. It was the sowing of a seed through Clydesdale, so that many of the most eminent Christians of that country could date either their conversion, or some remarkable confirmation of their case, from that day." *

Mr Livingston, the honoured instrument by which this great work was wrought, was one of those against whom the tyranny of the suspicious prelates had been directed. He

* For a more full account, see Gillies' Collections, vol. i., p. 310, *et seq.*; and Fleming's Fulfilling of the Scriptures, vol. i., pp. 355, 356.

d been called to be their pastor by the people of Torrichen; but because he would not take the oath of conformity to the Perth Articles, Spotswood would not allow him to be continued in the charge. This, indeed, was the current policy of the prelates—a policy which may generally be expected to be pursued by every party when contests run high and victory is doubtful. But in the case of the prelates, and indeed in every case of a contest between right and wrong, the most politic measure will prove injurious to those who employ it. When such men as Livingston were excluded from a parish by the prelates, they were actually compelled to extend their influence over a wider sphere than could otherwise have been either possible or right. And thus unfrequently, as in his case, they were received into the families of some of the nobility, where their unassuming manners and deep personal piety produced the most beneficial results, both to their protectors and to the cause for which they suffered. In this manner both the ejected ministers and the rejected probationers tended, by their fervent and widely diffused labours, to prepare the great body of the nation for that struggle and revulsion which was ere long to take place. And when the reader who is at all acquainted with Scottish ecclesiastical history, marks among these home missionaries the names of Livingston, and Blair, and Rutherford, and Douglas, and Gillespie, and Dunbar, and Hogg, and Clarkson, and many others of almost equal eminence, he may easily imagine how mighty must have been the influence which their sufferings and their toils produced in the very heart of Scotland.

There is yet another general reflection which must not be omitted, in order to complete our survey of all the elements then fermenting in the kingdom. Soon after the introduction of Prelacy into Scotland by the machinations of King James, the tenets of Arminius began to be entertained by those worldly-minded men, as much more congenial to their own notions of Christianity, and their own characters and habits. But Arminianism made little progress till after the ratification of the Five Articles of Perth, when the Prelate party felt themselves secure, and ventured to follow more

openly the bent of their inclination. In the meantime, a large proportion of the Church of England had greedily imbibed these erroneous tenets, thereby widening the division between them and the party called Puritans. As soon as the Arminian party were headed by the cunning, narrow-minded, bigoted, and malevolent Laud, they advanced with rapid strides to the possession of uncontrolled power in the kingdom, and especially in the favour of the sovereign. The younger Scottish prelates, headed by Maxwell, set themselves to emulate Laud, and almost surpassed him in their ardent advocacy of Arminianism. But however this might recommend them to the king and the English prelates, it had a very different effect among their own countrymen in general. For the erroneous tenets of Arminius, however plausible in the eyes of men of superficial minds, will never stand the scrutiny of a searching intellect, if directed to the investigation with warm and real interest. Least of all will such tenets give satisfaction to a heart on which the light of God's Word has shone, revealing its desperate wickedness—to a soul which has been quickened from its deadness in sin by the life-giving power of the Holy Spirit. In so far, therefore, as Arminianism prevailed among the Prelatic party, to that extent were they regarded as weaklings and aliens, by the manly and searching intellect of Scotland; and in so far as vital religion revived and was diffused throughout the kingdom, to that extent did the right-hearted Scottish nobles and peasantry detest a system which introduced such men, and men who vitiated the oracles of the living God, and strove to reduce the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ to a code of human morality.*

It is scarcely necessary to add to these mighty elements, this further consideration, although it had its influence, that the men who were the keenest sticklers for empty forms and ceremonies—who did not hesitate to violate their own oaths, and strive to compel others to the perpetration of the same crime, throwing a whole nation into suffering and confusion for the attainment of what they themselves ad-

* It is scarcely necessary to state, the Arminianism of the Scottish prelates was very different indeed from that of Arminius himself, or from what we may term the Evangelical Arminianism of the modern Wesleyan Methodists.

mitted to be not a matter of conscience, but merely of convenient and seemly order—that these men were generally notorious for vice, profligacy, Sabbath-breaking, and every species of immorality. Had even the cause been good, the perfidious and tyrannical manner of its introduction, and the characters of the men by whom it was introduced, would have ruined it in the estimation of every man who had an eye to discern, and a heart to feel.

Some of the defenders of Prelacy have said, that Scotland never saw it in its true aspect—that if we had, we would have received it, and made it cordially our own. Certainly Prelacy never appeared in Scotland but as a tyrannical and persecuting system; therefore we have little cause to love it. But we can see it in England, with all its blushing honours and unblushing abuses thick upon it—with its clergy secularized, and its people uninstructed; and what we see of it there has no tendency to recommend it to our favourable regard, or to make us languish for its reintroduction to Scotland.

[1633.]—Such was the state of Scotland, and of the contending parties by which it was agitated, when Charles I. prepared to pay a visit to his ancient kingdom. Had he been disposed to inquire into the state of the country, with a sincere desire to remedy all proved evils, and redress all manifest grievances—and had he been able to lay aside his own prejudices, or even to prevail upon himself to investigate matters for himself, and not to trust entirely to the statement of persons who were interested in deceiving him—the result might have been propitious. As it was, it proved highly disastrous. Unfortunately his whole conduct was predetermined before he left London. He wished to enjoy the pageantry of a Scottish coronation; he intended to hold a Parliament for procuring money, and he was resolved to take measures for reducing the Church of Scotland into perfect conformity with that of England. For the management of the latter point he brought with him Laud, who may not inaptly be designated his evil genius, by whose malign influence he was perpetually turned aside from the path of safety, and hurried along that of ruin.

It is not our intention to describe the pride, pomp, and circumstance of his majesty's triumphal procession, his entrance into the capital of his ancient kingdom, and the more than semi-Popish pageantry of his coronation. Suffice it to state, that the most enthusiastic reception was given to their monarch by a people who were almost instinctively loyal, and who were prone to gratify him in everything which their higher allegiance to God could permit. Still, even in the height of their enthusiastic loyalty, they were compelled to feel, that in the most important matters there existed no harmony of sentiment and feeling between their sovereign and them. The manifest preference shown by the king to all the rites, ceremonies, and gaudy exhibitions of Prelacy, strengthened the distrust already entertained, that no good was intended to the Presbyterian Church. Ample proof was soon given that such apprehensions were but too well founded.

Previous to the meeting of Parliament the king arranged matters in the most likely way to secure the accomplishment of his designs. He introduced ten Englishmen into the Privy Council of Scotland, one of whom was the notorious Laud. The Lords of the Articles were so chosen as to be composed almost entirely of those who were known to be subservient to the king, and ready to comply with anything which he might require. All matters being thus arranged, the Parliament met for the despatch of business on the 25th of June. Their first act was one granting to Charles a larger subsidy than had ever before been given to a Scottish king. So far all was harmony and good-will; but the next measure aroused a different spirit. It was intitled "An Act anent his Majesty's Royal Prerogative, and Apparel of Churchmen." This was a combination of two acts, one passed in 1606, acknowledging the king's supremacy over all persons, and in all causes; and another passed in 1609, by which King James was empowered to prescribe apparel and vestments to all judges, magistrates, and Churchmen. The act 1606 had been too often enforced, to the sad experience of many banished ministers and destitute congregations; but the act 1609, concerning vestments,

ad been allowed to lie dormant. They were now joined together, and made one, in the expectation that the strength of the prerogative clause would carry with it the weakness of the other. To this combined act great opposition was made, the Earl of Rothes heading the opposition. Rothes desired that the acts might be divided, expressing his willingness to vote for the prerogative clause, if it stood alone. The king declared that it was now one act, and that he must either vote for it or against it, as such. Rothes began to argue that the second clause was contrary to the liberties of the Church, and ought not to be further considered until at least the mind of the Church should be ascertained; but the king rudely interrupted him, commanded the vote to be taken without further reasoning, and, calling for a list of the members which had been previously prepared, he sternly said, "I have all your names here, and I will now know who are good subjects and who are bad."* The question was then put; Rothes promptly voted, "Not content." His example was followed by fifteen earls and lords, several barons, and forty-four commissioners of counties and burghs.† Even Burnet affirms that the act was rejected by the majority; but the Clerk of Register, knowing well the king's wish, declared that it was carried in the affirmative. Rothes asserted that the contrary was the case; but the king, whose attempt to overawe the Parliament must have made him aware of the truth, dishonourably supported the clerk's false assertion, saying that it must be held good, unless the Earl of Rothes would go to the bar, and accuse him of falsifying the record of Parliament—an offence which was capital; and in that case, if he should fail in the proof, he was liable to the same punishment.‡ This perilous step Rothes declined to take; consequently the act was declared to have passed, though its power was greatly paralyzed by the despot and nefarious nature of the transaction, which speedily became known to the whole kingdom.

So dissatisfied were the lords, both with this act itself, and with the forcible and fraudulent manner in which it had

* Kirkton, p. 30.

† Rutherford's Letters, part iii., letter 40.

‡ Burnet's History of his own Times, pp. 21, 22.

been carried, that they resolved to present to the king a supplication, explaining and excusing their conduct, and remonstrating against the manner in which their freedom to deliberate had been overborne. This supplication was drawn up by Haig, the king's solicitor, himself, as Burnet says, a sincere and zealous Presbyterian. It was read over to Lord Balmerino and the Earls of Rothes and Cassilis. Balmerino disapproved of some expressions in it, and procured a copy, that he might deliberately peruse and alter it, according to his own judgment. Rothes carried a copy of it to the king, that he might, if possible, obtain his majesty's permission to present it, without further exciting his displeasure; but the king would not so much as look upon it, and commanded him to proceed no further in that matter. Accordingly it was not presented, and was regarded by its authors as consigned to oblivion. But ere long it appeared that the king and the prelates could neither forget nor forgive whatsoever thwarted them.

In the meantime the oppressed Presbyterian Church of Scotland did not neglect the opportunity of his majesty's presence in the kingdom, and the meeting of Parliament, to endeavour to obtain some redress of their grievances. A number of the most eminent of the ministers repaired to Edinburgh, met together, and deliberated in what manner they ought to proceed. It was resolved to present to his majesty and the Parliament a petition containing a full statement of the grievances of the Church, expressed in the most respectful terms, and humbly supplicating redress. This petition was suppressed by the Clerk Register, who was a fierce Prelatist; upon which a new petition was prepared, mentioning the one given into the hands of the Clerk Register, and requesting his majesty to cause it to be read and considered. That the latter petition might not also be suppressed, Mr Thomas Hogg, who had been deposed from his ministry at Dysart, by the High Commission, delivered it personally to the king. His majesty perused it with unmoved countenance, but returned no answer. Too well the neglected sufferers saw that no redress was to be expected from the king; but they did not despair; they presented

his supplications to the King of kings, in the full confidence that he would not reject their prayers.

The remainder of the time spent by Charles in Scotland led but to increase the alienation between him and his subjects. He studiously neglected, and even insulted, those who had opposed his designs; and heaped honours on those who had showed themselves willing to prostrate the liberties of the Church and the kingdom at his feet. At length he took his departure, little gratified with the result of a visit from which he had promised himself a vast accession of strength. He was already deeply involved in contention with his English Parliament, and he seems to have anticipated, that by his visit to Scotland he would secure the support of that kingdom, and be thereby enabled to coerce the people of England into submission to his arbitrary sway. He did not understand the character of either country, or the nature of the principles by which at that time both were deeply moved. There seemed, indeed, to rest upon Charles I. and all his advisers—those at least in whom he trusted—confided—a cloud of infatuation, concealing or distorting every truth, and giving a delusive aspect to error.

Some may perhaps be disposed to say, that the act respecting the vestments of Churchmen was not a matter of such importance as to justify the opposition made to it. But it must be observed, that the passing of such an act, without consulting the Church on the matter, involved the whole question respecting the liberty of the Church; and especially, joined as it was to the clause respecting the royal prerogative, it implied no less than that the power of deciding to the Church in every matter, whether of vital importance or comparatively trivial, was a part of the royal prerogative. In fact, it virtually assumed, and very soon would have rendered operative, the principle, that the king was the head of the Church—a principle directly subversive of the Church of Scotland, which has never acknowledged a Head but the Lord Jesus Christ alone.

634.]—Previous to the departure of the king, he declared that he had found a man whose high merits deserved that a public recognition should be made for him. This man of rare eminence

was Mr William Forbes, one of the ministers of Edinburgh—the same person who had been brought from Aberdeen to the capital, in consequence of his known attachment to Prelacy and Arminianism, and whose scornful disregard of his respectable parishioners had been the cause to them of heavy fines and protracted imprisonment. In recompense of these meritorious deeds, Edinburgh was constituted a bishopric, and Forbes appointed its first prelate—an appointment not calculated to soothe the oppressed and insulted citizens. The new bishop determined to justify the choice of his majesty, by proceeding immediately, in the most rigorous manner, to enforce obedience to the Perth Articles; and issued a circular order to all the presbyteries within his diocese, commanding them to conform, on pain of his ecclesiastical censure. The majority of the Edinburgh Presbytery yielded; but several others not only refused to comply, but even boldly warned the haughty prelate of the sinful and dangerous nature of his own conduct, in thus wantonly aggrrieving the conscience of both ministers and people in matters for which he could find no warrant in the Word of God. Before, however, his fiery zeal had time to proceed to the extremities which he had threatened, he was, happily for his own memory, removed from the scene by death, and succeeded by Lindsay, bishop of Brechin, to which latter see Sydsersf was appointed.

An event occurred about the same time, the consequences of which proved exceedingly detrimental to the character and schemes of the king. It has been already mentioned, that a supplication had been prepared to be presented to his majesty, by those lords who disapproved of the act of Parliament respecting the prerogative, and the attire of Churchmen; and that, though it was not presented, Lord Balmerino retained a copy of it in his own possession. It would appear that Balmerino still entertained hopes of this petition being useful, as explaining to the king the feelings and sentiments actuating a number of his most faithful subjects, and had showed it in confidence to one Dunmoor, a legal friend whom he trusted, for the purpose of obtaining his aid in modifying its phraseology, so as to be as little offensive to the king as

it could possibly be rendered. Dunmoor was allowed to take it home with him, on the promise of keeping it concealed from every one; but he so far violated his pledge as to show it to Hay of Naughton, on promise of secrecy. Hay surreptitiously obtained a copy, and carried it to Archbishop Spotswood, who immediately posted off with it to London, commencing his journey, according to his custom, on a Sabbath-day. The king, whose own conscience must have secretly condemned him for the tyrannical and fraudulent manner in which he had compassed the passing of that act, and instigated by Spotswood and Laud, resolved to wreak his vengeance on Balmerino. It required some ingenuity to frame a plausible ground of accusation against that nobleman. This the malignity of Spotswood supplied, by the distorted application of one of James' despotic acts respecting what is termed *leasing-making*, or the crime of sowing dissension between the king and his subjects. By this act, writing or saying anything which might tend to bring discredit on the king and the Government was declared capital; and even to know who was the author of any such seditious matter, and not reveal it, was held to involve equal guilt, and to expose to the same punishment. But this latter clause had never been put in execution; and yet on the strength of it alone was Balmerino to be tried for his life.

The management of the trial was intrusted to the Earl of Traquair, who was at that time rising rapidly into Court favour. Traquair was not a man to be deterred by any scruples of conscience from the execution of the invidious and dangerous task. He selected such a jury as he thought he could trust, and got some of Balmerino's personal enemies appointed to be assessors to the Justice-General, that he might secure both the declaration of the law and the verdict of the jury. Balmerino defended himself with great ability. When the verdict of the jury was about to be required, Gordon of Buckie—then a very aged man, but who had in his youth been distinguished for daring and reckless ferocity of character, shown especially in the murder of “the bonnie Earl of Murray,” the Good Regent's son—this aged homicide arose, and with a tremulous voice desired them to consider

worship, as fonts for baptism, communion-altars, ornaments in church, modes of dispensing the communion elements, the vestments of the clerical order, and all such other idle mummeries as the busy brain of Laud could devise, or the fantastic fooleries of Rome suggest. Such are some of the chief regulations in the Book of Canons; and yet, although every Presbyterian must have perceived at once that they were totally subversive of the constitution of the Presbyterian Church, his majesty's declaration was made with consummate effrontery, to assume them to have been taken from the Acts of the General Assemblies held in former years.*

Great was the indignation felt all over Scotland when the character of the Book of Canons came to be known; and innumerable were the discussions respecting its Papistical regulations which immediately ensued. The Prelatic party endeavoured feebly to defend it; but their antagonists condemned it unsparingly and in the strongest terms. The nobility were secretly gratified to find it so glaringly offensive, believing that its regulations never could be enforced, and perceiving that its failure must shake the credit and diminish the power of the prelates, whose ambitious usurpation of the highest offices in the State they could not brook. The people almost universally detested the Book of Canons, regarding it as directly Popish, and intended to prepare for the introduction of Popery itself. All the hostility, however, thus increased and extended against the Prelatic innovations, did not break out into any positive tumults; but it gave an immense additional power to the deep undercurrent of the popular mind, and pointed its course directly against those regal and Prelatic measures which were now universally felt to be equally injurious to civil liberty, freedom of conscience, and the purity of sacred worship.

[1636.]—During the year 1636, the contending parties seemed to be silently mustering their strength, preparatory to a conflict which should prove fatal to the one or the other. But there was this very significant difference between the modes of preparation, that the Prelatic party strained every

* Stevenson's History of the Church of Scotland, edition 1840, pp. 159-164; Cruickshank, vol. i., p. 41; Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii., p. 277, &c.

serve to obtain an accession to that political and civil power which was already exorbitant, and upon which alone they seemed to rely for support in the hour of peril; while the Presbyterians were doubly earnest in their prayers to God, for whose wisdom to guide, and strength to uphold them, they placed all their confidence. The only other method adopted by the ministers was that of informing their people of the nature and course of the proceedings which the Prelatic party were urging forward with such high-handed tyranny. Attempts have often been made to convict these pious men of the grave crime of neglecting the most important duty of their office, the preaching of salvation through the Redeemer, and converting the pulpit into a place for uttering seditious and inflammatory harangues. This is an accusation easily made, but fortunately as easily refuted. The writings of these calumniated men still exist, and never have been surpassed for the heart-searching earnestness of practical piety, purity, and depth of devotional feeling, loftiness of spirituality, and even peace-loving gentleness of temper, which they contain and display. To prove this statement, nothing more is necessary than to direct the reader to the letters of Samuel Rutherford, the greater part of which were written in those very stormy times, and many of them while he was himself suffering persecution because of his refusal to yield to Prelatic despotism. And would these watchmen of our Zion have been guiltless, if they had neglected to warn those over whom they had been appointed overseers that days of sharp and fiery trial were at hand? Would they have been true shepherds, if they had seen the wolf about to break in upon the fold, and given no alarm? True, their silence would have been more favourable to the wolfish invaders; and, no doubt, by a wolfish conclave their loud and earnest warnings would be vehemently censured and condemned. But let those who still re-echo and renew these accusations beware, lest they bring upon themselves the suspicion, or confirm the belief, that they, too, belong to the same ravening and blood-thirsty troop.

The prelates, as has been already stated, had procured admission to the Privy Council, the Exchequer, and the

Courts of Session and Justiciary, so that at least the half of the civil offices in the kingdom were filled by these aspiring Churchmen. The office of Lord High Treasurer becoming vacant, Maxwell, bishop of Ross, grasped eagerly at that high office, in addition to three other civil offices which he already enjoyed. But the nobility, disgusted with his insatiable ambition, concurred in requesting the king to confer it on Traquair, who was already in high favour with the sovereign. Baffled ambition is the very spirit of implacable revenge. From that time forward Ross and Traquair cherished a deadly mutual hatred, and strove to thwart each other's designs. The two rivals strove to counterplot each other about the continuation or the breaking up of the commission for the teinds; but in this also Traquair proved an overmatch for his antagonist. The prelates had begun to find, that when the teinds were valued and purchased, they lost the power of drawing the revenues of the diocese into their own possession, nothing remaining but what was allotted for the local stipends of the ministers. They, therefore, now wished the commission terminated, for their own avaricious ends. But Traquair persuaded the king to continue that court, and even contrived to persuade several of the prelates to support his views.

These contests for wealth and power had engrossed the prelates so much for a time, that the Book of Canons had been allowed to sink into comparative oblivion. This apparent calm in the public mind the prelates seemed to regard as a positive acquiescence by the nation in the progressive changes of Church government and discipline which they were labouring to introduce; and accordingly came to the conclusion that the Liturgy also might now with perfect safety be published and enforced. Some authors assert that Traquair encouraged them to urge forward the Liturgy, with the very intention of precipitating their ruin; but this seems scarcely credible, as he was himself certain to share in both the obloquy and the danger. However that might be, the prelates themselves were sufficiently desirous of having their long-contemplated purpose accomplished. A Liturgy, or Book of Public Worship, was framed by the

Bishops of Ross and Dunblane, on the model of the English Prayer Book, and sent to London for the revision of Laud. It was returned with innumerable corrections and additions, all tending to give it a more Popish character. "I have seen," says Kirkton, "the principal book, corrected with Bishop Laud's own hand, where in every place which he corrected, he brings the word as near the Missal as English can be to Latin."* A proclamation was brought from Court by the Bishop of Ross, and published by an act of Privy Council in December 1636, announcing the completion of the work, and commanding all faithful subjects to receive with reverence, and conform themselves to, the public form of religious service therein contained. To conform to that Liturgy, so Popish in its character, and imposed in such an arbitrary manner, was impossible, without being prepared to yield up every vestige of liberty, civil and religious, and to violate all that conscience held most sacred.

[1637.]—Even after this last element of strife had been thrown into the surcharged and boiling heart of the community, the long-collected storm of popular indignation did not at once burst forth. The proclamation itself was so far premature, that the Liturgy was not yet printed off and ready for distribution; and although it had been determined that the period of its universal adoption should be at Easter, that period was allowed to elapse, except that some of the prelates, who had obtained early copies, began to use the Liturgy in their own churches about that time. Some of the more wary of them were apprehensive of the coming tempest, even from the deep preternatural stillness by which it was preceded; while others regarded that stillness as a proof that the spirit of the people was broken and humbled, and that no resistance would be made. In May and June a few copies of the Liturgy began to appear, and to be circulated about the country; which gave to men the opportunity of ascertaining the real character of the production, and of forming a deliberate resolution how to act when the crisis should take place. In the beginning of July the prelates procured an order from the Privy Council, empowering them

* Kirkton, p. 30.

worship, as fonts for baptism, communion-altars, ornaments in church, modes of dispensing the communion elements, the vestments of the clerical order, and all such other idle mummeries as the busy brain of Laud could devise, or the fantastic fooleries of Rome suggest. Such are some of the chief regulations in the Book of Canons; and yet, although every Presbyterian must have perceived at once that they were totally subversive of the constitution of the Presbyterian Church, his majesty's declaration was made with consummate effrontery, to assume them to have been taken from the Acts of the General Assemblies held in former years.*

Great was the indignation felt all over Scotland when the character of the Book of Canons came to be known; and innumerable were the discussions respecting its Papistical regulations which immediately ensued. The Prelatic party endeavoured feebly to defend it; but their antagonists condemned it unsparingly and in the strongest terms. The nobility were secretly gratified to find it so glaringly offensive, believing that its regulations never could be enforced, and perceiving that its failure must shake the credit and diminish the power of the prelates, whose ambitious usurpation of the highest offices in the State they could not brook. The people almost universally detested the Book of Canons, regarding it as directly Popish, and intended to prepare for the introduction of Popery itself. All the hostility, however, thus increased and extended against the Prelatic innovations, did not break out into any positive tumults; but it gave an immense additional power to the deep under-current of the popular mind, and pointed its course directly against those regal and Prelatic measures which were now universally felt to be equally injurious to civil liberty, freedom of conscience, and the purity of sacred worship.

[1636.]—During the year 1636, the contending parties seemed to be silently mustering their strength, preparatory to a conflict which should prove fatal to the one or the other. But there was this very significant difference between the modes of preparation, that the Prelatic party strained every

* Stevenson's History of the Church of Scotland, edition 1840, pp. 159-164; Cruickshank, vol. i., p. 41; Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii., p. 277, &c.

nerve to obtain an accession to that political and civil power which was already exorbitant, and upon which alone they seemed to rely for support in the hour of peril; while the Presbyterians were doubly earnest in their prayers to God, in whose wisdom to guide, and strength to uphold them, they placed all their confidence. The only other method adopted by the ministers was that of informing their people of the nature and course of the proceedings which the Prelatic party were urging forward with such high-handed tyranny. Attempts have often been made to convict these pious men of the grave crime of neglecting the most important duty of their office, the preaching of salvation through the Redeemer, and converting the pulpit into a place for uttering seditious and inflammatory harangues. This is an accusation easily made, but fortunately as easily refuted. The writings of these calumniated men still exist, and never have been surpassed for the heart-searching earnestness of practical piety, purity, and depth of devotional feeling, loftiness of spirituality, and even peace-loving gentleness of temper, which they contain and display. To prove this statement, nothing more is necessary than to direct the reader to the letters of Samuel Rutherford, the greater part of which were written in those very stormy times, and many of them while he was himself suffering persecution because of his refusal to yield to Prelatic despotism. And would these watchmen of our Zion have been guiltless, if they had neglected to warn those over whom they had been appointed overseers that days of sharp and fiery trial were at hand? Would they have been true shepherds, if they had seen the wolf about to break in upon the fold, and given no alarm? True, their silence would have been more favourable to the wolfish invaders; and, no doubt, by a wolfish conclave their loud and earnest warnings would be vehemently censured and condemned. But let those who still re-echo and renew these accusations beware, lest they bring upon themselves the suspicion, or confirm the belief, that they, too, belong to the same ravening and blood-thirsty troop.

The prelates, as has been already stated, had procured admission to the Privy Council, the Exchequer, and the

to raise letters of horning (the technical phrase in Scottish law for a kind of outlawry) against the ministers who should manifest reluctance to receive the Liturgy, ordering them to provide for the use of their parishes two copies of the Service Book each, within fifteen days after they received the order, on pain of being declared and treated as rebels against the king and the law.*

But even in the moment of the closing struggle the spell of infatuation seemed to rest upon the prelates. In every stage of their proceedings something occurred which caused them to throw away the mask, and reveal their true motives, proving that self-interest, and not zeal for religion, was their ruling principle. The two archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, Spotswood and Lindsay, were both at that time busily engaged in making such arrangements as would have largely increased their revenues, but would to the same extent have diminished those of the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Traquair. To prevent this, Traquair exerted all his Court influence; and about the middle of July, procured from the king an order to dissolve the commission for teinds till further advisement. By this order all the schemes of the arch-prelates were at once suspended, and their golden harvest subjected to a fatal blight. Both resolved to journey to London, for the purpose of endeavouring to procure redress; but thought that their prospect of succeeding with his majesty would be greatly promoted if they could carry with them the gratifying intelligence that the Liturgy had been actually introduced into the Church of Scotland. Up till this time they had been favourable to delay till the angry feelings of the people might subside; but now, when their pecuniary interests were affected, they became the most urgent to proceed immediately. They accordingly procured his majesty's letter, requiring the Liturgy to be used in all the churches of Edinburgh, and an act of the Privy Council to enforce obedience to the royal mandate. Spotswood, goaded on by his love of money, summoned the ministers together, announced to them his majesty's pleasure, and commanded them to give intimation from their pulpits,

* Baillie's Letters, vol. i., p. 3.

that on the following Sabbath the public use of the Liturgy was to be commenced. One only of the ministers, Mr Andrew Ramsay, refused; the rest promised obedience.

This announcement sounded to Scotland like a trumpet-call to arms. During the intermediate week all was anxious, but no longer silent, expectation. Several brief but vigorous pamphlets appeared, condemning the Liturgy, and the prelates for urging forward that daring innovation without the sanction of either Parliament or Assembly; numerous meetings for prayer and consultation were held simultaneously, though not by concert; and the low murmur of indignant Scotland's voice began to be heard like the awakening thunders on far distant hills, or the deep sound of the advancing ocean-tide.

The 23d day of July 1637 was the day on which the perilous experiment was to be made, whether the people of Scotland would tamely submit to see the religious institutions of their fathers wantonly violated and overthrown, for the gratification of a despotic monarch and a lordly hierarchy. Several of the prelates were in the capital, to grace the innovation with their presence. The attention of the public was directed chiefly to the cathedral church of St Giles. There the Dean of Edinburgh prepared to commence the intended outrage on the National Church and the most sacred feelings of the people. A deep melancholy calm brooded over the congregation, all apparently anticipating some display of mingled wrath and sorrow, but none aware what form it might assume, or what might be its extent. At length, when their feelings, wound up to the highest pitch, were become too tremulously painful much longer to be endured, the dean, attired in his surplice, began to read the service of the day. At that moment an old woman named Jenny Geddes, unable longer to restrain her indignation, exclaimed, "Villain, dost thou say mass at my lug?" and seizing the stool on which she had been sitting, threw it at the dean's head. Instantly all was tumultuous uproar and confusion. Missiles of every kind were flying from all directions, aimed at the luckless leader of the forlorn hope of Prelacy; and several of the most vehement rushed towards the desk, to

seize upon the object of their indignation. The dean, terrified by this sudden outburst of popular fury, tore himself out of their hands and fled, glad to escape, though with the loss of his sacerdotal vestments. The Bishop of Edinburgh himself then entered the pulpit, and endeavoured to allay the wild tumult, but in vain. He was instantly assailed with equal fury, and was with difficulty rescued by the interference of the magistrates. When the most outrageous of the rioters had been thrust out of the church, the dean attempted to resume the service; but the tumultuary din of the mob on the outside, shouting aloud their hostile cries, breaking the windows, and fiercely battering the doors, compelled him to terminate the mangled service abruptly. Great exertions were required to protect the prelates from the fury of the excited rioters, whose long-pent feelings had now burst forth in a torrent of ungovernable violence.

This riot, as the reader will perceive, bears every mark of having been entirely an unpremeditated burst of popular indignation; yet writers on the Prelatic side have attempted to represent it as a preconcerted scheme of the leading Presbyterian nobility and ministers. It does not seem necessary to enter into the controversy further than to state, that their assertions are directly contradicted by well-authenticated facts; and that although the most searching investigations were instituted by the magistrates of Edinburgh, immediately after the riot, not the slightest trace was found of any pre-arrangements having been made, and none but the lowest of the people, whose passions are generally least under control, were found to have been concerned in it. Indeed, it was almost wholly confined to females; and the utmost search of the magistrates enabled them to detect, apprehend, and commit to prison, only some six or seven servant girls. It was, in fact, merely the result of a new outrage given to feelings long suppressed, and thereby collected into a degree of concentrated strength, making their final outburst the more impetuous, but also the more natural—like a spark of fire thrown into a high-piled mass of combustible materials, and causing a sudden and tremen-

dous explosion. In the Church of the Greyfriars, where the Bishop of Argyle officiated, no other interruption was that day experienced but groans of deep sorrow, and shriller wailings of lamentation; but had one single word or act of violence been used, the sorrow might have been in an instant converted into the wild uproar of fury; for in such a state of excited feelings the passions of the heart can change with the suddenness of lightning.

Great was the consternation and astonishment of the Prelatic party when this unexpected storm of popular wrath dashed the Liturgy from their trembling hands. They had calculated on nothing worse than a few weak and sullen murmurs from the people, and perhaps the obstinate resistance of a portion of the ministers in different parts of the country, whom they could easily banish, and replace by creatures of their own. But when matters began to assume a more serious aspect than they had expected, they stood amazed and stupified. No preparation had been made to overawe and suppress popular tumult; and although the rioters were mostly women of the lowest ranks, they began to suspect a more formidable body of antagonists; and their fears exaggerated the nature and extent of their dangers. Spotswood, whose cupidity had induced him to urge forward the introduction of the Liturgy, and who had hoped to carry the tidings of its reception in triumph to London, now thought it expedient to extenuate his failure by transmitting to the king an inflated account of the riot, casting all the blame of its occurrence upon Traquair, who had been detained from the capital on the eventful day by the marriage of a relation. At the same time he put forth his High Commission powers in the most vehement manner, laying the town under an Episcopal interdict, suspending all public worship, even on the hallowed day of God, because the Liturgy had been rejected. This he did without communicating with the Privy Council, who, on their part, were sufficiently annoyed at what had taken place, and not in a temper to tolerate either the folly or the arrogance of the mortified and angry primate. They accordingly sent to his majesty their own account of what had taken place, extenu-

ating the affair, and accusing the bishops of having caused it all by their own vanity and rashness.

These mutual recriminations between the Privy Council and the prelates tended to paralyze the executive at the very moment when decision and energy were most required. Meanwhile, the intelligence of what had taken place in Edinburgh spread throughout the kingdom like the kindling of a beacon-fire, and gave the signal of open resistance to this invasion of their sacred rights—a signal most willingly received by a high-minded people, thus wantonly injured in what they held most precious. They seemed to perceive, in the paltry riot of Edinburgh, the cloud like a man's hand rising out of the sea, soon to cover the whole skies, and descend in showers of new life and energy. The thrilling fervour of the people told their long oppressed ministers that the day of their deliverance was drawing near, and that they had now but to guide that strong national feeling which was rising in its might, and would soon, if rightly directed, burst through and sweep away those feeble barriers within which regal and hierarchical despotism had striven to confine it. Nor were the ministers wanting in their duty to the people, to themselves, and to the Church of their fathers, in this momentous crisis.

Still it was Prelatic infatuation that forced on the contest. Foiled in Edinburgh, the prelates resolved to try whether they might not be more successful in the country. Accordingly the two archbishops determined to compel all the ministers within their bounds to procure and use the Liturgy. Renewing the former imperious mandate, Spotswood charged Alexander Henderson, George Hamilton, and James Bruce, the three most eminent ministers within his diocese, to purchase two copies of the Service Book each, for the use of their parishes, within fifteen days after the date of the charge, under the pain of rebellion. The Archbishop of Glasgow gave a similar charge to all the ministers within his bounds. This called into the field of action the man who was destined to become the leader of his party. Alexander Henderson declared himself willing to purchase the book, that he might make himself acquainted with its contents;

but refused to promise that he would use it in public, boldly affirming, that in matters which referred to the worship of God, no man could be bound to a blind and servile obedience. But as the danger to which they were exposed by this charge was both formidable and near at hand, the ministers resolved to apply to the Privy Council for a suspension of the charge itself. Accordingly, Henderson hastened to the metropolis, to present a petition in his own name and in that of his two brethren. He there met with William Castlelaw from Stewarton, Robert Wilkie from Glasgow, and James Bonar from Maybole, who had been sent by their respective presbyteries for the same purpose, chiefly by the advice of David Dickson and the Earl of Loudon. This meeting, unanticipated, so far as appears, encouraged the ministers to go forward with their petitions, by making them fully aware of the rapidly-extending harmony of sentiment and feeling throughout the kingdom. On the 23d of August they presented their petitions to the Council; and, at the same time, many letters were addressed to the councillors by noblemen and gentlemen from all parts of the country, requesting that the reading of the Liturgy might not be forcibly imposed on the ministers. The Council, by an act dated the 25th, declared that the letters and charges respecting the Service Book, extended only to the buying thereof, and no further. At the same time the Council wrote to the king, giving him a tolerably full and fair account of the state of the country, of the universal dissatisfaction which the attempted forcible introduction of the Liturgy had caused, and of the dangerous consequences which might be dreaded were the attempt to enforce its reception immediately renewed, or punishment inflicted on those by whom it was opposed. It was left to his majesty, after taking these statements into consideration, to determine by what means these perilous commotions might be best allayed, and their cause removed or mitigated. To the petitioners the Council gave the additional satisfaction of a promise, that their supplication should receive a full answer on the 20th of September ensuing.

The prelates were exceedingly disappointed and enraged

by these proceedings of the Council. They now saw themselves deserted by the nobility, and they never had possessed the support of the people. But they relied upon the influence of Laud over the king, and upon his majesty's despotic principles, which but too thoroughly coincided with their own; and in the blind wrath of mortified pride they determined to persevere in their course. Partly by transmitting false accounts to the king, and partly by Laud's suppressing all the true accounts sent by others, the prelates deceived his majesty, and induced him to send a very sharp reply to the letter of the Privy Council. In that letter he severely reproved the magistrates of Edinburgh for permitting the riot, and the Privy Council itself for its feeble management of public affairs; commanding, further, that a sufficient number of the Council should remain in the capital till the reading of the Liturgy should be established—that no magistrate should be chosen for any of the burghs who was not ready to conform—and that the bishops should use the Liturgy in their own churches.*

The king's severe and despotic letter again acted like a spark thrown upon a train of gunpowder, or like the kindling of a beacon. Roused rather than intimidated, the Presbyterians crowded to Edinburgh from all parts of the kingdom, as to the spot on which the country's welfare should be lost or gained. In the course of three days twenty-four noblemen, many barons, about a hundred ministers, commissioners from sixty-six parishes, and also from a number of the principal burghs, with many of the gentry from the counties of Fife, Stirling, Lothian, Ayr, and Lanark, arrived in the metropolis, all animated by the same spirit, and resolved to defend the purity and freedom of their national religion.† Less than a month had elapsed since the petitioners against the Prelatic innovation were only four ministers; and now the whole kingdom, as by a simultaneous impulse, had started from its apparent lethargy,

* To this last command the Bishop of Brechin yielded a singular compliance. He armed himself with pistols, and taking his own family, all likewise armed, to church before the people were assembled, fastened the doors, and so read the Liturgy in triumph.—*Baillie*, vol. i., p. 24.

† *Baillie*, p. 15; Mr Laing's edition, vol. i., p. 21.

and poured its confluent streams of living energy into the capital. In such a mighty and universal movement a thoughtful statesman would have seen, as Sir Philip Sidney did in Holland, the manifested will of God, and would have bowed before the sacred majesty of what he thus perceived to be a spiritual element, which none but the Divine Spirit could have caused so to pervade the general heart of the community. But sacred principles are incomprehensible to men of secular minds.

Instead of all these numerous petitions, it was thought expedient that one should be presented, in which all the petitioners should express their concurrence. This was done accordingly, and presented to the Privy Council by the Earl of Sutherland; and although the Council declined to give an answer till they should have received his majesty's instructions, the petitions were given to the Duke of Lennox, to be by him presented to the king. Lennox had expressed himself much impressed by the extent of the national feeling, declaring that he was sure his majesty was greatly misinformed, else he never could persevere in urging a measure which was thus alienating the whole of his most faithful subjects; and hopes were entertained that his mediation with the king would procure a favourable answer. But not trusting too much to the fallacious visions of hope and Court favour, the Presbyterians wisely improved the opportunity, when so many of them were together, and drew up several important papers, detailing their principles and opinions, by which their unexpected spontaneous harmony of sentiment was confirmed into a thorough union of heart and mind.

Soon after the departure of the numerous supplicants from Edinburgh, some popular commotions agitated the city, in consequence of the conduct of the provost, who was a determined Prelatist, and therefore strove to thwart the people, repressing their petitions, and still urging the use of the Liturgy, even while it was suspended in other parts of the kingdom. These commotions were not, however, now caused only by the sudden impulses of the lowest ranks, but were joined and guided by many of all classes, and were suf-

ficiently formidable to overawe the Council, and constrain them to comply with the wishes of the citizens. Their petitions were received, and a promise was given that they should receive his majesty's answer against the 17th of October.

The intimation of this expected communication from the king having been sent throughout the country by Archibald Johnston of Warriston, advocate, caused the immediate re-appearance of the Presbyterians in Edinburgh, and in still greater numbers than formerly. Commissioners from above two hundred parishes presented petitions to the Privy Council, before the tenor of the king's despatches had been divulged. The numerous petitioners then held meetings to deliberate what further steps were necessary to be taken. But as their numbers were now so great that they could not conveniently meet all in one place, they separated themselves into four divisions, and met in as many different places, each order—noblemen, gentry, burgesses, and ministers—meeting apart from the others. Each of these meetings was opened with prayer; after which all were asked individually whether they disapproved of the Service Book. When all had answered that they did, both on account of its matter and the manner in which it had been attempted to be imposed on the country, the ablest and most intelligent proceeded to point out more specifically the erroneous character of the book, and the aggravated nature of the grievances already sustained, and still further threatened. This judicious procedure tended still more completely to concentrate and unite the opinions of the petitioners.*

While engaged in these deliberations they were suddenly informed, that an act of Council, proceeding upon his majesty's letters, had been that instant proclaimed, dissolving the Standing Committee of Privy Council, in so far as concerned the affairs of the Church, and commanding the supplicants to leave town within twenty-four hours, under pain of rebellion. Another proclamation almost immediately followed, intended as a punishment to the city, commanding

* In these discussions Baillie seems to have acquitted himself greatly to the satisfaction of his auditors.—*Baillie*, p. 17; Laing's edition, pp. 34, 35.

the Privy Council and the Court of Session to be removed from Edinburgh to Linlithgow till November, and thereafter to Dundee. And still descending with their vindictive measures, another proclamation commanded a book written by Gillespie, entitled "A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies," to be called in and burned. It was not difficult to perceive by what hands these proclamations had been fabricated. Indeed, some hints respecting the probable character of the expected communications from his majesty had previously been uttered by the prelates, who were offended with the former leniency of the Privy Council, and had represented to the king that the riots in Edinburgh had been caused by ill-affected persons resorting hither from the country.

These proclamations had the effect of constraining the Presbyterian petitioners to proceed to a bolder and more decisive step than any they had previously taken, and, instead of continuing to act merely on the defensive, to become themselves assailants. They resolved to lay before the Privy Council a formal complaint against the prelates, accusing them directly of being the cause of all the troubles that disturbed the nation, by their lawless and tyrannical attempts to force the Book of Canons and the Liturgy upon an unwilling Church and people. Two forms of the proposed complaint were drawn up—the one by Lord Balmerino and Alexander Henderson, the other by the Earl of Loudon and David Dickson; the latter of which was unanimously adopted. Baillie acknowledges that he was himself the only person who felt any difficulty in agreeing to it, being apprehensive that it went too far; but after weighing it maturely in his mind, he subscribed it, and never repented of having done so.* It complained of the arbitrary nature of the proclamation commanding them to leave the town, while they were peaceably waiting for an answer to their supplication. It then proceeded to point out some of the pernicious characteristics of the Books of Common Prayer and of Canons, as containing the seeds of divers superstitions, idolatry, and false doctrine, and as being subversive of the

* Baillie, p. 19 (p. 36).

ficiently formidable to overawe the Council, and constrain them to comply with the wishes of the citizens. Their petitions were received, and a promise was given that they should receive his majesty's answer against the 17th of October.

The intimation of this expected communication from the king having been sent throughout the country by Archibald Johnston of Warriston, advocate, caused the immediate re-appearance of the Presbyterians in Edinburgh, and in still greater numbers than formerly. Commissioners from above two hundred parishes presented petitions to the Privy Council, before the tenor of the king's despatches had been divulged. The numerous petitioners then held meetings to deliberate what further steps were necessary to be taken. But as their numbers were now so great that they could not conveniently meet all in one place, they separated themselves into four divisions, and met in as many different places, each order—noblemen, gentry, burgesses, and ministers—meeting apart from the others. Each of these meetings was opened with prayer; after which all were asked individually whether they disapproved of the Service Book. When all had answered that they did, both on account of its matter and the manner in which it had been attempted to be imposed on the country, the ablest and most intelligent proceeded to point out more specifically the erroneous character of the book, and the aggravated nature of the grievance already sustained, and still further threatened. This judicious procedure tended still more completely to concentrate and unite the opinions of the petitioners.*

While engaged in these deliberations they were suddenly informed, that an act of Council, proceeding upon his majesty's letters, had been that instant proclaimed, dissolving the Standing Committee of Privy Council, in so far as concerned the affairs of the Church, and commanding the supplicants to leave town within twenty-four hours, under pain of rebellion. Another proclamation almost immediately followed, intended as a punishment to the city, commanding

* In these discussions Baillie seems to have acquitted himself greatly to the satisfaction of his auditors.—*Baillie*, p. 17; *Laing's* edition, pp. 34, 35.

that form of service contrary to the laws of God's kingdom? Who dared, in their conventicles, conform of God's public worship contrary to that established by the general consent of this Church and State?" If fault or violence have been committed by any of the subjects in resisting or seeking the abolition of that which they might retort, that the bishops framing, and the king authorizing it, were the first and principal causes, and that by resisting either disobedience to God and breach of our duty, or else resisting those evils which would bring the curse of God on the land."*

The next meeting of Privy Council was held on the 15th of November. Again did the Presbyterians assemble in the Council-chamber, and in still increased numbers. The Council, apprehensive of a renewal of tumultuary commotions in the Church, requested the nobles to use their influence with their vassals to induce them to return quietly to their homes. The nobles signified their willingness to make such an arrangement as would allow the greater part to withdraw, a small number remaining than were requisite to conduct all necessaries, and were empowered by the whole to act in their stead. Following up this suggestion, which had been so far practically employed before as a matter of expedience, it was arranged that as many of the nobility as possible, two gentlemen from every county, one minister from every presbytery, and one burgher from every burgh, should form a general commission, representing the whole of the Presbyterians. Still more to concentrate their efforts, it was resolved that the general body of commissioners should meet only on extraordinary occasions, and a small number should be selected, who might reside permanently at Edinburgh, watching the progress of events, ready to communicate with the whole body on any emergency. This smaller committee was composed of six persons—four noblemen, four gentlemen, four ministers, and four burghers; and from the circumstance of their sitting at four separate rooms in the Parliament House, they were designated THE FOUR TABLES. A member from each

* Rothes' Relation, p. 15.

discipline established in the Church, and confirmed by many acts of Parliament: and it concluded by declaring the belief of the complainers, that all these wrongs had been committed by the bishops, contrary to his majesty's intention, craving that these matters might be brought to trial, and decided according to justice, and that this complaint might be fully represented to his majesty, that their grievances might be redressed, and religion permitted to remain as it had been placed by the principles and arrangements of the Reformation.*

This important document was, in the course of a few hours, subscribed by twenty-four of the nobility, several hundreds of gentlemen, all the ministers in town, amounting to about three hundred, and all the commissioners of burghs present. Soon afterwards, having been sent to the country, it was subscribed by fourteen nobles more, gentlemen without number, nearly all the ministers in the kingdom, and by every town except Aberdeen, which still continued to retain its most unenviable distinction.

The vindictive proclamation removing the courts from Edinburgh, caused another temporary riot, and was the means of procuring to the citizens the restoration of those ministers who had been deposed on account of their opposition to the Liturgy, and also so much control over the Town Council as to secure some of that body to act as commissioners along with the other supplicants—thereby restoring the link uniting the metropolis to the rest of the kingdom. The favourable results of this riot, if riot it ought to be termed, may be partly attributed to the open defence of the conduct of the citizens made by some of the most influential of the nobility, as well as to the fact that people of the highest respectability took part in the commotion, and did so avowedly on the most sacred grounds—in the defence of religious purity and freedom. “Let any one,” said the Earl of Rothes, “who hath found the comfort, and knoweth the binding power, of true religion, judge if this people deserve that censure and imputation which the bishops would cast upon them for opposing their project. Who

* Stevenson, pp. 181, 182.

pressed that form of service contrary to the laws of God and this kingdom? Who dared, in their conventicles, contrive a form of God's public worship contrary to that established by the general consent of this Church and State?" "If any fault or violence have been committed by any of the subjects in resisting or seeking the abolition of that book, they might retort, that the bishops framing, and the Council authorizing it, were the first and principal causes, necessitating either disobedience to God and breach of our laws, or else resisting those evils which would bring the judgment of God on the land."*

The next meeting of Privy Council was held on the 15th of November. Again did the Presbyterians assemble in the capital, and in still increased numbers. The Council, apprehensive of a renewal of tumultuary commotions in the town, requested the nobles to use their influence with their friends to induce them to return quietly to their homes. The petitioners signified their willingness to make such an arrangement as would allow the greater part to withdraw, no more remaining than were requisite to conduct all necessary matters, and were empowered by the whole to act in their behalf. Following up this suggestion, which had indeed been so far practically employed before as a matter of convenience, it was arranged that as many of the nobility as pleased, two gentlemen from every county, one minister from every presbytery, and one burghess from every burgh, should form a general commission, representing the whole body of the Presbyterians. Still more to concentrate their efforts, it was resolved that the general body of commissioners should meet only on extraordinary occasions, and a smaller number should be selected, who might reside permanently at Edinburgh, watching the progress of events, and ready to communicate with the whole body on any emergency. This smaller committee was composed of sixteen persons—four noblemen, four gentlemen, four ministers, and four burghesses; and from the circumstance of their sitting in four separate rooms in the Parliament House, they were designated THE FOUR TABLES. A member from each

* *Rothes' Relation*, p. 15.

of these constituted a chief Table of last resort, making a supreme council of four members. In this manner was constructed one of the most active and efficient councils that ever guided the affairs of any community, vigilant, prompt, and energetic, placed in the very centre of the body politic, conveying life and intelligence through its entire frame, and able to rouse it into instantaneous action at one thrilling call.

When these exceedingly judicious arrangements had been completed, the great body of the petitioners were solemnly exhorted to return to their homes, to reform their personal habits, to act according to their religious profession, and to be earnest and constant in faith and prayer to Him in whose hands are the hearts of kings, and from whom alone they could hope for safety to the crown, peace to the country, and deliverance to the Church. These exhortations produced a deep impression upon the assembled thousands, and were at once obeyed. The people quietly withdrew from the scene of agitating anxiety, committing the cause of the distressed Church to the protection of its divine Head and King, fearing God, and having no other fear.

About the beginning of December a meeting of Privy Council was appointed to be held at Linlithgow, to receive the communications transmitted from his majesty by the Earl of Roxburgh. The Tables were instantly on the alert, and summoned the whole of the commissioners of the Church to the capital, to be prepared for any emergency, but, at the solicitation of Traquair and Roxburgh, consented to abstain from going to Linlithgow. There is reason to believe that Roxburgh had it in charge to employ every method by which the Presbyterians might be weakened; such as, to detach some of their supporters by bribes and promises of preferment, and to seize and imprison the leading men whom he could not otherwise influence; but the first method being indignantly rejected, the second was abandoned as too perilous. Three proclamation were, however, issued by the Council; in one of which his majesty declared his abhorrence of Popery, and his determination to allow nothing but what should tend to the advancement of religion, "as it is pre-

professed within this his majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland; and that nothing is, or will be, intended to be herein against the laudable laws of that his majesty's kingdom." With this proclamation the Presbyterians had reason to be satisfied. It was but too evident that the language was equivocal, and might be interpreted to that his majesty would allow nothing but what should be to the advancement of Prelacy, and that he regarded the establishment of that system as "laudable laws," which should be done against. They resolved, therefore, to do by their own plain and unequivocal complaints, not to allow themselves to be circumvented and deceived, either by the arts of courtiers or the king-craft of the sovereign.

Again did Traquair and Roxburgh endeavour to persuade the petitioners to rest satisfied with the proclamation. Finding them on their guard in this matter, the next attempt was to induce the petitioners to divide their petitions, and make separate petitions separately, on the plea that by doing so their petition would bear less the appearance of combination, and be proportionally less offensive to the king. But the Tables were aware of the maxim, "Divide and conquer," and therefore refused to expose themselves and their cause to the risk of division and defeat. Yet once more did the king attempt to draw the Presbyterians into a snare, by urging them to abandon their accusation of the prelates, and to limit their petition to the subject of the Book of Discipline and the Liturgy. This stratagem also failed, in consequence of the unalterable resolution of the Tables to adhere to the principles stated in their complaint, and to rehearse the prelates as parties accused of high offences against the National Church, which they had striven to subvert by the introduction of a hierarchy not recognised in its constitution. The Privy Council then attempted to evade receiving the general petition of the Tables; but such was the indomitable perseverance of the Presbyterian leaders, that the Council was in a manner besieged, and compelled to receive the deputation, and listen to their complaint. Baillie reserved the speeches of the deputation, which are in-

deed a noble specimen of high religious principle, loyalty, and eloquence, honourable alike to the men and to the cause. They are said to have produced such an impression upon Lord Lorn, afterwards Earl of Argyle, as to detach him from the Prelatic party, and to incline him to that of the Presbyterians, of which he subsequently proved a steady and able supporter.

Information of the state of affairs was sent by the Privy Council to the king, through the Earl of Traquair, accompanied by Hamilton of Orbiston, who was appointed to take charge of the petition and complaint of the Presbyterians. Some faint hopes were entertained, that when his majesty should receive full and accurate accounts of the real state of affairs in Scotland, he might be induced to abandon the pernicious attempt to violate the conscience of an entire kingdom, by forcing upon the people religious ceremonies to which they were determinedly opposed, and a hierarchy which they both detested and feared. But unhappily for both the king and the kingdom, an evil agency was strenuously at work, prompting the misguided and obstinate monarch to provoke his destiny. Sir Robert Spotswood, president of the Court of Session, hastened to London, and, aided by Laud, prejudiced the mind of the king against all sound and wise counsel; and the archbishop, seconding his son's misrepresentations, suggested that the Presbyterians would submit, were his majesty to resort to measures more decisive than any he had yet adopted—that it required but a proclamation condemning the proceeding of the Tables, and prohibiting them, under pain of treason, to put an end to the whole opposition. This advice was but too congenial to the despotic temper of Charles. It prevailed against the opinions of those who counselled a milder course; and Traquair was commanded to be in readiness to return to Scotland early in the following year, to bear down all opposition, and see his majesty's orders carried into effect.

[1638.]—In the beginning of February 1638, the Earl of Traquair returned from England, bearing with him those arbitrary commands with which his Majesty hoped to dishearten and disunite the Presbyterians. He was immedi-

tely requested by some of the leading nobles to inform them respecting the nature of the measures which he was empowered to propose; but he declined to give any answer till the meeting of the Privy Council, which was appointed to be held at Stirling on the 20th of February. The Presbyterians, however, had already received secret information respecting the real character of Traquair's commission; and the intelligence having been speedily sent throughout the country, great numbers began to flock to Stirling, to act as occasion might require. Traquair endeavoured to dissuade them from thus assembling in dangerous numbers; and they consented so far as to promise to send Lords Rothes and Lindsay only, as a deputation. Learning soon after that the intended proclamation would not only prohibit any supplicants from appearing before the Council, but also would command them to be incarcerated as traitors if they should attempt it, they changed their plan, and determined to repair to Stirling in such numbers as should prove a sufficient mutual protection. And as they were resolved that they at least would act honourably, whatever might be the conduct of their antagonists, they sent information of this change of purpose to Lord Traquair. Somewhat irritated at the failure of his stratagem, Traquair told them that by asking so much they were defeating their own object; that if they had contented themselves with supplicating release from the Book of Canons and the Liturgy, they might have been successful, but his majesty would not suffer one of his estates to be brought under subjection to them. This hasty answer confirmed all their apprehensions. It showed the king's determination to retain Prelacy, under the designation of one of the estates of the kingdom—an estate essentially subservient to him, by the dexterous use of which he might vitiate every court, undermine all the bulwarks of liberty, and succeed in establishing a perfect and absolute despotism, civil and religious. This, indeed, there is every reason to believe, was his majesty's unavowed but real design—a design happily frustrated by the promptitude, firmness, and energy, which God bestowed upon our Presbyterian ancestors.

Traquair had now but one resource left, and that an abundantly mean one—to attempt the accomplishment by stealth of what dissimulation and threats had failed to effect. He resolved to hasten under night to Stirling, and there issue the proclamation, before the Presbyterians could arrive, on the morning of the 20th, which happened to be a Monday. Even this proved abortive. His design was detected; the zealous Presbyterians sent two of their number to anticipate this new movement; and when the members of Privy Council appeared in Stirling to publish the proclamation, they were met by the Lords Home and Lindsay, who read a protest, and affixed a copy of it on the market-cross, beside that of the proclamation, leaving them there bane and antidote together.

Nothing could have been more injudicious than his majesty's proclamation. The Presbyterians were all along extremely unwilling to believe, and still more so to affirm, that they regarded the king as in any degree the direct cause of their troubles, accusing the ambitious and corrupt prelates of being both the instigators and the agents in all the innovations which had been made, and the oppressions under which the country had groaned, ever since the institution of their inquisitorial and despotic Courts of High Commission. But in this proclamation the king declared "that the bishops were unjustly accused as being authors of the Service Book and Canons, seeing whatever was done by them in that matter was by his majesty's authority and orders." The proclamation further expressed entire approbation of these innocent books; condemned all meetings and subscriptions against them, prohibiting all such proceedings, under pain of rebellion; and ordaining that no supplicant should appear in any town where the Council were sitting, under pain of treason.* In this manner did the king openly take upon himself all the blame of those measures against which the great body of the nation had petitioned and complained, as if to tell the kingdom that no redress should be granted to any of their grievances.

It might have been thought that the depths of meanness

* Baillie, pp. 32, 33; 49, 50, Laing's edition.

and duplicity had now been explored; but the Council found a still lower deep. Great numbers of the Presbyterians had arrived in Stirling before the day was far advanced; and the Council entreated their leaders to persuade them to withdraw, lest any tumult should arise, promising that no act of ratification should be passed, and that their protest and declinature against the prelates sitting as members of Council should be received. Yet no sooner had the mass of the supplicants withdrawn, than the Council admitted two of the prelates, ratified the proclamation, and refused to receive the protest and declinature; thus violating their own pledged honour and degrading the faith of courts beneath the level of common falsehood. Several high-minded nobles, who had hitherto supported the Prelatic measures, recoiled from the contamination of this act, and soon afterwards joined the Presbyterians. The publication of this proclamation in other towns was met with equal promptitude by a protest; and thus, according to the received opinions on such matters in Scotland, the binding force of the proclamation was neutralized, till the subjects of which it treated should be freely and fully discussed in Parliament and Assembly.

These proceedings hastened on the crisis. The Presbyterians now saw clearly that the king himself was determined to support the prelates, and ruin them if in his power. Unless, therefore, they were prepared to bow their necks beneath the yoke of Prelatic despotism in the Church, and arbitrary power in the State, they must maintain their position; and to do so without a more decided and permanent bond of union than that which the Tables afforded was impossible. So reasoned the nobility. On the other hand, Henderson, Dickson, and some more of the leading men among the ministers, looking more deeply into the matter, became convinced that the Church and the nation were suffering the natural and penal consequences of their own defections. And calling to mind how greatly God had blessed the previous Covenants, in which the nation had bound itself by the most solemn obligations to put away all idolatry, superstition, and immorality, and to worship God in sim-

Traquair had now but one resource left, and that an abundantly mean one—to attempt the accomplishment by stealth of what dissimulation and threats had failed to effect. He resolved to hasten under night to Stirling, and there issue the proclamation, before the Presbyterians could arrive, on the morning of the 20th, which happened to be a Monday. Even this proved abortive. His design was detected; the zealous Presbyterians sent two of their number to anticipate this new movement; and when the members of Privy Council appeared in Stirling to publish the proclamation, they were met by the Lords Home and Lindsay, who read a protest, and affixed a copy of it on the market-cross, beside that of the proclamation, leaving them there bane and antidote together.

Nothing could have been more injudicious than his majesty's proclamation. The Presbyterians were all along extremely unwilling to believe, and still more so to affirm, that they regarded the king as in any degree the direct cause of their troubles, accusing the ambitious and corrupt prelates of being both the instigators and the agents in all the innovations which had been made, and the oppressions under which the country had groaned, ever since the institution of their inquisitorial and despotic Courts of High Commission. But in this proclamation the king declared "that the bishops were unjustly accused as being authors of the Service Book and Canons, seeing whatever was done by them in that matter was by his majesty's authority and orders." The proclamation further expressed entire approbation of these innocent books; condemned all meetings and subscriptions against them, prohibiting all such proceedings, under pain of rebellion; and ordaining that no supplicant should appear in any town where the Council were sitting, under pain of treason.* In this manner did the king openly take upon himself all the blame of those measures against which the great body of the nation had petitioned and complained, as if to tell the kingdom that no redress should be granted to any of their grievances.

It might have been thought that the depths of meanness

* Baillie, pp. 32, 33; 49, 50, Laing's edition.

and duplicity had now been explored; but the Council found a still lower deep. Great numbers of the Presbyterians had arrived in Stirling before the day was far advanced; and the Council entreated their leaders to persuade them to withdraw, lest any tumult should arise, promising that no act of ratification should be passed, and that their protest and declinature against the prelates sitting as members of Council should be received. Yet no sooner had the mass of the supplicants withdrawn, than the Council admitted two of the prelates, ratified the proclamation, and refused to receive the protest and declinature; thus violating their own pledged honour and degrading the faith of courts beneath the level of common falsehood. Several high-minded nobles, who had hitherto supported the Prelatic measures, recoiled from the contamination of this act, and soon afterwards joined the Presbyterians. The publication of this proclamation in other towns was met with equal promptitude by a protest; and thus, according to the received opinions on such matters in Scotland, the binding force of the proclamation was neutralized, till the subjects of which it treated should be freely and fully discussed in Parliament and Assembly.

These proceedings hastened on the crisis. The Presbyterians now saw clearly that the king himself was determined to support the prelates, and ruin them if in his power. Unless, therefore, they were prepared to bow their necks beneath the yoke of Prelatic despotism in the Church, and arbitrary power in the State, they must maintain their position; and to do so without a more decided and permanent bond of union than that which the Tables afforded was impossible. So reasoned the nobility. On the other hand, Henderson, Dickson, and some more of the leading men among the ministers, looking more deeply into the matter, became convinced that the Church and the nation were suffering the natural and penal consequences of their own defections. And calling to mind how greatly God had blessed the previous Covenants, in which the nation had bound itself by the most solemn obligations to put away all idolatry, superstition, and immorality, and to worship God in sim-

Traquair had now but one resource left, and that an abundantly mean one—to attempt the accomplishment by stealth of what dissimulation and threats had failed to effect. He resolved to hasten under night to Stirling, and there issue the proclamation, before the Presbyterians could arrive, on the morning of the 20th, which happened to be a Monday. Even this proved abortive. His design was detected; the zealous Presbyterians sent two of their number to anticipate this new movement; and when the members of Privy Council appeared in Stirling to publish the proclamation, they were met by the Lords Home and Lindsay, who read a protest, and affixed a copy of it on the market-cross, beside that of the proclamation, leaving them there bane and antidote together.

Nothing could have been more injudicious than his majesty's proclamation. The Presbyterians were all along extremely unwilling to believe, and still more so to affirm, that they regarded the king as in any degree the direct cause of their troubles, accusing the ambitious and corrupt prelates of being both the instigators and the agents in all the innovations which had been made, and the oppressions under which the country had groaned, ever since the institution of their inquisitorial and despotic Courts of High Commission. But in this proclamation the king declared "that the bishops were unjustly accused as being authors of the Service Book and Canons, seeing whatever was done by them in that matter was by his majesty's authority and orders." The proclamation further expressed entire approbation of these innocent books; condemned all meetings and subscriptions against them, prohibiting all such proceedings, under pain of rebellion; and ordaining that no supplicant should appear in any town where the Council were sitting, under pain of treason.* In this manner did the king openly take upon himself all the blame of those measures against which the great body of the nation had petitioned and complained, as if to tell the kingdom that no redress should be granted to any of their grievances.

It might have been thought that the depths of meanness

* Baillie, pp. 32, 33; 49, 50, Laing's edition.

and duplicity had now been explored; but the Council found a still lower deep. Great numbers of the Presbyterians had arrived in Stirling before the day was far advanced; and the Council entreated their leaders to persuade them to withdraw, lest any tumult should arise, promising that no act of ratification should be passed, and that their protest and declinature against the prelates sitting as members of Council should be received. Yet no sooner had the mass of the supplicants withdrawn, than the Council admitted two of the prelates, ratified the proclamation, and refused to receive the protest and declinature; thus violating their own pledged honour and degrading the faith of courts beneath the level of common falsehood. Several high-minded nobles, who had hitherto supported the Prelatic measures, recoiled from the contamination of this act, and soon afterwards joined the Presbyterians. The publication of this proclamation in other towns was met with equal promptitude by a protest; and thus, according to the received opinions on such matters in Scotland, the binding force of the proclamation was neutralized, till the subjects of which it treated should be freely and fully discussed in Parliament and Assembly.

These proceedings hastened on the crisis. The Presbyterians now saw clearly that the king himself was determined to support the prelates, and ruin them if in his power. Unless, therefore, they were prepared to bow their necks beneath the yoke of Prelatic despotism in the Church, and arbitrary power in the State, they must maintain their position; and to do so without a more decided and permanent bond of union than that which the Tables afforded was impossible. So reasoned the nobility. On the other hand, Henderson, Dickson, and some more of the leading men among the ministers, looking more deeply into the matter, became convinced that the Church and the nation were suffering the natural and penal consequences of their own defections. And calling to mind how greatly God had blessed the previous Covenants, in which the nation had bound itself by the most solemn obligations to put away all idolatry, superstition, and immorality, and to worship God in sim-

plicity and faithfulness according to his own Word, they arrived at the important conclusion, that their duty and their safety were the same, and would consist in returning to God, and renewing their covenant engagements to him and his holy law.

This great idea re-assured their minds; yet they were aware that it would require to be cautiously introduced to the notice of the weaker and less decided of the brethren. A public fast was intimated, in which the confession of the defections of the Church and nation formed naturally a leading subject of the addresses which the most eminent of the ministers were selected to deliver to crowded audiences of earnest and deep-thinking men. In this manner the idea of renewing the Covenant was infused into their minds, while the sacred duties in which they were engaged had for a time entirely banished all narrow, selfish, and worldly considerations. On the immediately following day, Monday the 26th of February, the subject was openly mentioned; and it was found that already there was a strong and very prevalent inclination to renew the Covenant. Alexander Henderson and Johnston of Warriston were appointed to draw it up, and Rothes, Loudon, and Balmerino, to revise it. The utmost care was taken that it should contain nothing which could justly give offence to even the most tender and scrupulous conscience. Objections of every kind were heard and considered, and forms of expression altered, so as to remove whatsoever might seem liable to objection. Baillie and the brethren of the west country appear to have been the most scrupulous; but all their difficulties were removed or answered.

The Covenant consisted of three parts: the *first*, The Old Covenant of 1581, exactly as at first prepared; the *second*, The acts of Parliament condemning Popery, and confirming and ratifying the acts of the General Assembly—this was written by Johnston; and the *third*, The special application of the whole to present circumstances—this was the production of Henderson, displaying singular clearness of thought and soundness of judgment.

At length the important day, the 28th of February, dawned,

in which Scotland was to resume her solemn covenant union with her God. All were fully aware that on the great transaction of this day, and on the blessing of God upon it, would depend the welfare or the woe of the Church and kingdom for generations to come. By daybreak all the commissioners were met; and the Covenant being now written out, it was read over, and its leading propositions deliberately examined, all being invited to express their opinions freely, and every objection patiently heard and answered. From time to time there appeared some slightly-doubtful symptoms, indicative of possible disunion; but these gradually gave way before the rising tide of sacred emotion with which almost every heart was heaving. Finally, it was agreed that all the commissioners who were in town, with as many of their friends as could attend, should meet at the Greyfriars' Church in the afternoon, to sign the bond of union with each other, and of covenant with God.

As the hour drew near, people from all quarters flocked to the spot; and before the commissioners appeared, the church and church-yard were densely filled with the gravest, the wisest, and the best of Scotland's pious sons and daughters. With the hour approached the men—Rothes, Loudon, Henderson, Dickson, and Johnston appeared, bearing a copy of the Covenant ready for signature. The meeting was then constituted by Henderson, in a prayer of very remarkable power, earnestness, and spirituality of tone and feeling. The dense multitude listened with breathless reverence and awe, as if each man felt himself alone in the presence of the Hearer of prayer. When he concluded, the Earl of Loudon stood forth, addressed the meeting, and stated, explained, and vindicated the object for which they were assembled. He very judiciously directed their attention to the Covenants of other days, when their venerated fathers had publicly joined themselves to the Lord, and had obtained support under their trials, and deliverance from every danger; pointed out the similarity of their position, and the consequent propriety and duty of fleeing to the same high tower of Almighty strength; and concluded by an appeal to the Searcher of hearts, that nothing disloyal or treasonable was meant.

Johnston then unrolled the vast sheet of parchment, and in a clear and steady voice read the Covenant aloud. He finished, and stood silent. A solemn stillness followed—deep, unbroken, sacred. Men felt the near presence of that dread Majesty to whom they were about to vow allegiance; and bowed their souls before Him, in the breathless awe of silent, spiritual adoration.

Roths at length, with subdued tone, broke the silence, stating, that if any had still objections to offer, they should repair, if from the south or west parts of the kingdom, to the west door of the Church, where their doubts would be heard and resolved by Loudon and Dickson; if from the north and east, to the east door, where the same would be done by Henderson and himself. "Few came, proposed but few doubts, and these few were soon resolved." Again a deep and solemn pause ensued; not the pause of irresolution, but of modest diffidence, each thinking every other more worthy than himself to place the first name upon this sacred bond. An aged nobleman, the venerable Earl of Sutherland, at last stepped slowly and reverentially forward, and with throbbing heart and trembling hand subscribed Scotland's Covenant with God. All hesitation in a moment disappeared. Name followed name in swift succession, till all within the church had given their signatures. It was then removed into the church-yard, and spread out on a level grave-stone, to obtain the subscription of the assembled multitude. Here the scene became, if possible, still more impressive. The intense emotions of many became irrepressible. Some wept aloud; some burst into a shout of exultation; some after their names added the words *till death*; and some, opening a vein, subscribed with their own warm blood. As the space became filled, they wrote their names in a contracted form, limiting them at last to the initial letters, till not a spot remained on which another letter could be inscribed. There was another pause. The nation had framed a Covenant in former days, and had violated its engagements—hence the calamities in which it had been and was involved. If they, too, should break this sacred bond, how deep would be their guilt! Such seem to have been

their thoughts during this period of silent communing with their own hearts; for, as moved by one spirit—and doubtless they were moved by the One Eternal Spirit—with low heart-wrung groans, and faces bathed in tears, they lifted up their right hands to heaven, avowing, by this sublime appeal, that they had now “joined themselves to the Lord in an everlasting COVENANT, that shall not be forgotten.”*

* For a more full account, see Baillie's Letters, Rothes' Relation, Row's History, Aiton's Life of Henderson, &c.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE SUBSCRIBING OF THE COVENANT IN 1638, TO THE
RESTORATION OF CHARLES II. IN 1660.

The Covenant subscribed throughout the Kingdom with great zeal—Plans of the Prelatists—Applications of both Parties to the King—The Covenant subscribed in the Highlands—the King resolves to enter into temporizing Negotiations with the Covenanters—The Marquis of Hamilton appointed Lord High Commissioner—Deceitful and fruitless Negotiations of Hamilton—Preparations for a Meeting of Assembly—The General Assembly of 1638 held at Glasgow—Struggles of Hamilton—Triumph of the Assembly—Summary of its most important Acts—Reflections—Supplication to the King—His Resentment, Schemes of Revenge, and Preparations for War—Deliberations and Preparations of the Covenanters—Montrose at Aberdeen—The King resolves to invade Scotland—The Covenanter arm—Their appearance at Dunse Law—The King enters into a Treaty—Defection of Montrose—The King displeased with the Proceedings of the Assembly and Parliament—Prepares again for War—The Covenanters prepare also—Contentions in the Assembly respecting Private Meetings of a Religious Character—Reflections—The Army of the Covenanters enter England—The Scottish Commissioners in London—The idea of Religious Uniformity in the Two Kingdoms suggested—Repeated in the Assembly—First Commission of Assembly—The Covenanters resolve to enter into Treaty with the English Parliament—THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT—Reflections—The Westminster Assembly of Divines—Contemporaneous Events in England and Scotland—Montrose—Charles in the Army of the Covenanters—The Confession of Faith—The Engagement—Divisions in Scotland—Death of Charles I.—Loyalty of the Covenanters—Charles II. proclaimed King—Signs the Covenant—Cromwell in Scotland—Suppression of the General Assembly—Internal State of the Church—Divisions—Resolutions and Protesters—Restoration of Charles II.

NEVER, except among God's peculiar people the Jews, did any national transaction equal, in moral and religious sublimity, that which was displayed by Scotland on the great day of her sacred National Covenant. Although it was computed that there could not be less than sixty thousand people from all parts of the kingdom assembled at that time in Edinburgh, there was not the slightest appearance of confusion or tumult; and on the evening of that solemn day,

after hours of the deepest and most intense emotion, when every chord of the heart and every faculty of the mind had been excited to the utmost pitch of possible endurance, the mighty multitude melted quietly and peacefully away, each to his own abode, their souls filled with holy awe and spiritual elevation, by the power of the sacred pledge which they had mutually given to be faithful to their country and their God. What but the Spirit of God could have thus moved an entire people to the formation of such a bond, in which every worldly consideration was thrown aside, every personal interest trampled under foot, every kind of peril calmly confronted, solely for the maintenance of religious truth, purity, and freedom? Worldly politicians might well stand amazed; selfish and ambitious prelates might be confounded and appalled; and a despotic sovereign and his flatterers might cherish fierce resentment, when they heard of the wonderful transaction: and men of similar views, characters, and feelings may still pour forth their virulent invectives against Scotland's Covenant, and the men who framed and signed it, obeying the divine impulse by which they were guided and upheld; but we do not hesitate to state our opinion, that the sublime deed of that great day will ever, by all who can understand and value it, be regarded as the deed and the day of Scotland's greatest national and religious glory.

On the next day, the 1st of March, the Covenant was again publicly read in a large meeting of those who had come too recently to the capital to have had leisure to take its main propositions into sufficiently deliberate consideration. Freely were its principles stated, that no man might bind himself to a measure the full nature of which he did not comprehend; and yet so remarkable was the unanimity of the meeting, that about three hundred ministers at once added their names to the large number already subscribed. The Covenant was then carried to the most public parts of the city, to afford an opportunity to people dwelling in the different districts of adding to it their signatures; and wherever it appeared, it was hailed with joyful welcome, as a bond of unity and a pledge of sacred peace. Great num-

bers are said to have followed it from place to place, imploring the blessing of God upon it, with gushing tears and fervent supplications, that this return of their country to its ancient covenant union with God might be the means of averting the divine indignation, and procuring deliverance from their calamities. Copies of it were soon afterwards written, and sent to every part of the kingdom, that, by being universally signed, it might become indeed a National Covenant. It was almost everywhere received with feelings of reverence and gratitude. No compulsion was required to induce men to subscribe a bond, the placing their names on which they held to be at once a high honour and a solemn duty: nor would compulsion have been permitted, had it been required. "The matter was so holy," says the Earl of Rothes, "that they held it to be irreligious to use violent means for advancing so good a work." And in his answer to the Aberdeen Doctors, Henderson says, that "some men of no small note offered their subscription, and were refused, till time should prove that they joined from love to the cause, and not from the fear of man."* Before the end of April there were few parishes of Scotland in which the Covenant had not been signed by nearly all of competent age and character. It deserves to be stated, in confirmation of the thoroughly religious character both of the Covenant itself and of the feelings regarding it of those by whom it was subscribed, that Baillie, Livingston, and every writer of the period of any respectability, agree in declaring that the subscribing of the Covenant was everywhere regarded as a most sacred act, and was accompanied in many instances with remarkable manifestations of spiritual influence, and in all with decided amendment in life and manners. It awed and hallowed the soul, imparted purity to the heart, and gave an earnest and foretaste of peace—that peace which the world can neither give nor take away—peace of conscience and peace with God.

We do not affect to conceal that a few slight instances of popular violence took place in some parts of the country, where either the people had previously suffered injurious

* Answers to the Aberdeen Doctors, &c., p. 9.

reatment from the prelates and their partisans, or where attempts were made by that party forcibly to prevent the signing of the Covenant. But these scenes of intemperate zeal and petty retaliation were almost entirely the sudden ebullitions of passion among a few women and boys, unattended by serious consequences. Not an instance is recorded of personal injury having been sustained by a Prelatist but one, and that to a very trifling extent.* And when it is remembered how long the country had groaned beneath the tyrannical yoke, how many of the most faithful ministers had been banished from their attached congregations, and how much injurious and oppressive treatment both ministers and people had suffered from the Court of High Commission, the chief cause of wonder is, that so little of a vindictive spirit was displayed by the nation, when arising in its right, to shake off the galling domination of its proud oppressors. But this truly glorious blending of strength and forbearance, of judgment and mercy, was merely a new manifestation of the Presbyterian spirit and principles, first shown at the Reformation, when Popery was overthrown, but the Popish priesthood spared—repeated in this, the second Reformation, when Prelacy was condemned, but the tyrannical faction rarely exposed to the slightest degree of just retaliation which they had so wantonly provoked—again to be re-exhibited in still more trying circumstances by truly Christian-minded Presbyterians, but never imitated by their antagonists in their periods of triumph. The Presbyterian Church of Scotland has often suffered persecution, but has never been guilty of committing that great crime.

The prelates had always declared, when urging forward their innovations, that the greater part of the nation would readily receive the Canons and Liturgy, and that the opposition was that merely of a very few, who might be safely despised. But now, when the Covenant was received with such cordiality and gratitude throughout the kingdom, they were overwhelmed with shame, consternation, and despair,

* Even the prelates, in their articles of information, mention only four instances of popular violence. (*Burnet's Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton*, p. 41.) Other authors mention about as many more, but not so well authenticated.

mingled with bursts of fury and passionate longings for revenge. Spotswood, who better understood the character of his countrymen than the younger prelates, exclaimed, "Now all that we have been doing these thirty years past is thrown down at once;" and yielding to despair, he fled to London, and remaining chiefly there in a state of gloomy dejection, survived the ruin of his pride and power little more than a year.

The Privy Council felt almost equally paralyzed. After a deliberation of four days at Stirling, during which they were receiving hourly intelligence of the rapidly-extending influence of the Covenant, they resolved to send to the king information of the state of affairs, suggesting the necessity of listening to the remonstrances of the aggrieved nation, and giving promise of redress, to the extent, at least, of refraining from the enforcement of the Book of Canons and the Liturgy, and mitigating the despotic conduct of the High Commission. About the same time, the Covenanters, as they began to be designated, and as we may henceforth term them, sent a deputation to London, to give his majesty a faithful representation of the real state of public matters, and of the views and wishes of his oppressed subjects. The prelates were already in London; so that the representatives of all parties in Scotland were at one time within the precincts of the Court, affording an opportunity to his majesty of obtaining full and accurate information of the condition of the kingdom, had he been disposed to seek it. But he had already listened to the partial statements of the prelates, and formed his determination. They, anxious to extenuate their own failure, had still represented the Covenanters as weak in station, influence, and numbers, and, however violent in their procedure, forming but a small faction in the kingdom. They had suggested that the north was steady to his majesty's interest; and that the south was so divided, that if the powerful families of Hamilton, Douglas, Nithsdale, and some others, should raise their forces, and form a junction with Huntly and the Highland chiefs, the Covenanters might be easily overpowered, and the whole kingdom brought into complete subjection to his commands.* Such were the coun-

* Baillie, vol. i., pp. 70, 71.

sels of the prelates, who seem to have regarded a civil war as a slight matter, provided they could recover that wealth and power which they had so grievously abused. Unfortunately their pernicious advice sunk deep into the mind of Charles, impelling him to those measures which involved the kingdom in the miseries of revolutionary strife, and issued in the death of the beguiled and infatuated monarch. Well, indeed, may Prelacy canonize as a martyr the sovereign who perished, the victim of its dark, bloody, and fatal policy.

The Earl of Haddington, to whom the Covenanters had sent their deputation, and with whom they maintained a secret but very constant correspondence, was aware of the advice which had been given to the king, and of the measures which were in contemplation. Orders had been given to seize Livingston the moment he arrived, and to throw him into prison; but Haddington concealed him, presented the supplication of the Covenanters—which was, however, returned unopened—and sent the messenger back to Scotland, with private information of the secret designs of the Court. The Covenanters lost no time in counteracting the dangerous policy recommended by the prelates. Deputations were sent to those districts of the country where the Covenant had been but partially signed, and on the support of which the prelates mainly relied for the ultimate triumph of their cause. These deputations met with success beyond their most sanguine hopes. In some of the seats of learning, as at St Andrews and Glasgow, the ministers and professors subscribed but partially; but even in these towns, the magistrates, burgesses, and citizens joined their countrymen almost universally. Even in the Highlands the Covenant was welcomed with perfectly amazing cordiality. Clans that rarely met but in hostile strife, and, if they did so meet, never parted without exchanging blows, met like brothers, subscribed the bond of national union, and parted in peace and love. Nowhere was this unwonted but most lovely sight more signally displayed than at Inverness. There the fierce feuds of ages melted and disappeared beneath the warming and renewing power of that divine influence which so strongly and brightly shone around the Covenant, as the snows melt

from their native mountains, when the summer sun is high in the smiling heavens.

Thus did her sacred Covenant first make Scotland truly a nation, melting and fusing into one united mass the heterogeneous and jarring elements which had previously lain partially compacted together in space, but uncombined, and mutually repelling and repelled. Then, too, was seen a portion of the good which God brings out of what man intends for evil; for then was seen some of the fruits of the zealous and faithful labours, among these warm-hearted Highlanders, of the pious ministers who had been from time to time torn away from their own congregations, and banished to the remote regions of the north, there in tears to sow a seed which was now springing up in gladness. James and the prelates had sent Bruce, and Dickson, and Rutherford, and others, to Inverness, Aberdeen, and other Highland districts, as if to show the inhabitants what true religion was, and thus to prepare them for the Covenant, although they did not mean it so. But such has often been the mysterious course of all-wise Providence, to pour contempt upon the wicked desires of ungodly men, overruling their machinations, and causing them to promote the very cause which they are seeking to destroy.

Meanwhile the king was busily engaged in concerting his schemes; and for a time it seemed as if he were truly desirous to learn the real state of matters, before he should come to a final determination. He sent orders to the Earls of Traquair, Roxburgh, and Lorn, to repair to London without delay; and he required from the most eminent Scottish lawyers a legal opinion whether the conduct of the Covenanters were not treasonable. Sir Thomas Hope, then Lord Advocate, and two other distinguished lawyers, gave their opinion that there was nothing decidedly illegal in the proceedings of the Covenanters. Lord Lorn also spoke very strongly in defence of these injured and calumniated men; and laid before his majesty a full account of the actual state of the country. About the same time the king received the unwelcome intelligence, that the Covenant had been received with enthusiastic delight, even in those parts of the country

were the prelates had assured him it would be indignantly rejected. This rendered the Prelatic cry for war a more doubtful question; especially as the English nobility concurred in recommending peace, being better aware of the de-spread discontent existing in that kingdom also, than as its blindly-obstinate sovereign.

Perceiving that he must for the present abandon his warlike designs, the next care of the king was to engage the covenanters in negotiations, partly in the hope of dividing them, and partly to gain time till he might muster power enough forcibly to overwhelm them. He resolved, therefore, to appoint a commissioner to treat with his Scottish subjects, to hear their grievances, and, if he could not flatter and lull them into submission, at least to lull them into security, or wear them out by procrastination. The choice of a person to undertake this difficult task was a matter of vital importance, as its success would greatly depend upon his skillful management. At last the Marquis of Hamilton was appointed Lord High Commissioner, and intrusted with the hazardous and disreputable enterprise of attempting to deceive or overawe a nation famed for courage and sagacity, and now doubly vigilant and thoroughly united. Aware of the perilous nature of the task, Hamilton would willingly have declined it; but the king would take no denial, and he was obliged to prepare to meet it as he might. For this reason he strove to secure himself against the possible consequences of the dark intrigues in which he must be involved; and knowing well the character of those who were urging the king to the adoption of hostile measures, one of Hamilton's first steps was to secure the absence from the Court of the Scottish courtiers, and especially of the prelates. After he had seen them all sent off, he left London himself; but not thinking his protection yet sufficiently secure, he delayed his journey at Berwick, and remained there till he had procured from the king private instructions, ample powers, and a secret pardon for whatever he might say or do on the matter, which might be represented by his enemies as contrary to the king's intentions.

In that strange specimen of State diplomacy, the real in-

tentions of the king are revealed, and are enough to cause any man of common honesty to blush for shame. It states that Hamilton was expected, and even required, to enter into the most intimate intercourse with the Covenanters—to pretend friendship and compassion—and to throw them off their guard and detect their schemes, that he might the more easily circumvent and overpower them. “For which end,” says his majesty, “you will be necessitated to speak that language which, if you were called to account for by us, you might suffer for it. These are therefore to assure you, and, if need be, hereafter to testify to others, that whatsoever ye shall say to them to discover their intentions, ye shall neither be called in question for the same, nor yet it prove in any way prejudicial to you.”* It may be hoped that a high-minded nobleman, such as Hamilton, would feel it indeed a degrading and irksome employment, when thus required to act the part of a spy and a deceiver; and when courtly and Prelatic historians assail the Covenanters in the language of vituperation and reproach, they may be reminded that the whole conduct of Charles was a tissue of despotism and treachery, fatal to his character and ruinous to his cause.

The Covenanters received warning of the secret intentions of the king, and of the real object of Hamilton’s commission. But though thus aware of the treacherous devices to be put in motion against them, they resolved to act as became their sacred cause, and, whilst guarding against deceit and guile, to make their own course one of truth and rectitude. For this reason they drew up and promulgated two papers, of a public nature. The one was sent to the nobles at Court, stating plainly the articles required for the peace of the Church and kingdom of Scotland, that they might be aware what was demanded, and be prepared to advise his majesty accordingly. The other contained a general statement of the plan of procedure which would require to be followed in the approaching negotiations with the High Commissioner; and was sent through the kingdom, to prevent division of sentiment, and to secure that unity of heart, mind, and effort, which was essential to their safety.

* Hardwicke’s State Papers, vol. ii., p. 141.

On the 10th of May the king sent to the Scottish Privy Council intimation of his commission to the Marquis of Hamilton, requiring them all to meet his grace at Dalkeith on the 6th of June, to render him all due honour, and to support him in the discharge of his high trust. The Covenanters, on their part, sent information of the approaching negotiations to all their supporters, requiring them to come to Edinburgh in such numbers as should protect them from any meditated hostile attempt; and still placing their trust in the divine guidance and support, a general fast was appointed to be held on the 3d of June, to humble themselves before God, and to supplicate his protection. The fast was kept in the most solemn and impressive manner, and had a powerful effect in preparing the kingdom for the approaching struggle, enabling them to keep their position on ground avowedly sacred. At the same time, the Covenanters, whose councils were still guided by the Tables, resolved that they would not attend the commissioner at Dalkeith, but would remain in a united body at Edinburgh, and by that means avoid the danger of being divided by the subtle insinuations of their crafty opponents. Having received information that the king meant to subdue them by force, they judged it expedient to prevent that force from being concentrated in the heart of the country; and therefore placed a guard on the Castle of Edinburgh, that it might not receive any large supplies of provisions and military stores.

Hamilton at first refused to come to Edinburgh, which was completely in the possession of the Covenanters; but after some concessions had been made, he consented to make the Palace of Holyrood his residence. Accordingly it was concerted that on the 9th of June the Marquis of Hamilton should make his public entry into Edinburgh in state, as Lord High Commissioner from the king. The Covenanters prepared to give him a stately reception. Both parties agreed that he should approach by Musselburgh, along the level sea-line—a circuitous route, but one peculiarly adapted for display. All the nobles who had signed the Covenant, gentry from all parts of the kingdom, the magistrates of Edinburgh, all the ministers who had assembled in the ca-

4

pital, and an immense multitude, loosely calculated at about sixty thousand, went out to meet the commissioner, and arranged themselves along the beach, covering the undulating outline with a more numerous assemblage of people than had been seen in Scotland for centuries. As Hamilton rode slowly along the line of this vast mass of his collected countrymen, hearing on every side, not the fierce battle-cry of armed men, nor the giddy shouts of mere holiday rejoicers, but earnest and fervent prayers for the preservation of the liberties and religion of the country, he was deeply moved, and could not suppress tears of sympathy, declaring his strong desire that King Charles himself had been present to witness a scene so affecting, and even sublime. On a little eminence near the end of this extended multitude, stood upwards of five hundred ministers, wearing their cloaks and bands, and prepared to address the commissioner; but when he came to the place where they stood, he declined receiving their address in public, bowed to them, and uttering a single complimentary sentence, continued his progress.

From what he had seen on that single day, the commissioner must have learned that the state of Scotland had been grievously misrepresented to his majesty; that there were not, in truth, two parties in the country, but on the one side a Presbyterian nation, and on the other a Prelatic faction, contemptible in numbers, despicable in character, and detested on account of their long career of treachery and despotism. But he knew that the king had placed himself at the head of that base and weak faction, and was prepared, for their sakes, and to gratify his own arbitrary temper, to trample upon the dearest rights and most sacred privileges of an entire kingdom; and he was constrained to suppress his generous sympathy, and to resume the course of heartless and tortuous policy with which he was commissioned.

And now began the unequal contest between diplomatic craft and the strightforward honesty of honourable and religious men—unequal inasmuch as the wily dissimulation of designing craft is perpetually over-reaching or betraying itself,

while unbending integrity of purpose goes right onward to its aim, and, having nothing to conceal, is in no dread of detection. We cannot afford space to follow the contending parties through the shifts and changes of their varying negotiations, but must confine ourselves to a brief statement of the most important points of the complicated proceedings of that eventful time.

In an early interview which they obtained, the Covenanters informed the commissioner that all negotiations would prove fruitless, unless he were empowered to grant a free General Assembly, in which their complaints respecting the innovations introduced by the prelates, and the conduct generally of those men, might be investigated, judged of, and, if proved culpable, censured and condemned according to their demerits; and a Parliament, by which acts proved to be unconstitutional might be rescinded, and redresses authoritatively and conclusively granted. Hamilton replied that he would answer their statements and requests by a proclamation. They promptly gave him to know, that they would be in readiness to meet every proclamation with a distinct protest, to whatsoever extent it should fall short of the necessities of the case and the just demands of the nation. The commissioner seemed disposed to try the resolution of the Covenanters. He commanded preparations to be made for issuing the proclamation; and the Covenanters made similar arrangements to meet it with their protest—the nobility and gentlemen mustering in considerable numbers around their official representatives, each man with his sword loosened in its sheath, in readiness to repel any sudden attack by the military attendants of the commissioner. Seeing the determined front displayed by the Covenanters, Hamilton changed his procedure, abandoning the proclamation, and resuming the path of crooked and wily dissimulation.*

It is always more difficult for a cunning man to understand honesty, than for an honest man to detect craft. Hamilton could not comprehend the designs of the Covenanters; but they could easily see through his thin evasions. He now thought it expedient to offer them both an Assembly and a

* Baillie, Burnet, and Stevenson.

Parliament, provided they would abandon the Covenant. They answered, that they would as soon renounce their baptism. And at the request of the Tables, Henderson wrote an able paper, containing a clear and strong statement of the reasons why they could neither rescind nor alter in the slightest degree their sacred Covenant. Still more completely to convince the commissioner of the futility of any such expectation, they prepared a supplication, in which the request of a free General Assembly and a Parliament was publicly and avowedly stated as that without which they could not be satisfied; and at the same time they caused another paper to be extensively circulated, containing suggestions of the measures which it might be necessary to adopt, should the commissioner resort to force, or protract the negotiations to an intolerable length. In these suggestions a significant hint was given, that both a General Assembly and a Parliament might possibly be called, without the royal authority, if that were much longer withheld; and also, that if violence were used for enforcing obedience, a committee might be chosen, to consider what was fit and lawful to be done for the defence of their religion, laws, and liberties.

These bold and energetic measures startled the commissioner, and convinced him that any longer continuation of his temporizing policy would be in vain, and that his majesty must either yield to every one of the main points demanded by the Covenanters, or must prepare to subdue them by open force. And as his instructions did not enable him to proceed to either of these alternatives, he determined to return to London, give the king a full account of Scottish affairs, ascertain the state of the royal preparations for the commencement of hostilities, and return fully empowered to act as necessities might require. This was indeed the only course which he could now pursue; but even this was to be marred by double dealing. On one day he left town, and proceeded a few miles on his journey; on the next, supposing the Covenanters now off their guard, he hastily returned, and proceeded to publish a declaration of his majesty's intentions, plausible, but characteristically evasive. It pro-

vised that the Liturgy should not be pressed but in a *fair and legal way*; that the High Commission should be rectified by the aid of the Privy Council, so that it should not impugn the laws, nor be a just grievance to loyal subjects; and that whatsoever concerned the peace and welfare of the Church should be taken into consideration in a free Assembly and Parliament, which should be called with his majesty's first convenience. The Covenanters had experienced his majesty's duplicity too often to be deluded by so flimsy a pretext. They met it, therefore, by a protestation, which had been previously prepared for any sudden emergency, and which this weak stratagem gave them a fair opportunity to publish. Hamilton seems, nevertheless, to have imagined he had gained his point, and pressed the Privy Council to ratify this declaration. Many consented; but the Covenanters having given to each member of Council a paper containing reasons against its ratification, they were induced by its perusal to rescind the act of ratification. Rothes, Montrose, and Loudon, obtained an interview with the commissioner himself, presented to him these reasons, and urged upon him the necessity of a more frank and conciliatory course. Hamilton, irritated by his failure, replied to them in a haughty and dictatorial tone. This drew from Loudon the bold declaration, that they knew no other bonds between a king and his subjects but those of religion and laws; if these were violated, men's lives were not dear to them. Overborne by threatenings they would not be, for such fears were past with them.* After this abortive attempt, the Marquis of Hamilton left Scotland on the 8th of July, and went to London for fresh instructions.

During the course of these fruitless negotiations the king maintained a constant intercourse by letters with the commissioner; and it is painful to peruse these glaring proofs of the infatuated monarch's disgraceful and perfidious dissimulation. A few instances must be given, in proof of this assertion, and in vindication of the Covenanters. "I give you leave to flatter them with what hopes you please; your chief end being now to win time, until I be ready to suppress them"

* Baillie, vol. i., p. 29.

—“I have written this to no other end than to show you that I will rather die than yield to those impertinent and damnable demands”—“I do not expect that you should declare the adherers to the Covenant traitors, until you have heard from me that my fleet hath set sail for Scotland. In a word, gain time by all the honest means you can, without forsaking your grounds”—“There be two things in your letter that require answer, to wit, the answer to their petition, and concerning the explanation of their damnable Covenant.” In another letter, after stating how far his military preparations were in readiness, and what was their amount, his majesty adds: “Thus you may see that I intend not to yield to the demands of those traitors, the Covenanters.”* All these and many similar instructions to the commissioner to prevaricate, to deceive, and to gain time, while the king was busy levying forces, collecting military stores, preparing a fleet, and hiring foreign troops to suppress his faithful subjects by this combination of treachery and power, were sent to the Marquis of Hamilton privately, while that nobleman was engaged in pacific negotiations with the Covenanters. History can scarcely furnish an equal instance of a monarch’s faithlessness, dissimulation, and forethought despotism. Bolder tyranny the world has often seen, but rarely any so deliberately dishonourable. And as these private instructions to the commissioner were all to a considerable extent known to the Covenanters, it cannot appear strange that they received every proposal with suspicion, and expressed distrust of every declaration, how strong soever might be its asseverations, and to whatsoever extent it might wear the aspect of sincerity.

While the king and the marquis were using every “honest means” to gain time, the Covenanters took care to lose none. Aware that the king intended to send some forces to the north, to co-operate with those which Huntly was expected to raise, they resolved to paralyze effectually that right arm of Prelatic and regal tyranny, during the breathing space allowed by the absence of the commissioner; and as Aberdeen, by the influence of Huntly and of its cloistered sages,

* Burnet’s *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, pp. 46–68.

had yet stood out against the Covenant, Henderson, Dickson, and some others were sent to try whether the dreary darkness which brooded over that town and neighbourhood might not be partially dispelled. The deputation was at first but coldly welcomed; permission to preach in the city churches was refused; and the doctors strove to engage them in a fruitless scholastic disputation. But the deputation was composed of men of energy and decision. They returned brief answers to the sophistic subtleties of their learned opponents; and since the churches were refused, they preached in the open air, explained the Covenant, and produced arguments for its subscription. At the close of their addresses, the Covenant was produced for signature; and that evening about five hundred respectable citizens adhibited their names. They then traversed the adjacent country; and within little more than a week, forty-four ministers, many gentlemen, and a large proportion of the people, signed the Covenant. Returning to Aberdeen, they again preached where they had done before, and obtained a considerable number of additional adherents to the sacred cause. Having thus, by the powerful demonstration of the Divine Spirit accompanying their exertions, succeeded in pouring a stream of light and life into those regions of previous gloomy stagnation, they returned to Edinburgh, leaving in the town and vicinity of Aberdeen a power sufficient to prevent the possibility of any great hostile combination there.

The Marquis of Hamilton returned to Holyrood House on the 10th of August, furnished, indeed, with ampler powers to treat than before, but still enjoined to use every diplomatic stratagem. One new artifice by which it was hoped the Covenanters might be divided, was the re-promulgation of the Confession or Covenant of 1581. If this could be got numerously signed, it might either neutralize the Covenant recently produced, or so divide the nation as to enable his majesty to balance one part of the kingdom against another, and so to reduce both under his power. But that which was first put in operation was a set of demands which Hamilton gave to the Tables, requiring written answers to

them before he would consent to call an Assembly. These demands were at first eleven in number, but subsequently were reduced to two: *First*, That no layman should have voice in choosing the ministers to be sent from the presbyteries to the General Assembly, nor any but the ministers of the same presbytery; the *second*, That the Assembly should not go about to determine things established by act of Parliament, otherwise than by remonstrance or petition to Parliament. If Hamilton could have obtained the assent of the Covenanters to these propositions, his victory over them would have been secure. By the first, the ministers would have been divided from the laity, and left powerless in the hands of their enemies: by the second, all the innovations of James' reign would have been confirmed, as they had all been ratified by Parliament. But although the leading Covenanters easily perceived the fatal character of these propositions, it was not so easy to unite the whole body in returning proper answers. The first had nearly accomplished the commissioner's insidious design. Many of the ministers looked with some degree of jealousy upon the power of the laymen, and would not have been displeased to see that power diminished. For that reason they were disposed to assent to the first proposition; while the other three Tables would by no means comply with any such measure. At length, chiefly by the skilful management of Henderson and Dickson, this dangerous discussion terminated in the rejection of the commissioner's demands, and in the restoration of that unanimity of sentiment and purpose among the Covenanters which constituted their strength.

The danger thus encountered, and the re-union thus produced, both tended to point out to the Covenanters the path at once of duty and of safety. They now resolved to bring matters to a crisis, and to compel the commissioner to abandon his deceitful policy, by avowing their determination, that if the royal mandate were further delayed, they would call a General Assembly, on the sole authority which every Christian Church must be held intrinsically to possess, for the purpose of regulating all matters of worship and discipline, according to the institutions of the Gospel, and the example

of the apostles. The reasons on which this decisive resolution was based were published in their own defence, and for the instruction of all their adherents, and are still deserving of a thoughtful perusal by every true Presbyterian.*

Hamilton now felt that temporizing policy would no longer be endured, and also that his anticipations of creating a disunion among the Covenanters were at an end. But their demand went beyond his powers to grant, and was perilous to refuse, lest a refusal should impel them to put their purpose into immediate execution. He requested, therefore, a delay of twenty days, that he might return to the king, and obtain a final answer, promising to be again in Scotland with his majesty's ultimate decision before the 20th of September. The Covenanters consented to this delay; and employed the intermediate time in sending instructions to every presbytery how to proceed in the election of members for the approaching Assembly. This was necessary, in consequence of the lengthened period which had elapsed since an Assembly had been held at all, there having been none since 1618; and as all the Assemblies since 1597 had been more or less corrupted by regal interference, the proper course of procedure, in the calling of a free Assembly according to pure Presbyterian principles, had almost sunk into oblivion. These instructions were of the utmost importance, both in guiding the proceedings of the Covenanters throughout the kingdom, and in furnishing them with information on topics certain to come under discussion in the ensuing Assembly, with which many were at that time very little acquainted. Having taken these preliminary steps, the Covenanters waited calmly the return of the commissioner, and the ultimate answer of the king.

When the commissioner returned from London, a deputation from the Tables waited on him at Dalkeith, and were told, in general terms, that his majesty had granted all their requests, but that the particulars could not with propriety be divulged till they had been communicated to the Privy Council. The Council met the same day, when his majesty's letter was produced, requiring them to subscribe

* These reasons are to be seen in Stevenson, edit. 1840, pp. 243-246.

the Covenant or Confession of 1581, which, as it contained chiefly an abjuration of Popery, was often termed the Negative Confession. The utmost efforts of Hamilton could not prevail upon more than about thirty of the Council to subscribe, and that not till a clause was added, declaring that the subscribers understood it according to its original meaning, when, as the reader will recollect, even tulchan Episcopacy had been condemned and abolished, presbyteries erected, and the Second Book of Discipline entered on the records of the Assembly. Even thus explained, the commissioner entertained some hope that it might either cause division among the Covenanters, or at least produce a similar compact union of the royal and Prelatic party; and with this view he published an act of Council, calling upon all loyal subjects to subscribe the king's covenant, with a general bond, resembling that of 1589. Commissioners were appointed to convey this rival covenant throughout the kingdom, and every artifice was employed to procure the utmost possible number of signatures. But the Presbyterian Covenanters, perceiving clearly the intention of the commissioner, met the proclamation of the king's covenant by a protestation and a warning against the ensnaring tendency of this new device; * and sent a deputation to every presbytery, with a copy of the protestation, and instructions how to act. So successful were these precautionary measures, that the king's covenant obtained no more than about twenty-eight thousand signatures, of which number twelve thousand were procured in Aberdeen and its vicinity by the strenuous exertions of Huntly. This new stratagem had, consequently, no other effect than that of proving, even by an arithmetical demonstration, the weakness of the Prelatic faction.

The next step of the Privy Council was the publication of two important acts—the one calling a General Assembly to be held at Glasgow on the 21st of November, and warning the bishops and other commissioners of kirks to attend; the other summoning a Parliament to meet at Edinburgh on the 15th day of May 1639, for settling and confirming peace in Church and State. The king's declaration was then

* This able document is preserved by Stevenson, pp. 256-264.

publicly proclaimed, in which his majesty prohibited the enforcement of the Book of Canons, the Liturgy, and the five Articles of Perth; abolished the Court of High Commission; declared all persons subject to the trial and censure of the competent judicatory; allowed free entrance into the ministry without the taking of any other oath than that contained in the act of Parliament; granted a general pardon of all offences which had arisen out of the recent contentions; appointed a fast, to avert the divine displeasure, and procure a peaceable end to the distractions of the Church and kingdom; and commanded the subscription of the Confession and Covenant of 1581.

Had these terms been granted at the beginning of the negotiations between the king and the Covenanters, they would have given universal satisfaction, and been received with equal joy and gratitude. But after the many repeated instances of tergiversation and insincerity which had been detected, the Covenanters were compelled to regard every declaration of the king's with suspicion, and to look narrowly into every one of his promises, lest it should contain some evasive expression, by which it might be nullified, or even reversed. And unhappily even this plausible declaration of his majesty's sentiments did contain such neutralizing and evasive elements. It was understood to subject the prelates to the trial and censure of the Assembly; but it cited them to appear as constituent members of that very court by which they were to be tried: and the urgency with which the king pressed the subscription of the Covenant of 1581 showed clearly that he expected, by its instrumentality, to divide and conquer the Presbyterian Covenanters; besides that the bond contained an insidious clause for the maintenance of religion "as at present professed"—a clause manifestly susceptible of such a construction as would convert it into one for the defence of Prelacy. The Presbyterians, therefore, resolved that they would no longer submit to such waltzing in a double sense; that they would take care to have the Assembly framed and constituted according to the fundamental and imperishable principles of the Presbyterian Church; and that the prelates should be tried and censured

according to their demerits, and Prelacy itself entirely abolished, so that their own National Church might be delivered from bondage and oppression, and established once more on a basis which no law can give, and ought not to attempt removing—the warm affections of an intelligent, truly loyal, and earnestly religious people.

Great anxiety was felt by all parties, in the interval between the calling and the meeting of this most important General Assembly. Notwithstanding the artifices of the commissioner, and the exertions of the Prelatic party, the Covenanters were eminently successful in securing the return of the most able and faithful of the ministers as commissioners, and the most zealous and influential of the nobility and gentry as ruling elders; so that before the Assembly met they were assured of its freedom and integrity, so far as depended upon the majority of its members. The mode in which they were to proceed against the prelates was a matter which required much and careful deliberation. The Earl of Rothes and some other leading men of the Tables petitioned the commissioner for a warrant to command the prelates to appear before the Assembly, to stand trial for the offences charged against them; but this he refused to grant. The Covenanters were not, however, to be thus defeated in a point of such vital moment. It was arranged that a complaint should be prepared in form of a libel, or regular accusation, to be laid before the Assembly by a considerable body of the nobility, gentry, burgesses, and ministers, who were not members of that court. The accusation embraced both their official and personal delinquencies. The first part of the charge referred to the “caveats” or cautions passed in the Assembly 1600, and ratified by King James; the ostensible object of which was to guard against the abuse of their powers by the prelates and commissioners of the Church, at that time introduced to Parliament, but the real intention having been to delude the Church by the semblance of a security which could be easily broken through or set aside. These caveats, however, had been allowed to remain unrepealed, and now formed a leading element in the accusation against the Prelatic party, by whom every one of

them had been repeatedly violated. The prelates were accordingly charged collectively with having transgressed these caveats, usurped a lordly supremacy over the Church, taught heretical and false doctrines, and, personally, with having been guilty of irreligious conduct, and the perpetration of the grossest immoralities, which were distinctly specified according to each individual case. These accusations were sent to each of the prelates, and also to all the presbyteries, where they were directed to be read publicly in every church.

The prelates prepared an elaborate defence, bearing the general form of a declinature of the Assembly's jurisdiction, with their reasons for that line of procedure; which were said to have been sent to Court, and revised by the sovereign's own hand. All being now nearly prepared, and the time at hand, the commissioner made his last attempt to interfere with the construction of the Assembly, by endeavouring to bring as many of the members as possible under such legal processes as might incapacitate them from taking their seats. This was instantly met by a remonstrance so strong, pointed, and resolute, that Hamilton felt the expediency, and even danger, of carrying this last scheme into effect.

The only remaining part of the preparations made by both parties is one which scarcely falls within our province to relate, as being more of a civil, or rather military, than of an ecclesiastical character. Allusion has already been made to the large naval and military armaments in preparation by the king. These were vigorously prosecuted by his majesty, in the midst of all his pacific declarations; and as this was well known to the Covenanters, they began to consider themselves entitled to prepare for the defence of their civil and religious liberties, so manifestly endangered. With this view, arms, ammunition, and provisions, were quietly collected by the nobility and many of the towns; and General Leslie, a veteran officer of great skill and courage, who had served long under Gustavus, king of Sweden, was called home to take the command of the army, if they should finally be compelled to rise in self-defence.

The Marquis of Hamilton was well aware that the crisis could be no longer retarded; but how best to meet it cost him many an anxious thought. Gladly would he have prorogued the meeting of Assembly, but that he was aware that the Covenanters had determined to hold it, even though he should attempt its prorogation. He resolved, therefore, at last to allow it to be held according to the proclamation already issued, and to do his utmost to bias, control, or overawe it, so as to prevent, if possible, the condemnation of the prelates; and should all his efforts prove ineffectual, he would then dissolve it, with this advantage, that time had been gained, and his majesty's preparations for actual war would be in a state of greater forwardness.

On the Friday before the meeting of Assembly, the Covenanters, both those who were members of Assembly and those who were their friends and supporters, came in great crowds to Glasgow; and on the next day the commissioner and his friends entered the town from Hamilton, and were met with much appearance of respectful and stately courtesy by the Presbyterian chiefs. The marquis had then another opportunity of seeing how completely the cause which he was commissioned to circumvent or oppress was the cause of the Scottish nation. Little more than a year had elapsed from the time when four humble petitioners met at the door of the Privy Council, to supplicate for protection against the oppressive conduct of the prelates; and now his majesty's Lord High Commissioner beheld arrayed against these men, or rather against that abjured system, the irresistible might of all the physical, mental, moral, and religious strength of a united people. We may imagine how his heart must have sunk within him when he contemplated the task imposed upon him by his infatuated sovereign—the task of deluding or coercing his sagacious and high-minded countrymen, and of trampling in the dust those civil and religious liberties which were to them dearer than life itself—a task which no foreign power had been ever able by its utmost efforts to achieve, and which he must have seen to be equally ungracious and desperate.

The Assembly had been indicted to meet on the Wednes-

; and the three intervening days were spent in making preliminary arrangements, and especially, on the part of the venanters, in humbling themselves before God, and imploring his direction and support through the arduous duties which they were about to engage, and for the right discharge of which they felt their own wisdom to be indeed utterly insufficient. And it ought to be carefully remarked, the instruction of all succeeding ages, that during the whole course of their negotiations and deliberations, humble acknowledgments of their own folly and weakness, earnest prayer to God, and strong faith in his heavenly guidance, were always the master elements by which their actions were guided and their hopes upheld.

On Wednesday, the 21st of November 1638, the General Assembly met, and commenced the discharge of its all-important duties. We cannot afford space to give more than a briefest outline of its proceedings; which, however, is all the less to be regretted, since the very fact of their extreme importance has caused them to be very fully recorded by many authors whose works are in general circulation.* Both parties, the commissioner and the Covenanters, acted bravely, yet firmly, from the very first hour on which the Assembly met. They were equally well aware, that a false movement on either side would give to the antagonist an advantage which it might not be possible to counteract; and, like two contending armies led by skilful generals, they watched each other's operations with deep, calm, forecasting vigilance, cool resolution, and deliberate energy. The choice of a moderator was to the Assembly, in such a juncture, a matter of great moment, but not of doubt, except on one point. Alexander Henderson was universally admitted to be beyond all competition the fittest man, for knowledge, ability, self-command, and soundness of judgment; but they seemed to lose his ability in debate by placing him in the moderator's chair. Yet the necessity of having at their head a man who could both direct their own deliberations and defend them to the commissioner with courtesy and firm-

* See Baillie, Stevenson, Burnet, Peterkin's Records of the Kirk of Scotland, &c.

The Marquis of Hamilton was well aware that the crisis could be no longer retarded; but how best to meet it cost him many an anxious thought. Gladly would he have prorogued the meeting of Assembly, but that he was aware that the Covenanters had determined to hold it, even though he should attempt its prorogation. He resolved, therefore, at last to allow it to be held according to the proclamation already issued, and to do his utmost to bias, control, or overawe it, so as to prevent, if possible, the condemnation of the prelates; and should all his efforts prove ineffectual, he would then dissolve it, with this advantage, that time had been gained, and his majesty's preparations for actual war would be in a state of greater forwardness.

On the Friday before the meeting of Assembly, the Covenanters, both those who were members of Assembly and those who were their friends and supporters, came in great crowds to Glasgow; and on the next day the commissioner and his friends entered the town from Hamilton, and were met with much appearance of respectful and stately courtesy by the Presbyterian chiefs. The marquis had then another opportunity of seeing how completely the cause which he was commissioned to circumvent or oppress was the cause of the Scottish nation. Little more than a year had elapsed from the time when four humble petitioners met at the door of the Privy Council, to supplicate for protection against the oppressive conduct of the prelates; and now his majesty's Lord High Commissioner beheld arrayed against these men, or rather against that abjured system, the irresistible might of all the physical, mental, moral, and religious strength of a united people. We may imagine how his heart must have sunk within him when he contemplated the task imposed upon him by his infatuated sovereign—the task of deluding or coercing his sagacious and high-minded countrymen, and of trampling in the dust those civil and religious liberties which were to them dearer than life itself—a task which no foreign power had been ever able by its utmost efforts to achieve, and which he must have seen to be equally ungracious and desperate.

The Assembly had been indicted to meet on the Wednes-

; and the three intervening days were spent in making preliminary arrangements, and especially, on the part of the covenanters, in humbling themselves before God, and imploring his direction and support through the arduous duties which they were about to engage, and for the right discharge of which they felt their own wisdom to be indeed very insufficient. And it ought to be carefully remarked,

the instruction of all succeeding ages, that during the whole course of their negotiations and deliberations, humble acknowledgments of their own folly and weakness, earnest prayer to God, and strong faith in his heavenly guidance, were always the master elements by which their actions were guided and their hopes upheld.

On Wednesday, the 21st of November 1638, the General Assembly met, and commenced the discharge of its all-important duties. We cannot afford space to give more than the briefest outline of its proceedings; which, however, is no less to be regretted, since the very fact of their extreme importance has caused them to be very fully recorded by many authors whose works are in general circulation.* Both parties, the commissioner and the Covenanters, acted bravely, yet firmly, from the very first hour on which the Assembly met. They were equally well aware, that a false movement on either side would give to the antagonist an advantage which it might not be possible to counteract; and, like two contending armies led by skilful generals, they watched each other's operations with deep, calm, forecasting vigilance, cool resolution, and deliberate energy. The choice of a moderator was to the Assembly, in such a juncture, a matter of great moment, but not of doubt, except on one point. Alexander Henderson was universally admitted to be beyond all competition the fittest man, for knowledge, activity, self-command, and soundness of judgment; but they seemed to lose his ability in debate by placing him in the moderator's chair. Yet the necessity of having at their head a man who could both direct their own deliberations and defend them to the commissioner with courtesy and firm-

See Baillie, Stevenson, Burnet, Peterkin's Records of the Kirk of Scotland, &c.

—“I have written this to no other end than to show you that I will rather die than yield to those impertinent and damnable demands”—“I do not expect that you should declare the adherers to the Covenant traitors, until you have heard from me that my fleet hath set sail for Scotland. In a word, gain time by all the honest means you can, without forsaking your grounds”—“There be two things in your letter that require answer, to wit, the answer to their petition, and concerning the explanation of their damnable Covenant.” In another letter, after stating how far his military preparations were in readiness, and what was their amount, his majesty adds: “Thus you may see that I intend not to yield to the demands of those traitors, the Covenanters.”* All these and many similar instructions to the commissioner to prevaricate, to deceive, and to gain time, while the king was busy levying forces, collecting military stores, preparing a fleet, and hiring foreign troops to suppress his faithful subjects by this combination of treachery and power, were sent to the Marquis of Hamilton privately, while that nobleman was engaged in pacific negotiations with the Covenanters. History can scarcely furnish an equal instance of a monarch’s faithlessness, dissimulation, and forethought despotism. Bolder tyranny the world has often seen, but rarely any so deliberately dishonourable. And as these private instructions to the commissioner were all to a considerable extent known to the Covenanters, it cannot appear strange that they received every proposal with suspicion, and expressed distrust of every declaration, how strong soever might be its asseverations, and to whatsoever extent it might wear the aspect of sincerity.

While the king and the marquis were using every “honest means” to gain time, the Covenanters took care to lose none. Aware that the king intended to send some forces to the north, to co-operate with those which Huntly was expected to raise, they resolved to paralyze effectually that right arm of Prelatic and regal tyranny, during the breathing space allowed by the absence of the commissioner; and as Aberdeen, by the influence of Huntly and of its cloistered sages,

* Burnet’s *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, pp. 46–68.

had yet stood out against the Covenant, Henderson, Dickson, and some others were sent to try whether the dreary darkness which brooded over that town and neighbourhood might not be partially dispelled. The deputation was at first but coldly welcomed; permission to preach in the city churches was refused; and the doctors strove to engage them in a fruitless scholastic disputation. But the deputation was composed of men of energy and decision. They returned brief answers to the sophistic subtleties of their learned opponents; and since the churches were refused, they preached in the open air, explained the Covenant, and produced arguments for its subscription. At the close of their addresses, the Covenant was produced for signature; and that evening about five hundred respectable citizens adhibited their names. They then traversed the adjacent country; and within little more than a week, forty-four ministers, many gentlemen, and a large proportion of the people, signed the Covenant. Returning to Aberdeen, they again preached where they had done before, and obtained a considerable number of additional adherents to the sacred cause. Having thus, by the powerful demonstration of the Divine Spirit accompanying their exertions, succeeded in pouring a stream of light and life into those regions of previous gloomy stagnation, they returned to Edinburgh, leaving in the town and vicinity of Aberdeen a power sufficient to prevent the possibility of any great hostile combination there.

The Marquis of Hamilton returned to Holyrood House on the 10th of August, furnished, indeed, with ampler powers to treat than before, but still enjoined to use every diplomatic stratagem. One new artifice by which it was hoped the Covenanters might be divided, was the re-promulgation of the Confession or Covenant of 1581. If this could be got numerously signed, it might either neutralize the Covenant recently produced, or so divide the nation as to enable his majesty to balance one part of the kingdom against another, and so to reduce both under his power. But that which was first put in operation was a set of demands which Hamilton gave to the Tables, requiring written answers to

them before he would consent to call an Assembly. These demands were at first eleven in number, but subsequently were reduced to two: *First*, That no layman should have voice in choosing the ministers to be sent from the presbyteries to the General Assembly, nor any but the ministers of the same presbytery; the *second*, That the Assembly should not go about to determine things established by act of Parliament, otherwise than by remonstrance or petition to Parliament. If Hamilton could have obtained the assent of the Covenanters to these propositions, his victory over them would have been secure. By the first, the ministers would have been divided from the laity, and left powerless in the hands of their enemies: by the second, all the innovations of James' reign would have been confirmed, as they had all been ratified by Parliament. But although the leading Covenanters easily perceived the fatal character of these propositions, it was not so easy to unite the whole body in returning proper answers. The first had nearly accomplished the commissioner's insidious design. Many of the ministers looked with some degree of jealousy upon the power of the laymen, and would not have been displeased to see that power diminished. For that reason they were disposed to assent to the first proposition; while the other three Tables would by no means comply with any such measure. At length, chiefly by the skilful management of Henderson and Dickson, this dangerous discussion terminated in the rejection of the commissioner's demands, and in the restoration of that unanimity of sentiment and purpose among the Covenanters which constituted their strength.

The danger thus encountered, and the re-union thus produced, both tended to point out to the Covenanters the path at once of duty and of safety. They now resolved to bring matters to a crisis, and to compel the commissioner to abandon his deceitful policy, by avowing their determination, that if the royal mandate were further delayed, they would call a General Assembly, on the sole authority which every Christian Church must be held intrinsically to possess, for the purpose of regulating all matters of worship and discipline, according to the institutions of the Gospel, and the example

of the apostles. The reasons on which this decisive resolution was based were published in their own defence, and for the instruction of all their adherents, and are still deserving of a thoughtful perusal by every true Presbyterian.*

Hamilton now felt that temporizing policy would no longer be endured, and also that his anticipations of creating a disunion among the Covenanters were at an end. But their demand went beyond his powers to grant, and was perilous to refuse, lest a refusal should impel them to put their purpose into immediate execution. He requested, therefore, a delay of twenty days, that he might return to the king, and obtain a final answer, promising to be again in Scotland with his majesty's ultimate decision before the 20th of September. The Covenanters consented to this delay; and employed the intermediate time in sending instructions to every presbytery how to proceed in the election of members for the approaching Assembly. This was necessary, in consequence of the lengthened period which had elapsed since an Assembly had been held at all, there having been none since 1618; and as all the Assemblies since 1597 had been more or less corrupted by regal interference, the proper course of procedure, in the calling of a free Assembly according to pure Presbyterian principles, had almost sunk into oblivion. These instructions were of the utmost importance, both in guiding the proceedings of the Covenanters throughout the kingdom, and in furnishing them with information on topics certain to come under discussion in the ensuing Assembly, with which many were at that time very little acquainted. Having taken these preliminary steps, the Covenanters waited calmly the return of the commissioner, and the ultimate answer of the king.

When the commissioner returned from London, a deputation from the Tables waited on him at Dalkeith, and were told, in general terms, that his majesty had granted all their requests, but that the particulars could not with propriety be divulged till they had been communicated to the Privy Council. The Council met the same day, when his majesty's letter was produced, requiring them to subscribe

* These reasons are to be seen in Stevenson, edit. 1840, pp. 243-246.

the Covenant or Confession of 1581, which, as it contained chiefly an abjuration of Popery, was often termed the Negative Confession. The utmost efforts of Hamilton could not prevail upon more than about thirty of the Council to subscribe, and that not till a clause was added, declaring that the subscribers understood it according to its original meaning, when, as the reader will recollect, even tulchan Episcopacy had been condemned and abolished, presbyteries erected, and the Second Book of Discipline entered on the records of the Assembly. Even thus explained, the commissioner entertained some hope that it might either cause division among the Covenanters, or at least produce a similar compact union of the royal and Prelatic party; and with this view he published an act of Council, calling upon all loyal subjects to subscribe the king's covenant, with a general bond, resembling that of 1589. Commissioners were appointed to convey this rival covenant throughout the kingdom, and every artifice was employed to procure the utmost possible number of signatures. But the Presbyterian Covenanters, perceiving clearly the intention of the commissioner, met the proclamation of the king's covenant by a protestation and a warning against the ensnaring tendency of this new device; * and sent a deputation to every presbytery, with a copy of the protestation, and instructions how to act. So successful were these precautionary measures, that the king's covenant obtained no more than about twenty-eight thousand signatures, of which number twelve thousand were procured in Aberdeen and its vicinity by the strenuous exertions of Huntly. This new stratagem had, consequently, no other effect than that of proving, even by an arithmetical demonstration, the weakness of the Prelatic faction.

The next step of the Privy Council was the publication of two important acts—the one calling a General Assembly to be held at Glasgow on the 21st of November, and warning the bishops and other commissioners of kirks to attend; the other summoning a Parliament to meet at Edinburgh on the 15th day of May 1639, for settling and confirming peace in Church and State. The king's declaration was then

* This able document is preserved by Stevenson, pp. 256-264.

publicly proclaimed, in which his majesty prohibited the enforcement of the Book of Canons, the Liturgy, and the Five Articles of Perth; abolished the Court of High Commission; declared all persons subject to the trial and censure of the competent judicatory; allowed free entrance into the ministry without the taking of any other oath than that contained in the act of Parliament; granted a general pardon of all offences which had arisen out of the recent contentions; appointed a fast, to avert the divine displeasure, and procure a peaceable end to the distractions of the Church and kingdom; and commanded the subscription of the Confession and Covenant of 1581.

Had these terms been granted at the beginning of the negotiations between the king and the Covenanters, they would have given universal satisfaction, and been received with equal joy and gratitude. But after the many repeated instances of tergiversation and insincerity which had been detected, the Covenanters were compelled to regard every declaration of the king's with suspicion, and to look narrowly into every one of his promises, lest it should contain some evasive expression, by which it might be nullified, or even reversed. And unhappily even this plausible declaration of his majesty's sentiments did contain such neutralizing and eversive elements. It was understood to subject the prelates to the trial and censure of the Assembly; but it cited them to appear as constituent members of that very court by which they were to be tried: and the urgency with which the king pressed the subscription of the Covenant of 1581 showed clearly that he expected, by its instrumentality, to divide and conquer the Presbyterian Covenanters; besides that the bond contained an insidious clause for the maintenance of religion "as at present professed"—a clause manifestly susceptible of such a construction as would convert it into one for the defence of Prelacy. The Presbyterians, therefore, resolved that they would no longer submit to such paltering in a double sense; that they would take care to have the Assembly framed and constituted according to the fundamental and imperishable principles of the Presbyterian Church; and that the prelates should be tried and censured

according to their demerits, and Prelacy itself entirely abolished, so that their own National Church might be delivered from bondage and oppression, and established once more on a basis which no law can give, and ought not to attempt removing—the warm affections of an intelligent, truly loyal, and earnestly religious people.

Great anxiety was felt by all parties, in the interval between the calling and the meeting of this most important General Assembly. Notwithstanding the artifices of the commissioner, and the exertions of the Prelatic party, the Covenanters were eminently successful in securing the return of the most able and faithful of the ministers as commissioners, and the most zealous and influential of the nobility and gentry as ruling elders; so that before the Assembly met they were assured of its freedom and integrity, so far as depended upon the majority of its members. The mode in which they were to proceed against the prelates was a matter which required much and careful deliberation. The Earl of Rothes and some other leading men of the Tables petitioned the commissioner for a warrant to command the prelates to appear before the Assembly, to stand trial for the offences charged against them; but this he refused to grant. The Covenanters were not, however, to be thus defeated in a point of such vital moment. It was arranged that a complaint should be prepared in form of a libel, or regular accusation, to be laid before the Assembly by a considerable body of the nobility, gentry, burgesses, and ministers, who were not members of that court. The accusation embraced both their official and personal delinquencies. The first part of the charge referred to the “caveats” or cautions passed in the Assembly 1600, and ratified by King James; the ostensible object of which was to guard against the abuse of their powers by the prelates and commissioners of the Church, at that time introduced to Parliament, but the real intention having been to delude the Church by the semblance of a security which could be easily broken through or set aside. These caveats, however, had been allowed to remain unrepealed, and now formed a leading element in the accusation against the Prelatic party, by whom every one of

them had been repeatedly violated. The prelates were accordingly charged collectively with having transgressed these caveats, usurped a lordly supremacy over the Church, taught heretical and false doctrines, and, personally, with having been guilty of irreligious conduct, and the perpetration of the grossest immoralities, which were distinctly specified according to each individual case. These accusations were sent to each of the prelates, and also to all the presbyteries, where they were directed to be read publicly in every church.

The prelates prepared an elaborate defence, bearing the general form of a declinature of the Assembly's jurisdiction, with their reasons for that line of procedure; which were said to have been sent to Court, and revised by the sovereign's own hand. All being now nearly prepared, and the time at hand, the commissioner made his last attempt to interfere with the construction of the Assembly, by endeavouring to bring as many of the members as possible under such legal processes as might incapacitate them from taking their seats. This was instantly met by a remonstrance so strong, pointed, and resolute, that Hamilton felt the inexpediency, and even danger, of carrying this last scheme into effect.

The only remaining part of the preparations made by both parties is one which scarcely falls within our province to relate, as being more of a civil, or rather military, than of an ecclesiastical character. Allusion has already been made to the large naval and military armaments in preparation by the king. These were vigorously prosecuted by his majesty, in the midst of all his pacific declarations; and as this was well known to the Covenanters, they began to consider themselves entitled to prepare for the defence of their civil and religious liberties, so manifestly endangered. With this view, arms, ammunition, and provisions, were quietly collected by the nobility and many of the towns; and General Leslie, a veteran officer of great skill and courage, who had served long under Gustavus, king of Sweden, was called home to take the command of the army, if they should finally be compelled to rise in self-defence.

The Marquis of Hamilton was well aware that the crisis could be no longer retarded; but how best to meet it cost him many an anxious thought. Gladly would he have prorogued the meeting of Assembly, but that he was aware that the Covenanters had determined to hold it, even though he should attempt its prorogation. He resolved, therefore, at last to allow it to be held according to the proclamation already issued, and to do his utmost to bias, control, or overawe it, so as to prevent, if possible, the condemnation of the prelates; and should all his efforts prove ineffectual, he would then dissolve it, with this advantage, that time had been gained, and his majesty's preparations for actual war would be in a state of greater forwardness.

On the Friday before the meeting of Assembly, the Covenanters, both those who were members of Assembly and those who were their friends and supporters, came in great crowds to Glasgow; and on the next day the commissioner and his friends entered the town from Hamilton, and were met with much appearance of respectful and stately courtesy by the Presbyterian chiefs. The marquis had then another opportunity of seeing how completely the cause which he was commissioned to circumvent or oppress was the cause of the Scottish nation. Little more than a year had elapsed from the time when four humble petitioners met at the door of the Privy Council, to supplicate for protection against the oppressive conduct of the prelates; and now his majesty's Lord High Commissioner beheld arrayed against these men, or rather against that abjured system, the irresistible might of all the physical, mental, moral, and religious strength of a united people. We may imagine how his heart must have sunk within him when he contemplated the task imposed upon him by his infatuated sovereign—the task of deluding or coercing his sagacious and high-minded countrymen, and of trampling in the dust those civil and religious liberties which were to them dearer than life itself—a task which no foreign power had been ever able by its utmost efforts to achieve, and which he must have seen to be equally ungracious and desperate.

The Assembly had been indicted to meet on the Wednes-

day; and the three intervening days were spent in making preliminary arrangements, and especially, on the part of the Covenanters, in humbling themselves before God, and imploring his direction and support through the arduous duties in which they were about to engage, and for the right discharge of which they felt their own wisdom to be indeed utterly insufficient. And it ought to be carefully remarked, for the instruction of all succeeding ages, that during the whole course of their negotiations and deliberations, humble acknowledgments of their own folly and weakness, earnest prayer to God, and strong faith in his heavenly guidance, were always the master elements by which their actions were guided and their hopes upheld.

On Wednesday, the 21st of November 1638, the General Assembly met, and commenced the discharge of its all-important duties. We cannot afford space to give more than the briefest outline of its proceedings; which, however, is the less to be regretted, since the very fact of their extreme importance has caused them to be very fully recorded by many authors whose works are in general circulation.* Both parties, the commissioner and the Covenanters, acted warily, yet firmly, from the very first hour on which the Assembly met. They were equally well aware, that a false movement on either side would give to the antagonist an advantage which it might not be possible to counteract; and, like two contending armies led by skilful generals, they watched each other's operations with deep, calm, forecasting prudence, cool resolution, and deliberate energy. The choice of a moderator was to the Assembly, in such a juncture, a matter of great moment, but not of doubt, except on one account. Alexander Henderson was universally admitted to be beyond all competition the fittest man, for knowledge, gravity, self-command, and soundness of judgment; but they dreaded to lose his ability in debate by placing him in the moderator's chair. Yet the necessity of having at their head a man who could both direct their own deliberations and defend them to the commissioner with courtesy and firm-

* See Baillie, Stevenson, Burnet, Peterkin's Records of the Kirk of Scotland, &c. &c.

ness, overruled all other considerations, and he was unanimously chosen to occupy that post of honour, toil, and danger.

The commissioner wished to have had the commissions of the members scrutinized before the choice of a moderator; but this the Assembly very properly resisted, as without a moderator their proceeding would have been informal and invalid. Again, the regular course of proceedings was interrupted by a proposal from his grace to have the declinature of the prelates read, before the Assembly had been duly constituted; but this, too, was rejected on the same general principle. Yet once more did Hamilton attempt to vitiate the court, by demanding six assessors with him, to take part in the deliberations, and to vote on all questions; and still the Assembly kept its position, and would enter on no public business till a moderator of their own choice had been formally placed in the chair. The marquis at length gave way, protesting, meanwhile, against the decision of the Assembly on each of these points, and being met by counter protestations; and, as above related, the Assembly chose for its moderator Alexander Henderson. The choice of a clerk caused a new struggle; but again the Covenanters prevailed, and Archibald Johnston was placed in that office.

The contest still continued, and still on what appeared mere matters of arrangement. The declinature of the prelates was now brought forward by the commissioner, and requested to be read before proceeding with the trial of the commissions of members; but as this paper contained a protestation against the whole members, and would have borne the aspect of a disqualification of them all, the Assembly refused to hear the declinature till the commissions had been all tried, that the court might be placed in a state of valid integrity before hearing a paper on the contents of which it must pass judgment.

These preliminary points having been thus arranged, the decisive movement could no longer be delayed. The declinature of the prelates was presented to the Assembly by Dr Hamilton of Glassford, who appeared as their procurator. An instantaneous effect took place, which they appeared

not to have foreseen. The Covenanters took instruments, that by this very declinature the prelates had acknowledged their citation, had appeared by their procurator, and that, therefore, their personal absence was wilful. Dr Hamilton was accordingly cited *apud acta*, and they were recognised as at the bar of the Assembly. A committee was then appointed to answer the declinature; and when the marquis protested against this procedure, a counter protest was immediately produced. The next was the seventh day of the Assembly's meeting; and both parties were conscious that upon the events of this day would depend the issue of their long and arduous struggle. A slight preliminary skirmish engaged their attention on the early part of the day. This was caused by the Assembly's committee pronouncing their opinion, that the five books which had been produced, purporting to be the records of the Church from the time of the Reformation, were genuine and authentic. This the Lord High Commissioner opposed, well knowing that if these records were sustained as authentic and authoritative, they would furnish principles, regulations, and precedents, amply sufficient to justify the condemnation of the prelates. But the Assembly, deeply grateful to that Divine Providence which had signally preserved these records, and caused their restoration to the Church in such a momentous crisis of its history, received these precious volumes gladly, and gave to them the stamp of unanimous approbation. The answers to the declinature of the prelates were then read, and approved of by the Assembly, although Dr Balcanquhal, the commissioner's clerical adviser, attempted to lead the discussion away from the matter in hand, and to involve them in scholastic subtleties. The moderator now put the question to the Assembly, Whether they found themselves competent to sit in judgment on the case of the prelates, notwithstanding their declinature? The commissioner immediately declared, that he could not permit the Assembly to persevere in this course of procedure, so contrary to the express intentions of his majesty. He complained that the Assembly was vitiated by the introduction of what he termed lay elders, and by undue influence used in the election of

members; and he required the Assembly to dissolve, promising to procure from the king authority for the meeting of another, in which all such evils might be avoided. Against this Henderson, Rothes, and Loudon reasoned and protested, expressing at the same time their deep regret if his grace should forsake the Assembly, but their determination to continue its sittings till it should have accomplished those important duties for the discharge of which it had been called. The commissioner put an end to the discussion by saying, "I stand to the king's prerogative, as supreme judge over all causes, civil and ecclesiastical; to him the lords of the clergy have appealed, and therefore I will not suffer their cause to be further reasoned here." This he uttered with great apparent emotion, even with tears, in which he was joined by many, who thought they saw in his departure the final dispelling of all their hopes of a specific settlement to those troubles by which the Church and the kingdom had been so long afflicted and oppressed.

The Marquis of Argyle (the same nobleman hitherto designated Lord Lorn, but who had succeeded to the higher title by the recent death of his father) attempted to avert or delay the crisis, by introducing a discussion respecting the two apparently conflicting Covenants; but Hamilton waived the subject, and called on the moderator to dissolve the meeting by prayer. This Henderson refused to do; upon which the commissioner protested in his majesty's name against whatever might be done by the Assembly, declared it dissolved by the same authority, and prohibited all further proceedings. The Earl of Rothes immediately produced a protestation against the departure of the commissioner, and his attempt to dissolve the meeting in this summary manner, while its most important duties were still unfulfilled. Argyle remained after the commissioner retired, and thus gave his countenance to the Assembly in this hour of peril. Nothing daunted or confused by what had taken place, Henderson addressed the Assembly in a very noble speech, full of the calm magnanimity of the Christian character, and instinct with the sacred principles of spiritual and eternal truth. Several other eminent members of this

great Assembly spoke, and all in a similar spirit of Christian faith and Christian fearlessness. At this moment of deep and wide-spread emotion, an incident occurred, simple in itself, yet rising into the region of true moral sublimity. Lord Erskine, son of the Earl of Mar, a young nobleman of high character and distinguished talents, rose from the gallery where he was seated among the youthful nobility, and requested permission to address the Assembly. He then declared, while the starting tears attested the sincerity of his declaration, that he had hitherto abstained from subscribing the Covenant, against the light and the conviction of his own conscience; begged that he might now be allowed to affix his name to that sacred bond; and implored the Assembly to pray that his sin in resisting the call of duty might be forgiven him. Several others followed the example of this noble youth; so that, at the very moment when the frowns of royal wrath were darkening over the Assembly, the light of God's favour shone upon it, and the impelling power of the Spirit of truth, in answer to their earnest prayers, sent to the rescue the glowing energies of ingenuous youth, like a fresh stream of new life pouring its warm might into the sacred bosom of Scotland's reviving Church.

The moderator, availing himself of this encouraging event, put the question, Whether the Assembly would adhere to the protestation against the commissioner's departure, and continue together till they should have concluded the important business on account of which they had met? This was carried almost unanimously; there being only three or four opposing votes. The next question was, Whether the Assembly found themselves competent judges of the prelates and their adherents, notwithstanding their declinations and protestation? and this also was unanimously carried in the affirmative, or, if not unanimously, with only three or four dissentient voices.

The struggle was now at an end; and the Assembly proceeded regularly and calmly forward to the completion of its remaining business. Next day the Marquis of Hamilton issued a proclamation, commanding the Assembly to dissolve; which was, as usual, met by a protestation, and no further

notice was taken of the matter. The remaining deeds of the Assembly may be stated in a few sentences. An act was passed annulling all the corrupt Assemblies by which Prelacy had been introduced—those, namely, of the years 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616, 1617, and 1618. As a necessary consequence, all the innovations and changes made by these Assemblies were declared illegal, and all the obligations imposed on ministers by their authority were pronounced no longer binding. An act was passed, condemning the Five Articles of Perth, the Book of Canons, the Liturgy, and the Book of Ordination, as introduced without warrant of either civil or ecclesiastical authority; and the Court of High Commission also, as having neither act of Assembly nor of Parliament in its support, and regulated by no law, human or divine. Then directing their attention to the deceptive use which had been attempted to be made of the Confession or Covenant of 1581, it was clearly proved, from the language of acts of Assembly before and at that time, that diocesan Episcopacy had been and was then abjured and condemned by the Church; and upon this demonstration the Assembly passed an act, declaring, “that all Episcopacy different from that of a pastor over a particular flock was abjured in this Kirk, and is to be removed out of it.” Baillie informs us, that he was himself the only person who hesitated to vote for this motion; and that his hesitation went no further than to give a brief explanation of his views.* The trial of the prelates had been prosecuted for many days with great care and deliberation; and all the accusations having been fully proved, the moderator was appointed to pronounce the sentence of the Assembly. This he did, after having preached a sermon suitable to the occasion, in what Baillie terms, “a very grave and dreadful manner.” Eight were deposed and excommunicated; four merely deposed; and two deposed from the Prelatic station, but allowed to officiate as pastors of single congregations. Diocesan Episcopacy, or rather Prelacy (as we have all along preferred to term it, as its proper designation), having been thus condemned and abolished, the next step naturally was the passing of an act

* Baillie, vol. i., p. 158.

restoring to kirk-sessions, presbyteries, synods, and General Assemblies, the full enjoyment of those constitutional privileges, liberties, powers, and jurisdictions, according to the Book of Discipline, of which they had been deprived by Prelatic usurpation. In completing the restoration of the Presbyterian Church, the Assembly did not forget certain points which at such a time might have seemed of comparatively minor importance. The principle that no person be intruded into any parish contrary to the will of the congregation was re-enacted; and presbyteries were directed to see that schools were provided in every landward parish, and such support secured to schoolmasters as should render education easily accessible to the whole population of the kingdom. Many other beneficial enactments were made, which our limits will not permit us to enumerate.

At length, on Thursday the 20th of December, this great and truly noble General Assembly having brought all these important matters to a satisfactory conclusion, prepared to close its labours. The next Assembly was appointed to meet at Edinburgh on the third Wednesday of July 1639, in virtue of its own intrinsic powers, whether it should be called by his majesty or not; with this reservation, that if the king should of his own accord call a meeting of Assembly on a different day, they should with all diligence and respect attend the time and place of his majesty's appointment. Several grave addresses and admonitions were then delivered by the moderator and other venerable members; and after prayer, praise, and the apostolical benediction, Henderson pronounced the Assembly concluded, adding these remarkable words, "*We have now cast down the walls of Jericho. Let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite.*"

We have traced with some minuteness, and with feelings of deep veneration and gratitude, the proceedings of this ever-memorable General Assembly. And when our readers mark with what calmness, prudence, solemnity, and earnestness of devotional feeling its whole proceedings were conducted—how much patience, in the midst of innumerable attempts to retard, violate, or disturb its progress—how little of vindictive spirit against the prelates, from whom

many of the members had sustained great personal injury—how steadily they maintained the principles of loyalty to a monarch by whom, at the same time, they had too much reason to believe they were both hated and betrayed, willing to regard him as deceived, and not intentionally tyrannical—how generously, in the midst of all their harassing anxieties, they directed their attention to the wants and the welfare of the whole population of their beloved native land, securing, to the utmost of their power to the poor man those inestimable blessings, the free and pure preaching of the Gospel and the education of his children—and, above all, how nobly, fearlessly, and piously, Scotland's National Church vindicated the sole sovereignty of the Lord Jesus Christ, her only and Divine Head and King—it must, we think, be humbly and gratefully owned, that much of the presence and the power of the Spirit of wisdom, peace, and truth, was there; and that a glory, sacred and imperishable, must ever rest on the memory of that venerable General Assembly whom God honoured to accomplish Scotland's SECOND REFORMATION.

It would be inexpedient to interrupt the progress of the narrative by any protracted disquisitions; but we trust we may be forgiven for directing the attention of the reader to one or two important lines of thought. The whole proceedings of the Assembly of 1638 present the most signal illustration that could be conceived of one of our introductory remarks, namely, the re-appearance at peculiar junctures of those great principles which constitute the moral and religious life of a nation, although they may have been for a time so much obscured and overborne, that a superficial observer might have thought them sunk into entire and perpetual oblivion. The great principles of the Reformation had pierced into the very core of Scotland's heart, and had there deposited their vital energies; but their growing development had been at first obstructed by the selfishness and rapacity of the nobles, and subsequently fettered and cast into dark imprisoned torpor by the king himself, who wished to substitute a frame of Church government and discipline of an entirely different and uncongenial nature. But though

thus repressed, and apparently dormant, these principles were not extinct. They formed the hidden life of Scotland still; awaiting but the time when the Divine Spirit, by whom they had been breathed into the nation, should again revive, awaken, and call them forth, and the hand of Providence should rend asunder the fettering ceremonies within which they had been starkly swathed, and bid them live and act anew. In the Second Reformation there was not one principle called into action which had not been either in active operation, or at least distinctly stated, in the First. Nor was there a single step taken for which there could not be shown both a precedent in the previous history of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and a direct authority from Scripture. And even in those parts of their proceedings which to some have appeared most questionable, such as continuing to sit notwithstanding the departure of the commissioner, and the deposition and excommunication of the Prelatic party, their conduct will be found, when fairly examined, to have been altogether beyond the reach of censure, nay, deserving of the highest approbation. To the king, in all civil matters, they rendered the most implicit obedience; while they calmly but resolutely refused to yield him that obedience in religious matters which could not have been granted without violating their allegiance to Christ, as the only Head and King of the Church. At the same time they most pointedly not only admitted the right, but asserted the duty, of a Christian sovereign to defend the liberties and maintain the purity of a Christian Church. They clearly distinguished between his power *in the Church*, as a member of it and nothing more, and his power to regulate external arrangements, and enact and enforce national laws, *concerning the Church*, as a Christian king, bound by his own solemn oaths to be a nursing father to the Church, to protect and cherish it, and by that means, and through its unfettered instrumentality, best to promote the moral and religious welfare of the kingdom. And in the deposition and excommunication of the Prelatic party nothing was done but what was in direct accordance with many acts both of Assembly and of Parliament; and, what is of infinitely greater import-

ance, all was founded on the explicit authority of the Word of God. Before a single prelate was deposed or excommunicated, he was proved, by incontrovertible evidence, to have been guilty of false doctrine, of introducing Popish ceremonies, of attempts to subvert the Church government and discipline which he had sworn to maintain, of tyrannical violations of national laws, and of such gross personal crimes and immoralities as rendered him utterly unworthy to hold any office in the Christian Church. Even then, so tenderly were those abandoned men treated, that a regular form of procedure was appointed for their expression of penitence and restoration to the Church, as members and ministers, should they be moved to repentance, and seek to be restored. Pride is not a sentiment which any human being ought ever to cherish, and therefore we dare not say that Scotland has reason to be proud of the great men who composed that Assembly and conducted its proceedings; but we will say, that every true Presbyterian must ever hold them in the highest esteem and veneration, while with humble gratitude we adore the gracious and merciful Redeemer, who shed down on them so abundantly the promise of the Father, the Holy Spirit, enlightening, guiding, and supporting them in their truly glorious defence of the unalienable prerogatives of his spiritual kingdom.

[1639.]—The Covenanters had now completely taken their ground, from which they well knew that they could not retreat; but they were anxious to avoid hostilities if possible. For this reason, several of their leading men waited on the Marquis of Hamilton, before his departure from Edinburgh, to entreat his friendly mediation with the king. Hamilton was too well acquainted with his majesty's sentiments and intentions to anticipate any favourable result; and therefore not only refused to undertake the task of attempting to mitigate the king's resentment, but replied to the Covenanters in terms of reproach and threatening. But they were too earnestly desirous of peace to be deterred from prosecuting their loyal and pacific course by one ungracious refusal; and they accordingly determined to send their supplication to his majesty himself, by one of their own body,

however perilous the enterprise. The supplication was couched in the most dutiful and submissive language, putting it in the king's power to come to an amicable arrangement with his faithful subjects, not only without submitting to any humiliating conditions, but with ample security to his honour and dignity. A little, a very little more judgment and less passion on the part of his majesty might even then have put an end to all existing contentions, and prevented the subsequent miseries and sufferings both of the nation and of the ill-starred monarch. Mr George Winram of Liberton undertook the hazardous duty of carrying the supplication to London, and of attempting to have it presented to the king, although aware that his life would be endangered by the unwelcome mission. His majesty thought proper to permit it to be read to him by the Marquis of Hamilton; but the only answer he returned was by uttering, in a tone between indignation and mockery, the Scottish proverb: "When they have broken my head, they will put on my coul." The supplication was presented on the 15th of January; and although Winram waited till the middle of March, he could obtain no other answer; but his presence in London so long enabled him to transmit to Scotland valuable information respecting the king's designs and preparations.

As the displeasure of the king was great, so his preparations for war were on a scale so extensive as to indicate clearly that he intended nothing less than the complete subjugation of the kingdom. His majesty's plan was, to levy an army of thirty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry; to put strong garrisons in Berwick and Carlisle; to send a division of five thousand men to Aberdeenshire, to form a junction with the Marquis of Huntly, who might either divide the Covenanters, or operate upon their rear; to send a strong fleet under the Marquis of Hamilton to the Frith of Forth, for the purpose of blockading the harbours, intercepting supplies of arms and ammunition, and spreading alarm along the coasts of Fife and Lothian; and having completed these arrangements, to place himself at the head of his main army, and advance into Scotland in such force as to bear down all opposition. To complete the scheme,

the Earl of Antrim was to raise at least ten thousand men, and invade Argyleshire; and the Earl of Strafford was to take the command of a naval armament, and with it to sail up the Frith of Clyde, to rouse and encourage the Marquis of Hamilton's adherents, and to sweep the seas and devastate the shores of the west of Scotland.* To meet the heavy expenditure of such extensive preparations, the king resorted to the natural but unconstitutional process of procuring supplies of money from the private resources of those who approved of the object for which war was to be waged; and, as was to be expected, the English bishops contributed liberally for the support of this hierarchical war.

Nor were the Covenanters blind to their perilous condition. However reluctant to resort to even a defensive war, they felt it to be their duty to put themselves into the best state for either defending their civil and religious liberties, like men who knew their value, or at least exhibiting such a resolute and imposing front as should induce his majesty to grant favourable terms rather than hazard an encounter where victory was uncertain and defeat would be ruinous. But as it was in their estimation a matter of the utmost importance to clear their proceedings from the imputation of rebellion so pertinaciously charged upon them by their enemies, they published an "Information to all Good Christians within the Kingdom of England," vindicating their past conduct and their present intentions from the calumnious aspersions of the Prelatic party. This paper was extensively circulated in England, and was successful in removing many prejudices, and awaking a considerable feeling of approbation. To counteract this, the king employed Dr Balcanquhal, who had been Hamilton's clerical adviser at the Glasgow Assembly, to write an account of the whole of the proceedings in Scotland which had led to the present state of affairs. This paper, after being revised by Charles himself, was published as a royal manifesto, and is known by the title of "The Large Declaration." A proclamation was about the same time published by the king, of the same purport, which was also speedily answered by the Covenanters; and the

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 113.

answer was perused with great attention and considerable sympathy in England.

Having thus done everything in their power to prove the goodness of their cause and their own earnest desire of peace, the Covenanters proceeded to deliberate concerning the propriety of even a defensive war. Considerable numbers of them entertained the opinion, that resistance to the civil magistrate was unlawful for Christians, how despotic and oppressive soever might be his conduct. And so far as suffering the penalties of even an unjust and tyrannical law was involved in the question, the majority would have submitted, with no other kinds of opposition than those of remonstrances and supplications, though there were others who held bolder opinions on that subject. But all were compelled to perceive that the king had much more in view than to allow them even the hard alternative of obedience or punishment, which in matters distinctly religious must always subject men to penalties, till the civil magistrate can be prevailed on to relax his requirements. The intention of his majesty, it was easily seen, was positively to compel them to adopt all those changes in religious worship which he might think proper to introduce, and to prohibit absolutely and unconditionally those modes of worship which they believed to be most accordant with the Word and will of God. The alternative was not obedience, or the forfeiture of certain civil advantages and the infliction of certain temporal penalties; but obedience, or imprisonment, exile, and death; or rather it was, obey the king, though you should thereby be disobedient to God. With deep and anxious solicitude they set themselves to the investigation of this momentous question; and, after the most profound and studious perusal of eminent divines and jurists, and especially of the Bible, they arrived at the conclusion, that a Christian people were entitled to take up arms in defence of their religious liberties against any assailant.*

We do not attempt to give even an outline of the elaborate writings of the Covenanters on this highly important question; chiefly because the most of their leading propositions have

* Baillie, vol. i., p. 189.

long been received into the national mind, and even form essential elements in the British constitution, so far at least as civil liberty is concerned. They were, however, at the time, far beyond the general sentiments of the age—loftier, nobler, and more true than those the defence of which rendered illustrious the boasted Hamdens and Sidneys of England. But we deem it right to direct the attention of the reader to this almost startling truth, that while the empire at large has imbibed and ratified their sentiments with regard to civil liberty, which was with them in reality a subordinate consideration, those sacred principles of religious freedom, of sole allegiance to Christ in matters of faith, in defence of which alone they resolved to confront their earthly sovereign, have not yet been thoroughly received into the national mind, and have never been regarded with equal favour by the historian, the philosopher, or the statesman. Why has this been the case? Because, while all men can so far understand their natural rights, and value their civil liberties, no man can understand sacred rights and value spiritual liberties till he has been made a freeman of the Lord. Therefore is the main principle of the Covenanters still assailed, and must be still defended, though we trust no longer with the weapons of earthly warfare. A man may lose his civil liberties, or submit to civil wrongs, and be a Christian still; but a Christian cannot yield up his religious liberty without committing grievous sin, sinking into the condition of a slave, and forfeiting his hopes of heaven.

Having thus arrived at the important conclusion that it was their clear and imperative duty to defend their religious liberties, the Covenanters commenced their preparations for defence with great promptitude and energy. A committee, on the plan of the Tables, was appointed to sit at Edinburgh, and to exercise full executive powers, holding correspondence with subordinate committees in every county, and giving simultaneous directions to the kingdom. And as the ministers had now become almost universally convinced of the lawfulness of a defensive war, they no longer felt any hesitation in recommending that measure to the people, rousing their courage, and stimulating their religious zeal. Arms

nd ammunition were procured in considerable quantities; the most experienced officers were distributed throughout the kingdom, to instruct others, and to begin, if not the actual levies of troops, at least the occasional training of such men as expressed willingness to serve when required. It was debated whether assistance should be sought from foreign powers; but this was over-ruled, as of a more questionable character than merely standing on their own defence; and the utmost that was permitted was, that letters might be written to certain continental kings and states, requesting them to intercede with Charles on behalf of his Scottish subjects. Even this was very partially done. The letter to the king of France was written and subscribed by a few of the nobles, but never forwarded to its destination, though the mere fact of its having been written and signed exposed the earl of Loudon to the extreme peril of his life a short while afterwards.

But while the country was thus rapidly arming in self-defence, it was resolved that theirs should not be the first overt act of hostility. They even submitted to several minor outrages of a warlike nature, willing to postpone the actual collision to the latest possible period, in the faint hope that some pacific arrangement might yet be made. Many Scottish merchants and travellers were seized in England and Ireland, and treated as rebels; the Marquis of Huntly seized upon the city of Aberdeen, and put it in a state of fortified defence; and the Popish lords began to arm in different quarters of the kingdom; while English troops were not only assembling rapidly at York, but also hovering in threatening numbers along the borders, and the Irish were preparing to invade the western coasts. At this time the Castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton were both in the hands of the royalists; but as the Covenanters perceived the danger of leaving these strong fortresses in the possession of their enemies when they should be compelled to march southward to repel the invaders, it was determined to anticipate and remove that peril. They were accordingly both seized on the same day; and so well had the Covenanters laid their schemes, that these important strengths were secured with-

out the lose of a single life. Dalkeith was also taken without a blow, and a large quantity of military stores fell into the hands of the captors. The Earl of Montrose was sent to the north, to counteract the influence of Huntly; and as Montrose was not so scrupulous as the other leaders of the Presbyterians, he speedily reduced Aberdeen, forcibly compelling the citizens to subscribe the Covenant,* and having obtained possession of Huntly himself, not by the most honourable means, carried that dangerous nobleman with him to Edinburgh.

To complete their defensive arrangements, they resolved to fortify Leith, and by that means to protect the capital from assault by sea. As this was an object of great importance, it was undertaken and carried forward with corresponding energy. The nobles of the Covenant began the works with their own hands, which were prosecuted night and day without intermission, all classes and ranks vieing with each other in carrying forward the labour, and even ladies of distinction stimulating the enthusiastic ardour of the men by personally sharing in their toils. In an almost incredibly short period Leith was completely fortified; and the towns along the Fifeshire coast were put in a state of defence by the erection of batteries on the most commanding positions.

These prompt and decisive measures put an end to the king's hopes of paralyzing the Covenanters by internal disunion, and there remained but two alternatives—either to subdue Scotland by the force of English and Irish arms, or to treat with it on fair and equal terms. Unhappily, Charles chose the former alternative, even though there were not wanting symptoms which ought to have caused him to pause in his perilous enterprise. Indications sufficiently intelligible were given to him, that the high heart of England was disinclined to the invasion of Scotland in such a cause. Many saw clearly that the king's success in subjugating the Scottish Covenanters would enable him to forge for themselves the fetters of absolute despotism; and not a few

* It deserves to be noticed, that this was the first instance in which any were compelled to subscribe the Covenant, and that this was done by Montrose on his own sole authority.

entered more deeply into the question, and perceived in his attempt the real spirit of Popery, regarding it as a distinction of little moment, whether a foreign prelate or a native monarch should assume and exercise that lordship over the conscience which belongs to God alone. Some of the nobility declared that they would not aid in the invasion of Scotland till the consent of Parliament had been sought and obtained; and, in general, the supplies of both men and money fell far short of the king's expectations. Still, as Charles could not believe that the Covenanters would dare to meet him on the field, he adhered to his warlike resolutions; and, having mustered his forces at York in the beginning of April, he sent the Marquis of Hamilton with a fleet to the Frith of Forth, and began his own march at the head of his army, to invade his ancient kingdom.

After a series of ominous delays, the Marquis of Hamilton arrived with his fleet in the Frith; but no sooner was he descried, than the beacons were lighted, and brave men rushed from all quarters to the points of danger, like descending mountain-torrents. Instead of being able to effect an "awful diversion," as the king had commanded him, by landing and laying waste the country "with fire and sword,"* he found himself actually surrounded by forces immensely superior to his own. All his efforts were therefore reduced to a paper warfare, in which, as formerly, he found himself overmatched by his able antagonists. At length he was summoned to meet the king near Berwick, to strengthen the operations by land, since his attempts by sea were so ineffectual. When the Parliament met in Edinburgh, it was immediately prorogued by the king; and to this prorogation they yielded without the slightest opposition, contrary to the expectation and the wish of their enemies. But in this they merely acted in accordance with their own high and well-defined principles: they yielded to the king all due and constitutional obedience in matters purely civil, refusing only that obedience in spiritual matters to which he was not entitled, and which they could not render without sin.

Another slight alarm was raised in the north by the rising

* Burnet's Memoirs, pp. 121-123.

of Huntly's adherents, who seized Aberdeen, and threatened a descent upon the southern provinces. This was again speedily suppressed by Montrose, who now treated the inhabitants of Aberdeen and the adjacent country with considerable severity, levying a heavy contribution, and committing some acts of pillage upon the defenceless inhabitants, inconsistent with his present religious profession, though sufficiently natural to his real character, as afterwards developed.

War was now begun; but still the Covenanters were anxious for peace, if it could be obtained without the sacrifice of religious purity and truth. Repeatedly did they send deputations to his majesty, while on his march; but the haughty monarch refused to listen to their supplications, and would hear of nothing but the renunciation of the Covenant and the Glasgow Assembly, and an unconditional submission to his royal will. It was now time to move forward in their united might; but animated by the same religious spirit which had guided all their past conduct, they would not go till they had done their utmost to secure the hope that God had gone before them. A solemn fast was held, and many earnest prayers were offered up to the Lord of hosts, imploring him to guide all their movements, and to crown them with victory in that sacred cause which they regarded as most truly his own. The committee next issued directions to the kingdom to regulate the conduct of their adherents in the muster and the march to head-quarters. They then marched forward in two divisions: the main body, under General Leslie, halted at Dunclas; and a strong detachment, under Munro, took up a position at Kelso. The latter body came first into contact with a division of the king's forces, which had been sent forward to publish a proclamation, and, at sight of the Scottish troops, turned and fled with great precipitation; proving thereby, not their want of courage, but their want of inclination to fight in such a quarrel.

The result of this rencounter, and the nature of the royal proclamation commanding them to lay down their arms within eight days, on pain of being declared rebels, their lands forfeited, and a price set on their heads, convinced the Scottish leaders that their reluctance to proceed to hostilities

was regarded by the king as caused by fear, and not the effect of conscientious loyalty. They determined to relieve his majesty from this mistake, and accordingly advanced to Dunse Law, where they encamped within sight of the royal army, at a distance of little more than six miles. When they first pitched their tents on Dunse Law, on the 1st of June, the army was about twelve thousand strong, but in a few days it was increased to nearly twice that number, full of courage, and confident in the goodness of their cause.

The army of the Covenanters presented such a spectacle as has been rarely witnessed. The hill on which they had taken up their position is of a conic form, about a Scottish mile in circumference, rising gradually to the height of a bowshot, where it terminates in a plain of nearly thirty acres in extent. This level summit was bristled round with forty field-pieces, commanding the two roads that led to the capital. Around the sides of the hill were pitched the tents of the army, each regiment in its own respective cluster. A banner-staff was planted firmly at each captain's tent-door, from which floated the Scottish colours, displaying not only the national arms, but also this inscription in golden letters, "FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT," explanatory of the sacred cause for which this dauntless banner was again spread on the winds. A minister of the highest character and abilities was attached to each regiment; and regularly as morning dawned and evening fell, the troops were summoned, by beat of drum or sound of trumpet, to their devotional duties, which were conducted generally by the same reverend pastors, to whose prayers and exhortations they had listened on days of Sabbath stillness, among their own rural and peaceful homes. The army was chiefly composed of Scotland's thoughtful and high-souled peasantry—men strong of frame and bold of heart, to whom religious liberty was dear because they had felt and known its priceless value, and therefore were prepared to peril life itself in its defence. Led on by their time-honoured nobility, encouraged by their beloved pastors, and convinced by the goodness of their cause that Heaven was on their side, these dreadless men looked forward to the hour of battle as to that of certain victory.

Theirs was not the fiery courage of untamed blood and reckless hardihood, but the calm, deliberate fortitude of men who feared God, and knew no other fear. It was not strange that Charles recoiled from encountering such a foe.*

Perceiving the formidable strength and dauntless resolution of the Scottish army, Charles became anxious to treat with men on whom he now saw that he could not trample; yet pride withheld him from making the first proposals otherwise than by stealth. No sooner did the Covenanters learn that the king might now listen to overtures for a peaceful termination of the struggle, than they sent an embassy to supplicate his majesty to bestow on their requests and statement of grievances a favourable audience. Both parties being now willing to come to pacific terms, the adjustment of preliminaries was not a matter of extreme difficulty, although the king was careful to maintain such punctilious forms as should, in his opinion, save his honour, and not too greatly mortify his pride. As it was not pride, but religious principle, by which the Covenanters were actuated, they were content to make every reasonable concession, and to soothe the monarch's wounded feelings to the utmost. Yet the negotiations were at one time nearly interrupted at the instigation of the Scottish prelates, who were willing to peril their sovereign's life, and the peace of their native land, in the prosecution of their own avaricious and revengeful desires. But a significant hint from Leslie of his intention to advance his army within cannon-shot of the royal camp, caused an immediate change in the lowering aspect of affairs, and the negotiations were not only resumed, but brought to a speedy conclusion. Although the king would not grant directly the requests of the Covenanters, he thought it prudent to accede to articles of pacification in which they were virtually involved. He consented to the ratification of all that had been deceptively promised by the Marquis of Hamilton to the Glasgow Assembly, though he would not allow that Assembly to be specifically named. To this was added that an Assembly should be held at Edinburgh on the 6th of August, to which all eccle-

* For a more full account, see Baillie, pp. 210-214; Stevenson, pp. 373, 374.

siastical matters were to be referred for decision; and a Parliament was to sit on the 20th of the same month, to determine civil affairs, and to ratify the acts of Assembly. On these terms it was further agreed, that the forces on both sides should be disbanded, the fleet leave the shores, and the castles be rendered back to the king. To express his royal gratification, his majesty expressed his intention to honour both the Assembly and the Parliament with his presence—an intention which he did not carry into effect. This treaty was signed on the 18th of June, and publicly proclaimed in both camps the same day.

It is painful to be obliged to state, that not only during these negotiations did the king too manifestly degrade himself by double-dealing and treachery, but that even in concluding the treaty of pacification, he entertained the fixed determination to violate all its most important stipulations as soon as ever his power should be equal to his will. This perfidious conduct was not unknown to the Covenanters; and although they did not publicly avow distrust of the king, nor declare their jealousy of his dissimulation, it would argue a degree of imbecility of which they cannot be suspected, if they had allowed themselves to be circumvented by such manifest deceit. Their part of the treaty they performed, by instantly breaking up their encampment, disbanding their troops, and placing the fortresses in the hands of the Royalists; but they retained their veteran officers in pay, and broke not up that internal organization, by means of which they were able almost instantaneously to raise and reconcentrate the power of the kingdom. Charles lingered some time before he disbanded his army; and after that had been partially done, sent for the leading Covenanters to wait on him at Berwick. Burnet admits that he did so with the intention of trying what fair treatment might do with them. Six only of them went, or rather were allowed to go, as the probable object of the king was suspected. Of these Montrose was one; and so effectual were the king's arguments or promises with him, that before he left the royal presence, that ambitious nobleman had pledged himself to promote his sovereign's designs, and to remain among the Covenanters that

he might the more effectually betray them. It is difficult to say whether the conduct of the king or of Montrose was most dishonourable—the one in persuading to treachery, the other in consenting to become a traitor; or most criminal—the king in violating the faith of the recent treaty, Montrose in committing perjury by breaking his solemn Covenant engagement.

Defeated in all his intentions, and disappointed in all his hopes, the king declined to go to Edinburgh according to his promise; but before his return to England, appointed a Lord High Commissioner to represent him in the Assembly and in Parliament. Hamilton declined holding this high office, though requested by the king; and the Earl of Traquair was appointed. A list of instructions was given by the king to Traquair, for the direction of his conduct in the Assembly, in which a spirit of even mean and bitter spite against the last Assembly is betrayed, and its whole character is that of shifting and deceitful evasiveness. The last article of it requires Traquair to protest, that in case anything has escaped his notice prejudicial to his majesty's service, "his majesty may be heard for redress thereof, in his own time and place." By this it is manifest that the king intended to revoke every concession which the commissioner had made, whenever it should be in his power. With regard to the Parliament, he felt even more at liberty; as Traquair had suggested that none of its acts could be valid without the presence of the prelates, as the third estate, and, therefore, they might be passed and afterwards thrown aside whenever his majesty thought proper.*

The General Assembly met on the 12th of August. In such an outline as the present work we cannot record more than the most important acts passed by this Assembly. As the king had expressed his determination not to ratify the acts of the Glasgow Assembly, which, on the other hand, the Covenanters would not disavow, the expedient was adopted of re-enumerating its acts in the preambles of those now to be passed. In this manner the corruptions which had so long troubled the Church were re-stated, and formally condemned, by which means all the Prelatic innovations

* Burnet's Memoirs, pp. 149, 150.

were once more abolished; and a clause was added, securing the annual meeting of Assemblies, and the regular meetings of synods, presbyteries, and kirk-sessions. Considerable difficulty was experienced in dealing with the recusant Prelatists; but this, too, was surmounted, by hearing the accusations against them afresh, framing a condemnation of the errors of which they were accused, and dealing leniently with those who expressed contrition for their faults, and submitted to the Assembly. The Large Declaration, written by Balcanquhal, but published as the king's manifesto, was condemned, and a supplication was prepared, requesting his majesty to cause the offensive book to be suppressed. The National Covenant was next renewed; and the Assembly petitioned the Privy Council to give it the sanction of an act of Council, requiring it to be subscribed by all his majesty's subjects. This was accordingly done, the whole Council subscribing, and Traquair himself subscribing as commissioner, that it might have as full sanction as the representative of royalty could give it, with this explanatory declaration, that it was one in substance with the Confession or Covenant of 1581. The minor acts of this Assembly were, a proposal by Henderson for a committee to frame a full Confession of Faith; another for a Catechism; and an act resembling that since called the Barrier Act, prohibiting any change in the laws of the Church till the motion to that effect had been communicated to all synods and presbyteries, and returned to the next Assembly ripely considered. The next Assembly was appointed to meet at Aberdeen; and after warm and earnest expressions of gratitude to the king and his commissioner, and of fervent thanksgiving and praise to God for his countenance and support, the Assembly was formally dissolved in the usual manner.

Information of the proceedings of Assembly had been sent to the king from time to time during its sittings, and his majesty's comments were returned to his commissioner. Whether from inadvertence, or thinking that since the king's whole concessions were deceptive, it could not much matter about the strictness of the language, the commissioner had permitted himself to subscribe and ratify the act

condemning the Prelatic innovations, although it contained the following strong statement: "That Episcopal government, and the civil places and power of Kirkmen, be holden still as unlawful in this Kirk." The word *unlawful* the king could not tolerate, though he would not have objected to the condemnation of Prelacy as "contrary to the constitution of the Church of Scotland;" and, therefore, he "absolutely commanded" Traquair not to ratify that act in Parliament, unless the language were changed according to his suggestion.* One might be disposed to regard his majesty's distinction as merely a petty quibble, since what is *unconstitutional* ought to be held as *more than unlawful* by every man of sound judgment; but it is too well known that many men pay more respect to the letter of the law than to the spirit of the constitution; and, besides, Charles held that he possessed, in virtue of his high prerogative, the power of altering the constitution of both Church and State, according to his own arbitrary will; consequently the word *unconstitutional* was a much less formidable obstacle in his estimation than the word *unlawful*. Like superficial thinkers in general, he did not perceive that constitutional principles are the life-powers of a community, while laws are but the variable forms through which they manifest their essential energies. Under the strong coercion of his majesty's "absolute command," Traquair endeavoured to prevail upon the Parliament to amend the errors which he had permitted to pass the Assembly; but after much intriguing and successive adjournments, he was obliged to prorogue its further sitting till the 2d of June, 1640, and to hasten to Court for the purpose of endeavouring to appease the royal indignation.

[1640.]—The Scottish Parliament sent the Earls of Loudon and Dunfermline to London for a similar purpose; but the king was so highly incensed with their pertinacious adherence to their own views, that after having reluctantly granted them audience, and listened to the statement which they were commissioned to make, he commanded the Earl of Loudon to be committed to the Tower, on a charge of treason, founded on the letter to the King of France, of which

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 158.

mention was made above. So vehement was the wrath of the king, that he issued the tyrannical order, that Loudon should be beheaded within the Tower before the hour of nine on the following morning, and without the formalities of a trial. This bloody warrant the lieutenant of the Tower carried to the Marquis of Hamilton, who, aware of the fearful consequences which would inevitably ensue, hastened to the king, and earnestly besought him to recall the warrant. At first he sternly, and with violent language, refused to comply; but at length the marquis prevailed, chiefly by pointing out the dire effects to himself and his cause which such a deed would certainly produce, and with suppressed and sullen revengefulness, he permitted the victim to be rescued from his deadly gripe.

The king was now resolved once more to take the field, and reduce the Covenanters to subjection by force of arms. But the main obstacle to the accomplishment of this sanguinary resolution consisted in the difficulty of meeting the expenditure in which he would be necessarily involved. All his resources were drained by his previous ineffectual attempt; and he saw no method of obtaining a sufficient sum of money but that of calling an English Parliament, and endeavouring to procure a grant of adequate supplies. Above eleven years had elapsed since a Parliament had been held; during which period the arbitrary conduct of the king, and the hideous cruelties perpetrated by the Star Chamber, had so alienated the kingdom, that Charles dreaded to call a Parliament, lest, instead of granting a subsidy, it should proceed first to the consideration of grievances. What could not be avoided must be met; but what was dreaded took place. When the Parliament met, they would not listen to the demand of a subsidy till they had inquired into their own wrongs, and sought redress. The king indignantly dissolved the Parliament, and set himself to raise the necessary funds by every means in his power. By the most strenuous exertions, he so far replenished his treasury as to be able to take the field in the month of July, at the head of nineteen thousand foot and two thousand cavalry.*

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 173.

Although perfectly aware of all the king's proceedings, the Covenanters manifested no rash eagerness to resort to defensive warfare, till every pacific method had been tried. They held the Parliament on the day to which it had been prorogued; and, notwithstanding the absence of the Earl of Traquair, they calmly and regularly proceeded with the transactions for which the Parliament had met, and ratified all the acts of the preceding Assembly, besides reforming their own constitution. At the same time they made repeated applications to the Marquis of Hamilton, and to several of the English nobility, that they would intercede with the king, and, if possible, persuade him to consent to a peaceful settlement of the nation's troubles. Some private intercourse appears to have taken place between the Covenanters and the disaffected party in England, by which the movements of the former were not a little influenced.* Being convinced that hostilities were inevitable, the Covenanters again sounded the alarm, and were answered immediately by the mustering thousands of the bold and religious peasantry and the gallant nobles of Scotland, accompanied, as before, by many faithful and zealous ministers.

In the meantime the General Assembly met at Aberdeen on the 28th of July, and began their duties, while all around them was ringing with the din of war. Unhappily all was not peace within the Assembly. The absence of many of the leading men left the business to be conducted by others of inferior talents, and less tact in the management of a popular assembly. The cause of the contention was not new; it had come before the preceding Assembly, but had been partly soothed down by the sagacious management of Henderson, and partly repressed into a subordinate position by the presence of matter of more urgent character. During the domination of the Prelatic party, many religious people had withdrawn from the ministry of men from whom they derived no spiritual instruction; but to supply the want to the utmost of their power, they had adopted the measure of meeting together in private, and engaging in reading of the Scriptures, exhortation, and prayer, for their mutual edifica-

* Burnet's Own Times, p. 27.

tion. Several of those who had been in Ireland and other countries for a considerable time, had become so confirmed in this custom, that even after the Glasgow Assembly, the abolition of Prelacy, and the restoration of the purer and simpler modes of Presbyterian worship, they still continued their practice of holding these private religious meetings. The most pious ministers saw nothing offensive or improper in such private meetings of Christian worshippers; but there were others who looked on them with less favourable regard. Some of the ministers had, while on the Continent, witnessed scenes of gross profanity among the Anabaptists, and other ignorant and enthusiastic sects, and dreaded that similar abuses would spring up in the prayer-meetings of their grave and sober countrymen. Others were still so deeply tainted with the Prelatic leaven, that they viewed these meetings as so many conclaves of conspiracy against their own ecclesiastical dignity and privileges. There were others, also, among the ministers, men of more comprehensive and far-seeing minds, who dreaded from such meetings the rise of a species of Independency in Scotland, which, they were aware, was beginning to raise its head very powerfully in England. Undoubtedly the wisest measure would have been, either to have taken no public notice of such meetings, or to have done so in terms of approbation; and for the ministers themselves to have attended them, joined in them, given to the humble and pious worshippers all the instruction in their power, and thus not only to have prevented schism and alienation, but to have re-directed all those streams of private devotion into the channels of the National Church.

It may be remarked, in passing, that the number of sects which spring up in any country, the erroneous nature of the tenets held by these sects, and the wild extravagance into which they rush, supply, when fairly and judiciously investigated, so many almost infallible tests of the real character of the Church of that country. For if that Church has done its duty in communicating religious instruction to the people, they will carry with them, even should they leave its pale, the sacred knowledge which they had acquired, and will retain such an amount of sacred principles, and present such

an aspect of regulated propriety, that no large-hearted Christian will feel himself at liberty to speak of them in terms of scorn; while, on the other hand, if they have been neglected and left in ignorance, they will infallibly display that ignorance in their insanely delusive or darkly fanatical notions, and in the glaring absurdity or profane impiety of their conduct. This test we may have occasion hereafter to apply with regard to the Churches both of England and of Scotland: at present it is enough to suggest it, partly as connected with the contentions in the Assembly at Aberdeen, and partly for a subject of reflection to the reader.

The person by whom this subject was brought before the Assembly was Henry Guthry, at that time one of the ministers of Stirling.* His character is well known by all who are acquainted with Scottish ecclesiastical history, by whom his eagerness to repress private religious worship will be sufficiently understood. To those who may not have access to other sources of knowledge, it will probably be enough to state, that his subsequent conduct caused him to be deposed from the ministry in 1648; that after the restoration of Charles II. he was made bishop of Dunkeld; and that he wrote memoirs of Scottish affairs in his own times, which abound in misrepresentations and calumnies. Such was the man who took it upon him to act the part of a discourager of private religious meetings for worship, and a maker of strife in Church courts. Owing to the various causes already specified, his attempts were but too successful; and after some days of bitter contention, the Assembly passed an act respecting family worship, limiting it to the members of each family, and prohibiting the expounding of the Scriptures, except by ministers or those in training for the ministry, of whose qualifications the presbytery had expressed approbation. This unseemly and ill-omened contention may be regarded as the first insertion of that wedge by which the Church of Scotland was afterwards rent asunder; and it deserves to be remarked that it was pointed and urged on by a Prelatist.

* Baillie, vol. i., pp. 249 255.

The army of the Covenanters had again mustered at their former station on Dunse Law; but after remaining there about three weeks, and feeling that their resources would soon be exhausted should they continue inactive, they deliberated seriously upon the propriety of advancing into England to meet their assailants. This was a more questionable measure than their former defensive position, and they felt all the responsibility in which it might involve them.* But they felt, also, that there were but two alternatives, the one or the other of which they must adopt—either to advance in a peaceful manner towards the royal army, or to disband their forces, and submit to the mercy of an enraged monarch, and his cruel instigators, the relentless prelates. Many reasons might be adduced why the Covenanters ought not to have entered England; but their best vindication will be found in the dire necessity which compelled them either to advance and secure their religious and civil liberties, or to remain and bow their degraded necks beneath the yoke of double despotism. They chose the nobler alternative; prepared and published manifestoes explaining the reasons of their expedition, and most solemnly disclaiming all hostile intentions against the English nation; then, humbly committing their cause to God, they crossed the Tweed, and marched towards Newcastle, as peacefully as if they had been passing through the heaths and valleys of their beloved native land.

We shall not further trace the movements of the Scottish army. Its success at the crossing of the Tyne—its march towards York—the reluctance of the English to support the king's despotic designs—the pacification of Ripon—the transfer of the place of treaty to London—and the first meeting of the Long Parliament—must all be left to the civil historian, as not legitimately within our province, further than that, in tracing the reflex influence which these events exercised on ecclesiastical matters, so much must be stated as to render the subject intelligible.

[1641.]—The residence in London of the Scottish commissioners for the treaty, from the latter end of the year 1640 till August 1641, when the treaty was finally concluded,

* Rushworth, vol. iii., p. 1223, *et seq.*

was productive of the most important consequences to both countries. Henderson, Baillie, Blair, and Gillespie, some of the most eminent of the Scottish ministers, were appointed to accompany the commissioners to London, and to remain with them in the capacity of chaplains.* The great abilities of these distinguished men attracted the attention of the English of all ranks in a very remarkable manner, and recommended the Presbyterian system of Church government much more effectually than arguments alone could have done. Nor was this strange. Henderson was a man of uncommon prudence and sagacity, profound judgment, decided eloquence, and the most attractive amenity of manners. Baillie, though greatly inferior to Henderson in mental powers, and somewhat fickle in disposition, arising from a facile temper and constitutional timidity, was one of the most learned men of his time. Blair was also a very learned man, had passed through many sharp trials, and, having been brought much into contact with the Independents, had thoroughly studied the questions in controversy with that religious body, on which account he was made one of the deputation. And Gillespie, though still a very young man, had already proved himself to be endowed with powers, and possessed of acquirements of the very highest order: his learning was both extensive and singularly minute; his intellect clear, acute, and powerful, qualifying him for eminence in debate; and his high and fervid eloquence was pervaded by that electric energy which is an essential attribute of true genius. The presence of such men in London for so many months, and the free intercourse which they enjoyed with all classes of society, gave an impulse to the heart of England which proved irresistible.

During this residence of the Scottish commissioners in the English capital, the views of all parties expanded; and an idea which had been previously but dimly entertained by many began to assume a definite form in the minds of the leading men. That idea was, the possibility which such a juncture seemed to present of establishing uniformity in the religious worship of the three kingdoms. In one respect

* Baillie, vol. i., p. 269.

this was no new idea. It had been entertained both by King James and the present sovereign; but they both sought to realize it by the strong compulsion of civil power, forgetting that men may be reasoned into the reception of opinions, but cannot be compelled; and proceeding upon the utterly false notion that the civil magistrate has a right to dictate in matters of religion. Viewing this great question in a very different light, and perceiving that the English nation was now well-nigh as weary of the despotic rule of Laud as they had been of their own Prelatic tyrants, the Scottish commissioners began to hope that England might be persuaded to change her Church government, and bring it into closer uniformity with that of Scotland's National Church. They did not entertain the presumptuous wish to dictate to England in so grave a matter; the whole amount of the influence which they ever dreamt of exercising was, to suggest the measure to the English mind; and, if it should be favourably received and undertaken, to aid their English brethren by those advices and that information which their own experience might enable them to give. That these were in reality the sentiments of the Scottish Covenanters, however much they have been misrepresented by party writers, the following extract from a paper entitled "Arguments given in by the Commissioners of Scotland unto the Lords of the Treaty, persuading Conformity of Church Government, as one Principal Means of a Continued Peace between the Two Nations," will, we trust, clearly prove:—

"As we account it no less than usurpation and presumption for one kingdom or Church, were it never so mighty and glorious, to give laws and rules of reformation to another free and independent Church and kingdom, were it never so mean, civil liberty and conscience being so tender and delicate that they cannot endure to be touched but by such as they are wedded unto, and who have lawful authority over them; so have we not been so forgetful of ourselves, who are the lesser, and of England, which is the greater kingdom, as to suffer any such arrogant and presumptuous thoughts to enter into our minds: our ways also are witnesses of the contrary, against the malicious, who do not express what we

are or have been, but do still devise what may be fuel for a common combustion. Yet charity is no presumption, and the common duty of charity bindeth all Christians at all times, both to pray and profess their desire, that all others were not only almost but altogether such as themselves, except their afflictions and distresses; and, besides common charity, we are bound as commissioners in a special duty to propound the best and readiest means for settling of a firm peace. As we love not to be curious in another commonwealth, nor to play the bishop in another diocese, so may we not be careless and negligent in that which concerneth both nations. We do all know and profess, that religion is not only the mean to serve God and to save our own souls, but that it is also the basis and foundation of kingdoms and states, and the strongest band to the subjects unto their prince in true loyalty, and to knit their hearts one to another in true unity. Nothing is so powerful to divide the hearts of people as division in religion; nothing so strong to unite them as unity in religion; and the greater zeal in different religions, the greater division; but the more zeal in one religion, the more firm union. In the paradise of nature the diversity of flowers and herbs is pleasant and useful; but in the paradise of the Church, different and contrary religions are unpleasant and hurtful. It is therefore to be wished, that there were one Confession of Faith, one form of Catechism, one Directory, for all the parts of the public worship of God, and prayer, preaching, administration of sacraments, &c., and one form of Church government in all the Churches of his majesty's dominions."*

Even before these views were communicated to the Lords of the Treaty by the Scottish commissioners, great numbers of petitions had been presented to Parliament from different parts of England, some praying for the total extirpation of Prelacy, and others for a reformation in the Liturgy, discipline, and government of the Church; but all agreeing in representing some decided change as necessary for the peace

* Extracted from a very interesting volume of public documents printed at the time.

of the kingdom. The Parliament indicated no unwillingness to have the question of Church government fully investigated, and no peculiar desire to maintain the Prelatic hierarchy; but gave no intimation of their own ultimate intentions on the subject, if, indeed, they had already framed any definite design, which they probably had not. So far the subject was in a proper train; for while a civil government may with perfect propriety either repeal the laws which have respect to the civil status of a National Church, or frame new enactments for the purpose of giving civil effect to ecclesiastical arrangements, it would be an unconstitutional overstepping of its own province to dictate to a Church in what manner to construct its government, to frame its creed, and to determine its discipline.

While the treaty was proceeding slowly at London, interrupted by the trial of Strafford, the General Assembly met at St Andrews, 20th July 1641; but as the Scottish Parliament was to meet at Edinburgh about the same time, the Assembly adjourned till the 27th July, on which day it was to resume its sittings at Edinburgh. Before that day several of the Scottish commissioners had returned; and Henderson was appointed moderator, on account of several difficult matters, which, it was felt, would require the guiding hand of such a man to conduct with safety. The contest of the preceding year respecting private meetings was renewed, Henry Guthrie being still bent on their entire suppression, to which others would not consent. By the wise and temperate management of Henderson, a peaceful settlement of this irritating topic was effected; the Aberdeen act was consigned to oblivion, and a new act passed, giving sanction to all that pious private Christians could wish, and guarding against the dangers of abuses in their religious meetings. A communication was received from several ministers in England, requesting the opinion of the Assembly respecting Church government, especially with reference to the system of the Independents, or, as it may be termed, the Congregational system. The Assembly, as might be expected, gave its approbation strongly in favour of the Presbyterian system. Following out the idea which had

been suggested by the commissioners in London, Henderson proposed to the Assembly the propriety of framing a full and systematic scheme of all things required in a regularly-constituted Church, namely, a Confession of Faith, a Catechism, and a Directory for all parts of the public worship of God. The Assembly not only admitted the desirableness of such a measure, but assigned the task of executing it to Henderson himself, permitting him to retire from his pastoral labours, that he might devote his whole time and strength to the discharge of so important a duty, and empowering him to call to his assistance such of his brethren as he knew to be most highly qualified.*

One constitutional element was introduced by this Assembly, which has been productive of much good to the Church, and also of some harm. This was the appointment of a Commission of Assembly, empowered to finish the business which the Assembly had not been able to accomplish during its regular sitting, to attend during the meeting of Parliament, to visit the universities, and, generally, to attend to the welfare of the Church. This Commission was at first to consist of forty ministers and sixteen elders; but subsequently it was so enlarged as to include all the members of Assembly, to have four regular meetings, with power to adjourn, and its quorum to amount to thirty-one, of whom twenty-one were to be ministers.

King Charles had been no inattentive spectator of the respect shown to the Scottish commissioners in London; and he was perfectly aware that his discontented subjects in England hoped for support from the Scottish army, should their disagreement with their sovereign proceed to an open rupture, as it threatened to do. He formed, therefore, the resolution to visit Scotland once more in person, and attempt either to disunite the Covenanters, or to prevent them from entering into a closer union with the English Parliament. He had, on a former occasion, gained over Montrose, and he probably anticipated equal success with a considerable number more of the ambitious Scottish nobility, if he were once among them. He had determined to act a part; but

* Baillie, vol. i., p. 365.

to such vigilant eyes as were around him it was too apparent that he was only acting. He was courteous to the Covenanters, almost to flattery. He lavished honours on those who had been in arms against him; but he remained sternly unforgiving to Balmerino, whose life he formerly sought. He was so eager to sign and ratify every act of Parliament and Assembly, that he could scarcely be prevailed on to give them first a cursory perusal. The Covenant was subscribed by the Parliament openly, and with his majesty's consent; and, during the whole time of his residence in Scotland, the king conformed to the Presbyterian mode of worship, expressing no longing for the Liturgy. There was in all this too much compliance to argue full sincerity; and the Covenanters had experienced too much of the unhappy king's dissimulation on former occasions, to be able at once to throw aside all suspicion. Even if they had, they must have been startled from credulous security, first by some slight indications of danger, and finally by one terrific and portentous event, enough to rouse and appal the most lethargic. The Earl of Montrose was at that time a prisoner in Edinburgh, accused of a treacherous correspondence with the king. An alarm, known in history by the name of the "Incident," startled the capital with terror, and caused the sudden flight of Hamilton and Argyle from the apprehended danger of assassination.* And their souls were horrified by the intelligence from Ireland, that the Papists had risen in a body, and massacred countless thousands of the unsuspecting and defenceless Protestant inhabitants.† While their hearts were throbbing at the recital of the atrocious barbarities perpetrated by Irish Papists, they could not forget, that on several previous attempts of insurrection by these deluded and blood-thirsty men, Charles had refused to proclaim their conduct rebellious; and yet that, when they in the most peaceful manner asserted their own religious freedom, they were instantly proclaimed rebels, and orders issued for their destruction by fire and sword. They cannot, therefore, be blamed—they ought rather to be praised—that while they accepted gladly their monarch's

* Burnet's *Memoirs*, p. 186.† *Ibid.*, p. 187; Baillie, vol. i., p. 296.

ratification of their religious liberties, they were not deluded by his "king-craft."

When the king returned to London, he was assailed by the unwise complaints of the prelates, that his concessions to the Scottish Church had rendered the overthrow of Episcopacy almost inevitable in England also. At the same time the English Parliament laid before him a statement of national grievances, which still more increased his dissatisfaction with their conduct and with his own. The jealousy between the king and the Parliament had now reached that extreme point which the slightest increase would convert into avowed hostility. By that fatality which attended the whole of the royal and Prelatic measures, the provocation was given by the very parties who should have been most anxious to avoid it. The bishops left the House of Lords, on the pretext that they could not attend it with personal safety; protesting, at the same time, that whatever legislative enactments should take place in their absence should be held null and void. This was instantly resented by the Commons as a treasonable attempt to paralyze the government of the country, and throw the kingdom into anarchy. The king's almost simultaneous attempt to seize forcibly the persons of some of the leading members of Parliament, completed the breach between him and them, and drove their quarrel to the dread arbitrament of war. In vain did the Scottish commissioners offer their mediation, and strive to procure an amicable adjustment of all disputed points. Their mediation was rejected indignantly by the king, who regarded them as in a great degree the prime movers of all these contests, by having set the example of successful resistance to his arbitrary will.

The Covenanters had now a very difficult part to act. Their loyalty to the king had never been shaken, even when in arms against his despotic attempts; and they were unwilling to contribute towards overwhelming him in that struggle which he had himself provoked. At the same time, the contest in which the English Parliament was engaged bore so close a resemblance to their own, that their sympathies naturally flowed towards men contending for civil

and religious liberty. An uneasy neutrality was all they could for a time determine to maintain, watching anxiously the progress of events, and feeling deeply interested in both of the contending powers.

[1642.]—When the Assembly met at St Andrews, on the 28th of July 1642, it began to be apparent that the political movements in England were about to involve Scotland also in the wild and maddening whirl of civil war. Both the king and the Parliament addressed letters to the Assembly, each blaming the other for the fierce collision which had taken place, and both endeavouring to obtain the support of the Covenanters. The more wary of the leading men were averse from taking any precipitate step; and the answers to these letters were written by Henderson in the most guarded terms. But there were others who were eager to encourage the English Parliament, regarding it but an act of gratitude to lend assistance to that body from whom they had obtained aid in their own hour of need. The General Assembly at this time, and for several subsequent years, manifested its sympathy for the distressed state of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, by sending ministers to that country to administer the ordinances of religion among the destitute congregations; and from this time forward a warm reciprocal attachment subsisted between the Presbyterians of Scotland and Ireland, and a deep interest in each other's welfare, which recent circumstances have greatly strengthened. Little else of public moment was transacted at this Assembly, with the exception of some discussion respecting patronage, which the Church wished to modify, so far, at least, that the patron might not present whomsoever he pleased, but select one out of a list of six to be furnished to him by the presbytery.

At a subsequent meeting of Commission, a communication was received from the English Parliament, intimating their intention to call an Assembly of Divines, to deliberate respecting the formation of such a Confession of Faith, Catechism, and Directory, as might lead to the desired uniformity between the Churches of the two kingdoms, and requesting commissioners from the Scottish Church to assist in their deliberations. Commissioners were nominated to be in

readiness, but their departure was delayed till the English Assembly should actually meet, which, however, did not take place till the following year.

Before the king left Scotland in 1641, he had empowered a semi-Parliament, or Convention of Estates, to meet from time to time in Edinburgh, for the conservation of the public peace; and this convention naturally assumed the whole conduct of public affairs. There had always been a considerable number of the nobility strongly opposed to the Covenanters and devoted to the king, and several more had been gained to that side during his majesty's late visit. The consequence was, that party spirit divided all their deliberations, and tended to drive them both to extremes. They ceased to consider whether they ought to remain in a state of neutrality during the war between the king and the Parliament or not, and were only anxious to determine which party they should assist. In the meantime, the king had been generally successful in his military operations, and the Parliament was reduced to a state of great danger. Had the Scottish army then joined the king, there can be little doubt that by their assistance he would speedily have reduced the insurgents to subjection. But the Covenanters knew well that he would be no sooner placed firmly on his seat of power than he would trample them beneath his feet, and overthrow all the work of religious reformation which they had been toiling to erect.

[1643.]—Such was the perilous state of public affairs, and such the views and feelings of the Covenanters, when various proofs of additional dangers came to light. A plot was discovered, in which the Royalists were to have raised an army in Scotland, to be headed by Hamilton and Montrose, and led to the assistance of the king. Another of a still more formidable nature was also detected, from which it appeared that the king had entered into a combination with the perpetrators of the recent fearful massacre in Ireland, for the purpose of inducing them to invade Scotland, effect a junction with the Royalists there, suppress the Covenanters, and then advance into England, and assist him against the Parliament.* These discoveries alarmed the Convention to

* Baillie, vol. ii., pp. 73, 74.

such a degree, that they resolved to abandon their neutral ground, and enter into a treaty with the English Parliament as soon as commissioners from it should arrive.

The General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 2d of August; and feeling that they were on the brink of another eventful crisis, they began by setting apart a day for solemn fasting and supplication for divine guidance through the perils of such dark and troublous times. Henderson was again chosen moderator. After a few days spent in routine business, the English commissioners arrived, consisting partly of civilians to transact business with the Scottish Convention, and partly of ministers to confer with the Assembly. The result of these conferences was, the framing of that well-known bond of union between the two countries, THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT—a document which we may be pardoned for terming the noblest, in its essential nature and principles, of all that are recorded among the international transactions of the world. It was written by Alexander Henderson, read by him to the Assembly on the 17th of August, received and approved of with emotions of the deepest solemnity and awe, with whispered prayers and thanksgivings and outgushing tears, then carried to the Convention of Estates, and by them unanimously ratified.* It was subsequently sent to London, where, on the 25th of September, it was accepted and subscribed by the English Parliament and the Westminster Assembly of Divines. The Solemn League and Covenant bound the united kingdoms to endeavour the preservation of the Reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, and the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best-reformed Churches—the extirpation of Popery and Prelacy—the defence of the king's person, authority, and honour—and the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdom in peace and unity.

Perhaps no great international transaction has ever been so much misrepresented and maligned as the Solemn League

* Records of the Church of Scotland, p. 253; Baillie, vol. ii., pp. 90, 95.

and Covenant. Even its defenders have often exposed it and its authors to severe censures by their unwise modes of defence. There can be no doubt in the mind of any intelligent and thoughtful man, that on it mainly rests, under Providence, the noble structure of the British constitution. But for it, so far as man may judge, these kingdoms would have been placed beneath the deadening bondage of absolute despotism; and in the fate of Britain, the liberty and civilization of the world would have sustained a fatal paralyzing shock. This consideration alone might bid the statesman pause before he ventures to condemn the Solemn League and Covenant. But to the Christian we may suggest still loftier thoughts. The great principles of that sacred bond are those of the Bible itself. It may be that Britain was not then, and is not yet, in a fit state to receive them, and to make them her principles and rules of national government and law; but they are not on that account untrue, nor even impracticable; and the glorious predictions of inspired Scripture foretell a time when they will be more than realized, and when all the kingdoms of this earth shall become the kingdoms of Jehovah and of his Anointed, and all shall be united in one solemn league and covenant under the King of kings and Lord of lords. And though that time may be yet far distant, who may presume to say that the seemingly premature and ineffectual attempt to realize it by the heavenly-minded patriarchs of Scotland's Second Reformation, was not the first faint struggling day-beam piercing the world's thick darkness, and revealing to the eye of faith an earnest of the rising of the Sun of Righteousness? True, the clouds soon darkened down and hid that herald day-beam; but not less certainly does the day approach, although its dawning hour be shaded in the deepest gloom. A sacred principle was then infused into the heart of nations, which cannot perish; a light then shone into the world's darkness, which cannot be extinguished; and generations not remote may see that principle quickening and evolving in all its irresistible might, and that light bursting forth in its all-brightening glory.

But we must not further pursue this line of thought, however attractive. Another and a less delightful course of

reflection demands our notice. It has often been said, that the Covenanters were circumvented by the English Parliament, and were drawn into a league with men who meant only to employ them for their own purposes, and then either cast them off, or subdue them beneath a sterner sway than that of Charles. Were it even so, it might prove the treachery of the English, but would expose the Covenanters to no heavier accusation than that of unsuspecting simplicity of mind. They ought to have first ascertained, men say, what form of Church government England intended to adopt, before they had consented to the League. And yet the same accusers fiercely condemn the Scottish Covenanters for attempting to force their own Presbyterian forms upon the people of England. The former accusation manifestly destroys the latter. That the Covenanters did not attempt to force Presbytery upon England, is proved by the fact, that they entered into the League without any such specific stipulation; and they sought no such stipulation, because it was contrary to their principles either to submit to force in matters of religion, or to attempt using force against other free Christian men. It argues, therefore, ignorance both of their principles and of their conduct, to bring against them an accusation so groundless and so base. They consented to lend their aid to England in her day of peril, in which peril they were themselves involved; but they left to England's assembled divines the grave and responsible task of reforming their own Church; lending merely, as they were requested, the assistance of some of their own most learned, pious, and experienced ministers, to promote the great and holy enterprise. For that they have been, and they will be, blamed by wittings, seiolists, and infidel philosophers; but what England's best and greatest men sought with earnest desire, and received with respect and gratitude, Scotland need never be ashamed that her venerable covenanted fathers did not decline to grant.

Yet in one respect they did, in our opinion, err. They allowed their Solemn League to involve them too deeply in matters of a strictly civil character. This was, indeed, what England chiefly sought; but the very fact that in their pre-

liminary conferences the English commissioners argued for a civil league alone, ought to have made the Scottish doubly wary of the dangers into which they might be drawn. Their best apology, however, consists in the fact, that they were compelled by stern necessity to save the civil liberties of England, or to incur the imminent hazard of losing speedily their own religious freedom. They had gained, by a long and arduous, but bloodless struggle, all for which they strove; and they might naturally cherish the hope that the same result would crown the efforts of their English brethren. Thus were they, by necessity and hope, drawn into a new and more desperate contest, destined to have a very different termination, which their utmost efforts were not able to avert. Being once engaged in this new conflict, they were inevitably borne along in the mighty movements of the more powerful nation, and made to share, with equal unwillingness, in its crimes and its self-inflicted punishment. And let it be carefully observed, that the difference between the conduct of the English Parliament in the great civil war, and of the Covenanters in their time of struggle, consisted in, and was caused by this—that in England it was essentially a contest in defence, or for the assertion of civil liberty—in Scotland, for religious purity and freedom. In England, therefore, it was guided by a secular principle, and permitted the free development of all the stormy passions that rage within the heart of striving and revengeful human nature; in Scotland, it was governed, chastened, and even hallowed, by the controlling presence of a sacred principle, by which man's wrath was checked, subdued, or turned aside, till truth prevailed, and victory was crowned with peace. England's fierce wars for civil liberty laid her and her unfortunate assistant prostrate beneath the feet of an iron-hearted usurper and despot. Scotland's calm and bloodless defence of religious purity and freedom secured to her those all-inestimable blessings, broke the chains of her powerful neighbour, revealed to mankind a principle of universal truth and might, and poured into her own crushed heart a stream of life, sacred, immortal, and divine.

As the very object for which the Solemn League and

Covenant was framed was to secure the utmost practicable degree of uniformity in the religious worship of both countries, and as the English divines had already met at Westminster to take the whole subject into their most deliberate consideration, and had requested the assistance of commissioners from the Church of Scotland, the General Assembly named some of the most eminent of their ministers and elders as commissioners to the Westminster Assembly. These were, Alexander Henderson, Robert Douglas, Robert Baillie, George Gillespie, and Samuel Rutherford, ministers; and the Earl of Cassilis,- Lord Maitland (afterwards Lauderdale), and Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, elders. Neither the Earl of Cassilis nor Robert Douglas attended the Westminster Assembly during its protracted labours; but so efficient were the other commissioners that their absence produced no injury to the cause of Presbytery. We have already briefly characterized Henderson, Baillie, and Gillespie; and few need to be informed respecting the character of Rutherford, his well known "Letters" being in almost universal circulation, and held in the highest esteem by all who are able to appreciate their merits. But even these "Letters" convey an inadequate view of that extraordinary man. His writings on the great controversial subjects of the period show him to have been not only very learned, but also and especially to have been one of the deepest thinkers of that or any age. Many have asserted that his work called "Lex Rex" is of anti-monarchical, and even democratic character; and on the strength of such an accusation it was condemned and burnt by the sycophantic minions of Charles II. That it is opposed to despotism is very certain; but it is as certain that it contains no principles contrary to those embodied in the British constitution. Such principles, indeed, had not been then recognised and assented to by either kings or Parliaments; but if their statement by Rutherford was premature, let it always be remembered that some person must sow the seed of which others may reap the fruit; and it ill becomes those who are practically enjoying what he theoretically maintained, to repeat even yet the slanderous accusations uttered

by the enemies of liberty against a work which they have not done themselves the justice to peruse.

It would lead us into what might seem a digression beyond our province, and certainly beyond our limits, to attempt any adequate account of the Westminster Assembly. As, however, it is intimately connected with the history of the Church of Scotland, we must very briefly give an outline of its character and proceedings. Before the arrival of the Scottish commissioners, both the English Parliament and the Westminster Assembly had determined on the abolition of Prelacy in the Church of England. It was also fully resolved, that a great reformation should take place in all religious matters; but what form of Church government, and what rules of discipline should be adopted, were subjects on which the greatest differences of opinion prevailed. There were three great parties in the Westminster Assembly: *First*, The Erastians, who held that it belonged only to the civil magistrate to inflict Church censures, as well as civil punishments; and, generally, that the civil magistrate is the proper head, the source and ruler of all power, ecclesiastical as well as civil. That party was active and vehement, but not numerous, consisting chiefly of lawyers, and only one or two ministers. *Secondly*, The Independents, who held that every individual congregation of Christians has an entire and complete power of jurisdiction over its members in all religious matters, to be exercised by its elders within itself, and by its own sole authority. These amounted to ten or twelve, and were men of considerable ability, and exceedingly pertinacious in maintaining their opinions. *Thirdly*, The Presbyterians, who formed the majority of the Assembly, and generally coincided with the opinions of the Scottish Commissioners. But as this latter party, though most numerous, was but indifferently acquainted with the Presbyterian polity, having little knowledge of any other than the Prelatic form of Church government, under which the majority of them had been trained, the task of explaining and vindicating Presbytery devolved chiefly upon the Scottish divines, who were admirably qualified for the important duty.*

* Baillie, *passim*.

The first struggle in the Westminster Assembly was with the Erastians, and took place at the very commencement of their labours. In preparing for their great task, they had stated that, "in inquiring after the officers belonging to the Church of the New Testament, we find that Christ, who is Priest, Prophet, King, and Head of the Church, hath fulness of power, and containeth all other offices, by way of eminency, in himself. He being ascended far above all heavens, and filling all things, hath given all officers necessary for the edification of his Church."* From this preface necessarily followed the proposition, that the government of the Church was distinct from that of the civil magistrate—neither derived from it, nor subordinate to it. This the Erastians opposed; but though they were easily defeated in the Assembly, they triumphed in the Parliament, which, after many evasions, finally refused to sanction that important proposition. The struggle with the Independents was of much longer duration. Many weeks were often expended in debating a single topic; for that party within the Assembly were in a state of intimate connection with the political Independents in the army, who dreaded nothing so much as the conclusion of the Assembly's labours, their possible ratification by the Parliament, and the consequent termination of hostilities before their own schemes were ready for execution. We cannot prosecute the task of tracing the intrigues of the Independents, in the Assembly, in Parliament, and in the army; but we may briefly state the result. They contrived to embarrass, retard, and over-reach the Assembly, till they were able to subvert all its labours, so far as England was concerned; they kept the Parliament in a state of confusion and indecision with their intrigues, till they had the power to suppress it altogether; and they contrived so to balance the king's obstinacy against both Assembly and Parliament, as to paralyze both him and them, till, having obtained the opportunity which they sought, they put the unhappy monarch to death, and placed the sceptre in the iron grasp of military despotism.

There is one point in which an almost universal misun-

* Lightfoot, Pitman's edit., vol. xiii., p. 23.

derstanding, to give it the most gentle designation, prevails. The Presbyterians are perpetually accused, not only of wishing to force their peculiar ecclesiastical polity upon England, but also of such extreme *intolerance*, that they would not permit that liberty of conscience to others which they so strenuously demanded for themselves. Into a full discussion of this subject our limits will not permit us to enter; but truth and duty compel us to offer a few remarks. It will be remembered, that the Independents formed only a small minority in the Westminster Assembly; and consequently it was impossible that their form of Church government could obtain the sanction of that body. Finding their endeavours unsuccessful in the Assembly, they had recourse to political intrigues; and to give the most plausible aspect to their proceedings, they put forth a claim for general toleration of all forms and kinds of religious worship. Be it observed, that they became advocates of toleration only after they had failed in obtaining the ascendancy of their own opinions. And to what did this toleration amount? To the unrestrained license of every man, or knot of men, to utter sentiments in public, however blasphemous and revolting to reason and common sense; and to practise, in the name of worship, immoralities and indecencies of a nature too gross to be mentioned! That we do not characterize too strongly the tenets and conduct of the almost innumerable sects whom this plea of general toleration would have included, must be obvious to every person tolerably acquainted with the history of the period.* Against a *toleration* of this kind not only the Presbyterians, but also the most respectable and religious of the Independents themselves, strenuously protested. But the political party prevailed; the cry of toleration was a specious war-cry; and even to the present day is often raised by people in whose mouths it means mere licentiousness.

Allusion has already been made to a principle which accounts for the number of strange fanatical sects which appeared in England at this period. The Prelatic Church

* For a sufficient account of this subject, let the reader consult Edwards' *Gargena*.

of England had allowed the body of the community to remain in deep ignorance; and when that Church was overthrown so suddenly, and nothing ready to supply its place, the people were left to follow all the wild and enthusiastic fancies which such a time of intense excitement was certain to produce in strong but uncultivated minds. In Scotland, on the other hand, the overthrow of Prelacy had no other effect than that of permitting the Presbyterian Church to put forth its native powers among a people by whom its principles were understood and cherished, and its discipline beloved and revered. And notwithstanding all the calumnies which have been heaped upon our Presbyterian ancestors, it may be safely and most truly averred, that intolerance, in the right sense of the word, never was the characteristic of the Presbyterian Church. Expressions of a severe aspect against that toleration which included all kinds of blasphemous and immoral licentiousness, may be found in the writings of our fathers, and may be warped and misinterpreted by party writers; and we may even admit that they were not at all times sufficiently guarded in their language; but if anything like a fair allowance be made for the spirit of the times, and the peculiar circumstances amidst which they acted and wrote, they will stand completely vindicated from the charge of intolerance and spiritual despotism.

[1644.]—But we must leave the Westminster Assembly, and return to what more peculiarly concerns the Church of Scotland. The subscribing of the Solemn League and Covenant bound the two kingdoms of England and Scotland by a mutual defensive bond, in all that regarded religion, which both thus vowed to maintain. In consequence of this mutual league, the Scottish army again entered England, for the purpose of co-operating with that of the Parliament. This took place on the 19th of January 1644, under the command of General Leslie, now Earl of Leven, Lieutenant-General Baillie, and Major-General David Leslie. A great change speedily took place in the state of affairs in England, the king being unable to make head against the combined armies. The course of the military operations which took place we do not intend to trace. It may, however, be stated

that the English Parliament was warm or cold in its professions of regard to the Solemn League and Covenant, and to the uniformity of religion in the two kingdoms, exactly in proportion to its need of Scotland's military aid;*—proving completely what has been suggested, that the contest in England was chiefly waged for the sake of civil liberty, but in Scotland for the purity and freedom of religion.

Nothing of peculiar importance was transacted in the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh on the 31st of May 1644. Its time was occupied chiefly with letters from the Scottish commissioners at Westminster, and from the English divines, and with returning answers to these letters. A new presbytery was erected at Biggar; the declaration of the Scottish Royalist nobles at Oxford was censured; and some additional salutary acts were passed for the encouragement of learning, similar to those of former Assemblies.

[1645.]—The Assembly met on the 22d of January 1645, earlier than had been intended, on account of urgent business which demanded its attention. Baillie, Gillespie, and Warriston had come to give an account of the progress made by the Westminster Assembly; and Montrose was spreading terror and devastation through the kingdom, which was comparatively defenceless in consequence of its most experienced generals and best troops being in England. The report of the commissioners was received with great approbation, and the Directory for Public Worship which they brought with them obtained the sanction of the Assembly. A very important act was passed for the advancement of learning, the principles and regulations of which reflect great credit on the enlightened men by whom it was framed. Another very remarkable act was that entitled “A Solemn and Seasonable Warning,” &c., in which a clear and strong view is taken of the causes of the national disasters by which they were at that time agitated and alarmed. A remonstrance was also written, addressed to the king, in which the Assembly expressed the most earnest desire for peace on religious terms; and letters were sent to the Westminster Assembly.

All historians admit that the meteor-like career of Mon-

* Baillie, *passim*.

trose was one of the causes of his sovereign's ruin. It gave the unfortunate king so much confidence in what he esteemed a propitious change in the aspect of his affairs, that he broke off negotiations with his antagonists; and it furnished another proof of the deceitful character of his whole dealings, endeavouring to keep them in terms of treaty till he might be able to overpower them. The career of Montrose, if what his admirers call brilliant, was but brief. He was surprised and defeated by David Leslie, at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, on the 13th of September; and with his defeat vanished the last hopes of Charles to re-establish his power by force of arms. With regard to the military achievements of Montrose, the barbarities which he perpetrated, and the retaliations alleged to have been committed by the army of the Covenanters, we do not think it necessary to occupy space further than to state, that while we have no sympathy with those who luxuriate over tales of wholesale butchery on the battle-field, and cities sacked amid all the nameless atrocities of civil war, we have as little with those who either wail piteously over the death of the chief murderer, or exult in that melancholy fate which generally overtakes the bloody and deceitful man.

[1646.]—The defeat of his own army, and of that of Montrose also, reduced the unhappy king to a state of desperation; and after a few miserable months of irresolution, he at last fled in disguise to the Scottish army, early in May 1646. Rumours had previously been spread that he might possibly take that very step, and the Covenanters were particularly anxious that he should not, foreseeing clearly the dangerous position into which it would throw them.* Soon after the king's arrival in the Scottish army, they marched northwards to Newcastle, where they remained during the tedious negotiations which followed. The Scottish nobility, army, and nation in general, would most willingly have encountered every danger in his defence, if he could have been prevailed upon to ratify the Covenant. But the infatuated monarch remained obstinate; and as they regarded the sanctity of an oath as more binding

* Baillie, vol. ii., p. 341.

than the mere feelings of natural loyalty and affection to the person of their sovereign, they felt themselves constrained to leave him to his fate. Yet they perceived both his danger and their own; and in order to save him, if possible, Alexander Henderson left London and hastened to Newcastle, for the purpose of endeavouring to persuade the obstinate king to abandon his inveterate prejudices, subscribe the Covenant, and rally round him the brave hearts and strong arms of his faithful and unconquered Scottish subjects. Charles would not be persuaded. He was possessed by the idea that neither of the contending parties could do without him, and consequently that, even though he had been beaten in the field, they must yield to him when they found that he would not yield to them.

The English Parliament sent propositions to his majesty, by acceding to which he might obtain peace, and the restoration to a large measure of regal power; but he would not accede to their propositions, any more than to the Scottish Covenant. Henderson, worn out with his many and arduous toils, and overwhelmed with affliction on account of the miseries which the infatuated king was so manifestly bringing upon himself and the kingdom, relinquished his hopeless task, returned to Edinburgh in a state of great weakness, and on the 19th of August yielded up his spirit to Him who gave it. Thus passed away from earth one of those gifted men whom the Ruler of all events sends forth in times of great emergency, to mould the minds of his fellow-men, and aid in working out the will of the Most High. He was one of the most distinguished of an age fertile in great men; and with all due veneration for the names of Knox and Melville, we do them no discredit when we place that of Henderson by their side—the “first three” of the Church of Scotland’s worthies.

The General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 3d of June 1646. Its acts were neither numerous nor important, having reference chiefly to the troubled state of the kingdom, and to such acts of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, as might tend to avert the judgments of God from a guilty and suffering land. A short but respectful letter was sent

to the king, expressing the earnest wish that God would incline his majesty's heart to the speedy following of the counsels of truth and peace.

For a short time there was calmness and silence in the kingdom—not the silence of peace, but that of breathless expectation. All men perceived that upon the determination of the king would depend the cessation of the struggle, or its fresh outburst into tenfold violence. The revolutionary party in England dreaded that his majesty might yield, and gradually recover his power, limited undoubtedly, but rendered thereby the more secure. The Presbyterians hoped and prayed that he might submit so far as that with a safe conscience they might indulge their loyal feelings. The Prelatists alone identified his cause and their own, seeing no prospect of restoration to wealth and power unless he should regain unlimited ascendancy. And the king knew well that no other party but the Prelatic would submit to that arbitrary prerogative which he was determined to forego only with his life. In vain did the Scottish noblemen and ministers implore him with tears to subscribe the Covenant. He peremptorily refused; and as they could not defend him without incurring the fearful guilt of perjury, they were compelled to leave him to perish in his blind wilfulness.

Into the controversy respecting the question whether the Scottish army was induced to yield Charles to the English Parliament by the payment of the arrears due to them, we do not enter, further than to say, that there is not, in our opinion, the slightest ground in genuine historical documents to prove that there was any connection whatever between the receiving of the arrears and the yielding up of the king; while there is ample evidence that Charles, having lost all hope of beguiling the Scots into an act at once of perfidy and perjury, was himself desirous of attempting to negotiate separately with his English subjects, believing them to be more tractable. If there was infamy in the transaction, that infamy ought to rest solely and exclusively upon the English Parliament and army, who strained every nerve, and employed every artifice to compel or delude

their Scottish brethren into compliance with their pernicious schemes, and rested not till they had added to the guilt of a broken Covenant the murder of a dethroned king.

[1647.]—The General Assembly which met at Edinburgh on the 4th of August 1647, is chiefly memorable for its ratification of the Confession of Faith of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and for the adoption of that translation and metrical version of the Psalms which is still used in the Church of Scotland. This, therefore, may be regarded as the Assembly by which was completed the Second Reformation of the Scottish Church, and the full arrangement of its Confession, form of Worship and Discipline, as they exist at the present day, and as we trust they will ever exist, till the second coming of Him who is the only Head and King of the Church. Several important acts were passed by this Assembly; in particular, some very excellent directions for private worship, and an elaborate “Brotherly Exhortation” to their brethren of England. It may be added, that the treatise known as the One Hundred and Eleven Propositions against Erastianism, which may be regarded as the essence of Gillespie’s able work, entitled “Aaron’s Rod Blossoming,”* received the approbation of this Assembly, and eight of them were engrossed in the act by which it was approved.

In the meantime, the unanimity which had given strength to Scotland in the earlier stages of this great contest began to be rent asunder by political intrigues. Although the Covenanters had been compelled to abandon the king on account of his impregnable obstinacy, they still cherished sentiments of devoted loyalty to him as their sovereign, and a sincere attachment to monarchy, as, when duly limited, the best form of civil government. They deplored the king’s wilfulness; they mourned the ruin which it was bringing on the whole country; they remonstrated with the English

* In that peculiarly acute and profound work will be found the very essence of the Westminster Assembly’s most important discussions on the subject of Church government, with the arguments employed against both the Erastians and the Independents, and answers to the most elaborate productions of their chief writers.

Parliament; and did everything to procure the safety of the king and the peace of the kingdom which it was in their power to do, short of violating their national Covenant. But the intrigues of the Hamiltonian party began to prevail in the Scottish Parliament. Lauderdale joined them, regardless of his Covenant vow; and even Loudon was for a time carried away in the tide of defection. The Duke of Hamilton was still the ostensible head of the Royalist party in Scotland; but his brother, the Earl of Lanark, surpassed him both in zeal and activity, and was the prime mover in all the intrigues of the party. At length, in a private interview with King Charles at Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight, on the 27th of December, a secret treaty was concluded, in which Lanark and Lauderdale, in the name of their party, engaged to raise an army in Scotland for the purpose of assisting his majesty in his attempts to regain possession of the English throne—his majesty engaging, on his part, to confirm Presbyterian Church government for three years, till an assembly of divines, aided by twenty commissioners of his nomination, should frame such a form of Church government and discipline as they should find to be most agreeable to the Word of God. He engaged, also, that all schism and heresy should be effectually suppressed. This private treaty, known by the name of the Engagement, caused the overthrow of the Church and kingdom of Scotland.*

[1648.]—Early in 1648 the rumour of the Engagement began to transpire in Scotland; and when the Parliament met in March, and the terms of this private treaty were divulged, a vehement disuniting struggle began. The faithful Covenanters perceived at once that the Engagement involved the violation of their most solemn vows. The Commission of the Church immediately met, and deliberated what steps ought to be taken in this new crisis. They did not deliberate long. They felt the deep power of the Covenant upon their souls too mighty for any earthly consideration to shake; and, accordingly, they framed a declaration, pointing out the sinfulness of an engagement which involved direct perjury,

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 334.

and must draw down the divine displeasure on both Church and State. But the purely political or Royalist party had obtained the ascendancy in the Parliament; and the earnest remonstrances of the sincere Covenanters were disregarded. The arguments of the ministers confirmed those of the nobility who regarded religion as of more importance than any earthly consideration, and brought back some whom political and personal motives had led astray, among whom was the Earl of Loudon; but the majority held on their course, and determined to fulfil the Engagement to the utmost of their power.

The Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 12th of July, and made choice of George Gillespie to be moderator. They not only approved of the declaration and other similar writings of the Commission, but passed an act condemnatory of that act and declaration of the Parliament which enjoined all subjects to subscribe a bond, equivalent to an oath, in support of the Engagement. They further published a declaration and exhortation to all members of the Church of Scotland, pointing out the unlawfulness of the Engagement, and warning against the dangers in which it would certainly involve the Church and nation. An able answer was also written to the Committee of Estates, proving, by scriptural arguments, that the Engagement was inconsistent with the safety and security of religion. And, as the Hamiltonian faction was well aware of the power which the Church had recently put forth, when it raised the kingdom like one man for the defence of religious liberty, they employed every artifice to bring as many ministers as possible to their side, by that means either to procure support or to neutralize opposition. To meet this dangerous divisive policy, the Assembly passed an act, censuring those ministers who either favoured the Engagement openly or abstained from pointing out its sinfulness, and warning their people against entering into its bond. A respectful but firm supplication was also written to his majesty, showing the insufficiency of the concessions promised by him in the Engagement, and its positive sinfulness, as tending to involve the kingdom in perjury; and imploring him to comply with the Covenant, and thereby to enable

them, with a safe conscience, to give him that support which their sincere loyalty and affection prompted them to bestow, so far as their duty to God would permit.*

From this time forward Scotland presented a melancholy contrast to the ten preceding years, in which strict adherence to the Covenant had given it union and strength irresistible. It was now divided into three contending parties. First, the sincere Covenanters, led in the Parliament by Argyle and Loudon, and in the Church by Rutherford, Gillespie, and Guthrie; second, the framers of the Engagement, led by Hamilton, Lanark, and Lauderdale, who wished to take an intermediate position, and who were joined by a considerable number of the ministers, of whom Baillie was the most respectable. The third party was headed by Traquair and Callender, and was composed chiefly of those who were determined Royalists of the Cavalier caste, and paid little respect to either oaths or treaties, provided they could get their purpose accomplished. The two latter parties were easily induced to coalesce, and their junction gave them a decided preponderance in the political councils of the nation. That the genuine Covenanters could not unite with such men, will excite neither wonder nor surprise in the minds of those who are able to appreciate their principles; and that the chiefs of the Engagement should attempt to overwhelm them with invectives, and try to represent them as seditious and fanatical, is only what was to be expected; but that men can yet be found to repeat such slanderous calumnies, might appear incredible, were it not matter of daily occurrence.

. They were, and are, accused of an unwarranted and intolerable interference with civil matters, with which the Churchmen of them at least had nothing to do. But was not the whole struggle of that memorable period expressly on account of religion? Had it not been from the first a religious contest on both sides? And was not their bond of union strictly a religious covenant? Nay, the Hamiltonian party sought to inveigle the ministers into approbation of the Engagement, finding no fault with their intermeddling

* Records of the Church of Scotland, pp. 497-508, 516.

with such matters, provided they would support that measure; and when the ministers could neither be deceived nor overawed, but continued stedfastly to adhere to their solemn vows, warning others of the guilt and danger of perjury, then only were they accused of overstepping their province, and interfering with what was beyond their jurisdiction. Politicians have in all ages and countries shown themselves willing enough to employ and praise the ministers of religion, provided they would act as sycophants and tools; but when they act as the vigilant watchmen of sacred rights, warning the nation of coming danger, then are they exposed to the most virulent and vituperative censure—then are they charged with arrogant presumption in offering their opinions on those public measures which essentially affect the interests of religion—then are they branded as men who wish to subvert the order of society, and bring the State into subserviency to the Church. So was it in the days of our ancestors—so is it now—and so will it ever be, as long as there is need for the Christian precept, “Be not conformed to the world.”

One of the direct results of this division between the Covenanters and the mere politicians was the necessity of appointing new commanders to the hastily-levied and ill-equipped army of the Engagers; for neither the Earl of Leven nor David Leslie would abandon the Covenant. The Duke of Hamilton, therefore, was made general—led his army into England—was defeated by Cromwell—and died on the scaffold—the unhappy victim of ill-judging devotion to his sovereign’s person rather than his cause.* Even before the army of the Engagers had left Scotland, there were symptoms of insurrection among the people, who, refusing to join the Engagement, were severely harassed by those employed to levy troops. A small band of insurgents assembled at Mauchline, but were easily suppressed by Middleton. As soon as the tidings of Hamilton’s defeat reached Scotland, the opponents of the Engagement assembled, assumed arms, and, led by the Marquis of Argyle and the Earls of Cassilis, Eglington, and Loudon, advanced towards Edinburgh, in such

* Burnet’s *Memoirs*, p. 400; *ibid.*, 367, 375.

strength as the remaining Engagers could not hope successfully to resist. By this, termed the Whigamore's Raid, a complete change of administration was effected, and the Covenanters acquired the ascendancy in the Scottish Parliament. The new administration easily convinced Cromwell that they were in no respect accessory to the Engagement which had caused the invasion of England by the Scottish army; and thus hostilities between them and that remarkable man were for the time averted.

[1649.]—The Scottish Parliament met on the 4th of January 1649, and proceeded to take steps for the peace and security of the kingdom. One of these was of a very stringent nature, and has been much censured. It was obvious to all that the late Engagement could not have been framed if all men in power had been Covenanters, and had remained true to their vows. While, therefore, the new Parliament repealed all the acts that had been made for its enforcement, and ratified the protestation against it, this was naturally followed by the idea, that unless men of such principles were excluded from places of public trust and influence, the very same evil might at no distant date return. An act was accordingly passed, called the Act of Classes, on account of its dividing into four separate classes, according to their respective degrees of delinquency, the characters of persons not to be intrusted with power. Men will term this act one of bigotry and intolerance: it evidently aimed at the construction of what the world has never yet seen—a Christian government, composed of men whose ruling principle should be to “fear God and honour the king.”

While this Parliament was sitting, they received intelligence that the English Parliament, now moulded according to the mind of the army, was about to proceed with the trial of King Charles. The most strenuous exertions were made by the truly loyal Covenanters to prevent the fearful event in which a trial by such men would too surely issue. But all their endeavours were in vain; and the English Parliament having first broken the Solemn League and Covenant, consummated their guilt by the decapitation of their king. It is impossible not to deplore the fate of that

unfortunate, ill-advised, and obstinate monarch; but it is as impossible to deny that his insincerity and double-dealing caused his overthrow and death. For when, by the discovery of his private correspondence, it was clearly proved, that in the very act of framing treaties he was devising schemes for setting them aside, it became plain to his antagonists that they must ultimately become the victims of a monarch whom no treaties could bind, unless they secured their own lives by the death of their implacable foe.

The leaders of the English Parliament and army were, besides, men of republican principles, and desired the abolition of the monarchy itself. Not so the Scottish Covenanters. They, even by the terms of their Covenant, were the vowed supporters of a monarchy based upon, and pervaded throughout by, Scripture principles. No sooner, therefore, did they receive the melancholy intelligence of their sovereign's death, than they hastened to proclaim his son king, by the designation of Charles II.; not omitting, however, in their proclamation, the significant intimation that their support of his pretensions to the throne would involve the necessity of his subscribing the Covenant. This proclamation was made on the 5th of February. At the same time the Confession of Faith was formally ratified by Parliament.

On the 9th of March 1649, the Scottish Parliament passed an act abolishing patronage in the Church of Scotland, "as being unlawful and unwarrantable by the Word of God, and contrary to the doctrines and liberties of this Church;" recommending to the General Assembly to determine upon a settled rule for the appointment of ministers for all time coming.* It will be observed, that in this instance the Parliament acted according to the dictates of sound reason and constitutional principle. So far as patronage was considered as a civil right, it was for the civil power to restrict or abolish it; but as the appointment of ministers was clearly an ecclesiastical matter, it was not for Parliament to interfere with it, but merely to call on the Assembly to state its own method, and then give to that such civil ratification as should carry with it the civil consequences which

* Acts of Parliament, see Appendix.

it involved. And it was a Parliament composed almost wholly of Covenanters, by which this truly liberal and enlightened act was passed.

The General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 7th of July 1649. This Assembly emitted several able declarations respecting the religious affairs of the kingdom, the prevailing errors and abuses, and the best methods of promoting and maintaining peace, righteousness, and purity, which are the essential elements of national welfare. A letter was also addressed to the young king, who was still on the Continent, warning him earnestly against listening to the evil counsel of those who had already plunged the kingdom into the horrors of war, and beseeching him to sanction those great National Covenants which would open the door for him to enter upon his royal government with the favour of God and the cordial love of his faithful and loyal subjects. Another act was passed regarding the reception, on proof of repentance, of those who had been suspended from Church privileges on account of their connection with the Engagement, and generally of all those who, from Prelatic and despotic predilections, had opposed the Covenant, and were known by the designation of "Malignants;" by which was meant, persons ill-affected towards the progress of religious reformation. Then taking up the subject of the appointment of ministers, according to the request of the Parliament, the Assembly passed an act, entitled "Directory for the Election of Ministers." The chief points of that Directory are, that the session, which at that time was elected by the congregation, should elect a minister, and intimate their election to the congregation for their approbation. If they consented, the presbytery were to proceed to the trial of his qualifications; if a majority dissented, the presbytery were to judge of the same, and, unless they found the dissent to be founded on causeless prejudices, another election was to take place; but if a minority dissented, without being able to verify their ground of objection, the trials and ordination should proceed, all possible diligence and tenderness being used to bring all parties to a harmonious agreement. In the case of a disaffected or malignant congregation, the presbytery

was to provide them with a minister.* It will be seen at a glance, that this well-known act was in perfect harmony with the constitutional principles of the Church of Scotland, as contained in the writings and declarations of the early fathers of the First Reformation, and in the First and Second Books of Discipline; and as by its means they were now finally brought into full development and free operation, it formed the concluding act of the completed Second Reformation.

The Church of Scotland may now be said to have reached mature organization, but it was at a period when the whole kingdom was so completely filled with elements of strife, threatening an immediate and tremendous convulsion, that it could not obtain one peaceful day in which to exhibit the free movements of its graceful and majestic form. Yet it was well, it was providential, that it had obtained this full development before it was assailed by that terrific storm which smote it to the earth, and by which at an earlier stage of its existence it might have been utterly destroyed. All its vital powers were now called into native operation; all its arrangements were completed; and it might have been expected that it was about to enter on a glorious career of pure, faithful, and energetic zeal, in establishing the reign of religion in the hearts of the entire community. But the kingdom of Christ has ever been a suffering kingdom; and it may be, that when a Church has most nearly realized the character and aspect of the true Gospel Church, then is its hour at hand, not of triumph, but of sharpest and most fiery trial. It may be further remarked, that by this time several of the great men who had been chiefly instrumental in effecting the Second Reformation, had been called to their final rest. After the death of Henderson, Gillespie was the man of greatest influence; but he too died, in December 1648. Baillie was not only timid and wavering, but naturally inclined to follow the guidance of men of worldly rank and power, and to sacrifice principle at the call of what he deemed expediency. Rutherford did not possess that cast of mind requisite for the management of great affairs in times of difficulty.

* Acts of Assembly, see Appendix.

Robert Douglas appears to have been the fittest man to have led the councils of the Church; but he was deficient in penetration, confided too easily in other men, and did not sufficiently follow the dictates of his usual sound judgment. James Guthrie and Patrick Gillespie were both men of great abilities and decided piety; but both were somewhat too impetuous in temper, and liable to speak and act with judicious rashness, more likely to lead the Church into additional dangers than to extricate her from those with which she was already surrounded. In these adverse circumstances the Church was left to encounter her long and trying trial, that both her endurance and her preservation might be manifestly the result, not of man's wisdom, but of the imperishable life infused into her by her Divine Head.

[1650.]—Commissioners had been sent to Holland in the preceding year, to treat with Charles II., but had returned without coming to any satisfactory conclusion. Early in the year 1650, the Parliament again sent commissioners to London, where the young king at that time was, once more to enter into negotiations with him on the foundation of the new covenant. The commissioners found Charles surrounded with dissolute and unprincipled men, likely enough to lead him into evil, had he not been inclined, or to strengthen those evil inclinations which were already but too apparent in his whole conduct and character. He was at that very time listening to the sanguinary counsels of Montrose, by whose means he hoped to gain Scotland, without any treaty, the terms of which might hamper his future proceedings. The intelligence of Montrose's defeat and capture reached him in time to induce him to comply with the requirements of the Scottish Parliament, though not till he had convinced the more faithful of them that there was nothing to be expected from him but duplicity and gross licentiousness. Livingston, who was one of the commissioners from the Church, gives us ample proof that Charles had broken the treaty, both in its spirit and its letter, even before he left London.* Indeed, the treaty might justly have been declared null by the Scottish Parliament. In the capture of Mon-

* Life of Livingston, pp. 31-36.

trose, a commission was found from the king, giving him authority to levy troops, and subdue the kingdom by force of arms; and so highly did the Parliament resent this treachery, that they sent to recall their commissioners; but the one into whose hands this document fell concealed it from the rest, and by showing it privately to the king, convinced him that he could no longer safely temporize. He accordingly hurried on board, and set sail for Scotland in company with the commissioners, bringing with him also a number of the very men whom the Act of Classes had declared incapable of public trust. Before he landed, Charles subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant; although Livingston, who doubted his sincerity, was anxious that it should be postponed till his majesty should reach Scotland, and give some satisfactory proofs of his sincerity. The young king landed on the 16th of June 1650, near the mouth of the River Spey, and advanced to Stirling, where he was met by the chief nobility of the kingdom.

But instead of producing peace and unanimity in Scotland, the arrival of Charles was a signal for the instantaneous outburst of strife and confusion. His loose, licentious habits, and depraved heart, were not likely to conciliate the affections and respect of the Covenanters; while he could not brook what he regarded as the unnecessary strictness of their opinions and manners. And although he complied with all the stipulations of the Parliament, and affected regard for the ministers, it was but too apparent to all men of penetration that he both hated and despised all the best men of the kingdom. In the meantime the Assembly met at Edinburgh in July; but its records have not been published. We learn, however, from other sources, that great dissatisfaction was expressed by the more zealous of the ministers with the whole behaviour of Charles, both in his deceitful conduct towards the commissioners at Breda, and since his arrival in Scotland. A commission was appointed to deal with those who had taken part with Montrose, and several ministers were deposed for that and similar offences. The proceedings of this Assembly were interrupted by the approach of Cromwell, who was ad-

vancing at the head of a veteran army, to expel the young king.

Charles now thought it necessary to give greater satisfaction to the Church, in order to procure a more cordial and universal support. But the mode of doing so led to a complete and deplorable failure. He was advised to make a new declaration, such as should satisfy the desires of the most scrupulous. This advice was given both by his secular friends and by the wary and semi-political party in the Church. In this declaration, subscribed by the king in August at Dunfermline, Charles avowed that he renounced Popery and Prelacy, and "would have no enemies but the enemies of the Covenant—no friends but the friends of the Covenant." Patrick Gillespie requested the king not to subscribe that declaration, no, not for the three kingdoms, if he were not satisfied in his soul and conscience, beyond all hesitation, of its righteousness." "Mr Gillespie, Mr Gillespie," answered the king, "I am satisfied, I am satisfied, and therefore will subscribe."* This ample declaration produced an effect directly the reverse to that anticipated by its worldly-wise advisers. Instead of completely satisfying the scrupulous, it confirmed their suspicions of the king's sincerity. This men of the world stigmatize as intolerant and narrow-minded distrust, but in worldly transactions they act upon the same principle. Is there anything which more certainly awakens suspicion of a man's sincerity than his strong and vehement professions of zealous friendship to a person or cause to which his whole previous conduct and his known sentiments have been decidedly hostile? So thought and felt the more scrupulous ministers; and, as reason perceives, and subsequent events testified, they thought and felt rightly.

The explanation of the whole matter may be briefly stated. There were then, as there always have been, two great parties of public men; the one composed of those who judge and act according to principle; the other, of those who are guided by expediency. The first, led by P. Gillespie, J. Guthrie, S. Rutherford, and Warriston, were anxious not to press the king to the subscription of the Covenant till they

* Cruickshank, p. 58; Hind let Loose, p. 98.

should have some evidence that he was in such a state of mind as might render it in him indeed a religious act, correspondent to the nature of the solemn obligation which it involved. Till that time they were perfectly willing that he should be their king; but should remain as much as possible aloof from all intercourse with profane and irreligious men. The other party thought it inexpedient to be so strict. They considered it enough if the king should subscribe the Covenant literally, however little his mind might be accordant with its spirit; not, apparently, perceiving that this would be an act of profane impiety, to which they could not hope the blessing of God to be given. Their worldly prudence suggested to them the absolute necessity of a complete national union, to resist the formidable invasion of the dreaded Cromwell; but they failed to perceive, that a union not of principle, but of compromise, can never be firm and permanent. They were willing to tamper with the sacredness of an oath, in order to frame a political bond; and by this unhallowed expedient they forfeited the protection of Him whose Covenant they thus profaned. They ought to have remembered that the Covenant of 1638, which had proved an ark of safety in a not less stormy sea of troubles, was sacredly guarded, as far as possible, from being subscribed by any of whose purity of character and devotion to the cause suspicions were entertained. The one party, in short, viewed all political and national transactions through the clear medium of religion, and therefore saw them in their true character and aspect: the other viewed religion itself through the turbid and warping medium of political expediency, and therefore saw neither religion nor politics in their true nature, bearing, value, and reciprocal influences. It may be that the strictly religious party were too rigidly severe; but unquestionably their error was immeasurably less than that of those who, following the suggestions of short-sighted human policy, urged upon the king an oath, which for him to take was perjury in the very act, and the inevitable consequences of which were an impious mockery of Heaven, and the putting of power into the hands of men by whom it was certain to be abused.

When Cromwell approached Edinburgh he was confronted by the Scottish army under the command of David Leslie; and so skilful were the movements of Leslie, that Cromwell found it impossible either to draw him to a battle, or to produce any impression on his lines. The English general was constrained to retire, and was placed in the utmost peril by the masterly position taken up by the Scottish army near Dunbar. But urged by the importunities of the Committee of Estates, Leslie descended from his commanding position; and before his army had recovered from the confusion of this ill-timed movement, it was assailed by Cromwell, thrown into disorder, and completely routed. This disastrous battle was fought on the 3d of September 1650.

The shattered Scottish army rallied at Stirling, while Cromwell advanced deliberately, securing his conquest as he moved. Soon after this disastrous conflict a measure was proposed in the Scottish Parliament, which had the effect of completely rending asunder the strength of the kingdom. This was the proposal to modify or rescind the Act of Classes, so as to admit to the army those who had been by that act declared incapable of public service, and by that means to repair the loss incurred by the battle of Dunbar. The difficulty was to procure the consent of the Church to this repeal; for since many of the Malignants, as they were termed, had been excommunicated, and since, by the law of the land, no excommunicated person could be employed in public service, it was necessary to have the excommunication taken off before the Parliament could grant them re-admission. But the Church was by no means satisfied that such men would form any real accession of strength, though they would swell the numerical forces of the kingdom. About the same time a considerable body of troops was raised in the western counties, composed chiefly of men whose opinions coincided with those of the strictly religious Covenanters. A long and pointed remonstrance, written by P. Gillespie, was addressed by them to the Committee of Estates, censuring their rashness in admitting the king to desecrate the Covenant by swearing contrary to his known intentions—"teaching his majesty dissimulation and outward compliance, rather

than any cordial conjunction with the cause and Covenants;" and charging this and similar violations of their vows as the cause of the nation's heavy calamities. This Western Remonstrance, as it was termed, gave great offence to the prudent politicians of both Church and State. A meeting of the Committee of Estates soon afterwards, at Stirling, was induced to censure this remonstrance; and in December, at Perth, an ensnaring question was put to a very thin meeting of the Commission of Assembly, respecting what persons should be permitted to rise in arms and join the forces of the kingdom against the invaders. In answer to this, the Commission passed two resolutions favourable to the admission of all fencible persons in a time of such great and evident necessity, with the exception of excommunicated and profane persons, and of such as were professed enemies and opponents of the Covenant. Instantly the Parliament, without regarding the exceptions, passed an act rescinding the Act of Classes, and throwing open all places of public trust and power to the Malignants, upon their making such professions of regret for past misconduct, as such persons made no scruple of doing, without entertaining the remotest intention of any change for the future.*

These resolutions were openly condemned by J. Guthrie and his colleague David Bennet, both from the pulpit and in a letter to the Commission, in which they protested against the recent resolutions, which were, in their view, a sinful junction with the Malignants. From this time forward the two parties in the Church were known by the names of Resolutioners and Protesters; the former being those who were carried away by secular and prudential views of expediency; the latter, the uncompromising adherents of the Covenant. Many of the Resolutioners were men of great piety and worth, but somewhat deficient in firmness and decision of character—lovers of peace to such an extent as to be willing to sacrifice some of their own principles for its attainment. Of these David Dickson was one; but some years afterwards, when the perfidy of Charles and the Malignants had become evident, he, on his death-bed, acknowledged his

* Balfour's *Annales*.

error, and admitted that the Protesters had seen these matters in a truer light than the Resolutioners had done. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that the Protesters injured their own cause by the somewhat intemperate vehemence of their proceedings.

[1651.]—The repeal of the Act of Classes had greatly increased the number of the adherents of Charles; and it was determined to delay his coronation no longer. Accordingly he was publicly crowned at Scoon on the 1st of January 1651. A sermon was preached before the ceremony by Robert Douglas; and the crown was placed on his head by the Marquis of Argyle. The National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant were then read, and the king solemnly swore to observe and keep them both. The oath to defend and support the Church of Scotland was then administered to him; and kneeling and holding up his right hand, he uttered the following awful vow: "By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall observe and keep all that is contained in this oath!"

Following up their policy, they endeavoured to suppress all opposition; and ordered Guthrie and Bennet to repair to Perth, and answer to the king and the Committee of Estates for their having dared to preach against the resolutions, and for their letter to the Commission. They appeared; but it was to give in a declinature of his majesty and the Council as proper judges of doctrine and of the discharge of duties strictly ministerial. They were restricted to Perth and Dundee for a short time; but however willing to wound, their antagonists were afraid as yet to strike, and the prosecution was allowed to drop.*

An Assembly was appointed to meet at St Andrews in July, whence it was transferred to Dundee; but intimation was at the same time given, that all who were not satisfied with the resolutions should be cited to the General Assembly, as liable to censure. This rendered the Protesters incapable of being members, was a virtual prejudging of the question between them and their brethren, and completely vitiated the character of the Assembly as a deliberative

* Cruickshank, vol. i., p. 63.

body. Against this course of procedure the Protesters again protested, denying the freedom and lawfulness of the Assembly itself. For this James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, and James Simpson, were deposed; but protesting against this sentence, they continued to discharge their ministerial functions.*

The small western army was suppressed by Cromwell without difficulty; and Strachan, one of its leaders, a man of unstable mind, joined the usurper. While in Glasgow, Cromwell attended the churches of some of the Presbyterian ministers, who did not hesitate to pray for the king, and to term the Protector a usurper to his face. Some of his Independent preachers held a disputation in his presence with the Presbyterian ministers, on the principles of Church government, to which that singular man listened with great apparent interest. It is probable that the Protector's intention in thus entering into personal and familiar contact with the people, and especially with the ministers of Scotland, was for the purpose of obtaining the means of forming his opinion respecting their character and principles on the sure ground of his own penetrating discernment. He knew that the king and his party could not be trusted; and he was anxious to ascertain whether the other party, though opposed to him on many points, might not be so far conciliated as to submit peacefully to his government when they should perceive resistance to be hopeless. That this was the real design of Cromwell, it would be hazardous to affirm; but the conjecture has this to recommend it, that it completely accounts for the conduct of that deep-thinking and far-seeing man, during his stay in Scotland, and after his return to England, in his public treatment of the former country. Having made his observations, and formed his plans, Cromwell proceeded to put them in execution.

Charles had taken up a strong position in the vicinity of Stirling, which the Protector perceived would be dangerous to assail. He therefore turned the position of the king's army by crossing the Frith at Queensferry; and marching northwards, seized upon Perth, and cut the king off from his

* Lamont's Diary, p. 40.

supplies. Charles resolved upon a daring and desperate attempt to gain or lose the whole kingdom. He broke up from his camp at Stirling, and marched with all the expedition in his power into England, hoping that the Royalists there would rise and join him before Cromwell could approach. But they were too much dispirited to make the attempt; and Charles was overtaken and defeated at Worcester on the 3d of September 1651, exactly a year after the battle of Dunbar. The king fled, and, after a number of perilous adventures, escaped to France, to mourn his blighted hopes, or rather to waste his unhonoured youth in dissipation and licentiousness. Cromwell did not think it necessary to return to complete the subjugation of Scotland, but left that task, no longer a difficult one, to General Monk.

[1652.]—The unhappy contest between the Resolutioners and the Protesters continued to divide the Church so completely, that it no longer presented a rallying-point for either of the political parties. The Resolutioners were the more numerous; but the Protesters were favoured by the English, so that their power remained nearly balanced. An Assembly was attempted to be held at Edinburgh in July 1652, the Resolutioners assuming the right of calling, constituting, and conducting it, which was opposed by the Protesters with a new protestation, subscribed by sixty-five ministers and about eighty elders. After spending about a fortnight in useless altercations, it dissolved, and its acts were not recorded.*

[1653.]—Another attempt was made to hold an Assembly at Edinburgh in July 1653; but Lieutenant-Colonel Cottrel, at the head of a body of troops, entered the house where the ministers were assembled, demanded on whose authority they had met—whether that of Charles or the Protector; and, after the interchange of a few sentences with the moderator, Mr D. Dickson, ordered them to leave the house, led them through the streets surrounded by a band of soldiers, till he had conducted them a mile out of town; and then commanded them to depart to their respective homes within the course of a day, otherwise they should be held guilty of a breach of the peace, and liable to punishment. In this

* Lamont's Diary, p. 55.

manner was the General Assembly also laid prostrate beneath the power of the iron-handed ruler of the English Commonwealth.*

No further violence was used by Cromwell against the Church of Scotland. Some of the Resolutioners were exposed to danger because they would not cease to pray for the king; but no force was used to prevent them, and no punishments were inflicted. Synods and presbyteries continued to hold their meetings as formerly, subject to an occasional visit from some of those strange enthusiasts who abounded in the English army, and were equally disposed for polemical as for military contests. The contentions, meanwhile, between the Resolutioners and the Protesters continued to rage with unabated bitterness, although with much less pernicious results than would have taken place had the Assembly been regularly meeting from year to year. In that case, this schism, the first which had taken place in the Church of Scotland since the Reformation, must have led to the positive expulsion of the weaker party, and thereby to an incurable division in the Presbyterian Church. As it was, amid all their contests, they were perpetually holding meetings to treat of a termination to their unseemly strife, and the formation of a brotherly union. Yet there was a constant endeavour by each party to increase its own strength by every practicable method, and to weaken its antagonist. In this the Protesters were more successful than their opponents. Patrick Gillespie was appointed to the principalship of Glasgow College, where his influence had a strong effect in drawing the students and young preachers to espouse his party. Rutherford was professor of theology at St Andrews, where his influence was still more direct and extensive. Even at Aberdeen, a large proportion of the young aspirants to the ministry attached themselves to the party of the Protesters. In this manner the youth and growth of the Church was directed in a very decided manner to that party which was unquestionably the most distinguished for piety and zeal; which was another preparative for the great approaching trial.

* Lamont's Diary, pp. 69-71.

[1655.]—Another circumstance which contributed not a little to strengthen the Protesters, was the direct and authoritative support given to them by Cromwell. In 1655, Cromwell gave a commission to Gillespie and some of his brethren, empowering them to settle the affairs of the Church. This curious document proves that, with all his previous attachment to the Congregational system, the Protector was in favour of an Established Church; and while it was obviously intended to exclude all but Protesters, it expressly provided that, in the induction of ministers, respect should be had to the choice of the most religious part of the people, though that should not be the majority.* Baillie complains much of the severe proceedings of the Protesters, in deposing some ministers, rejecting aspirants, and settling young men of their own party in preference to Resolutioners; but even with all his querulous complaints, it is plain that they acted a much more lenient and impartial part than they had it in their power to have done, and than their opponents did, at the commencement of the struggle, when they set the example of deposition. Many unseemly contests undoubtedly took place; and at times the Protesters, supported by the English troops, appear to have dealt harshly towards some of their keen opponents; but, nevertheless, from all that has been recorded respecting that period, it appears that it was one of remarkable religious prosperity. The very contention of the two great parties rendered indifference in religious matters impossible on the part of either pastors or people. And though the General Assembly was suspended, no other part of Church government and discipline experienced the slightest interruption; or rather, every other part was thrown into more intense and vigorous action. The whole vitality of the kingdom seemed to be poured into the heart of the Church, and all the strong energies of the Scottish mind were directed to religious topics in a more exclusive manner than they had ever previously been. The very fact of the kingdom's complete civil prostration beneath the power of Cromwell closed every other avenue of thought and action, and even compelled men

* Nicoll's Diary, pp. 163-166.

to give their entire being to the pursuit of earnest, fervent, personal religion. "I verily believe," says Kirkton, "there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period of time than in any season since the Reformation, though of triple its duration;"* and keeping the above considerations in mind, we may admit that the account which he gives of the state of religion at that time in Scotland, though highly coloured, is nevertheless, in all its main lineaments, a faithful representation of the truth.

Throughout the whole of Scotland during the period of Cromwell's domination there prevailed a degree of civil peace beyond what had almost ever before been experienced. This, too, should be taken into account, when we peruse the memoirs and annals of the period; for there being no great public events to record, these gossiping chroniclers filled their pages with minute details respecting the contests between the two parties in the Church, for lack of other materials to employ their talent for journalizing. It ought to be remembered, also, that although the Protesters enjoyed the favour and support of the Protector to a considerable extent, and might have done so much more if they had wished it, they never compromised their principles, nor stooped to flatter the usurper. Very few of them were prevailed upon to take the "*tender*," or acknowledgment of his authority and that of the English Commonwealth, without a king or House of Lords; because they regarded it as implying a violation of the Covenant.† Patrick Gillespie appears to have been the only minister in Scotland that ever prayed publicly for the Protector. It is further to be remarked, that when we read the writings of that period, we perceive at once a striking difference between those of the Resolutioners and those of the Protesters. The writings of the Protesters are thoroughly pervaded by a spirit of fervent piety, and contain principles of the loftiest order, stated in language of great force and even dignity, of which we find but few similar instances in the productions of the Resolutioners. To prove this assertion, it is enough to name

* For a more ample account see Kirkton, pp. 48-65.

† Rutherford opposed the tender very keenly.—*Lamont's Diary*, p. 51.

the works of Rutherford, Blair, Binning, Guthrie of Fenwick, Durham, Traill, Grey, Guthrie of Stirling, and many others, scarcely their inferiors. Among the Resolutioners, we find none deserving to be matched with these, but Leighton, who afterwards became a prelate; David Dickson, who acknowledged that his party had erred; and Robert Douglas, who also lived long enough to see that he had been mistaken and deceived.

Before quitting the subject of the Resolutioners and Protesters, there is one point to which it is desirable that the reader's attention should be directed. It will be remembered, that the direct topic which caused the contest between the two parties was the question respecting the propriety of repealing the Act of Classes, and admitting men of all professions in religion, and all varieties of character, into the army, and to other places of power and influence in a time of such danger. This the political-expediency party resolved to do, and against this the strict Covenanters protested. It is evident that the difference of opinion between them arose from the different positions from which they viewed the same subject. Both were fully aware of the perilous state of the nation, and of the necessity of adopting some strong measure to meet the emergency. But the one party trusted chiefly in a combination of human strength, though obtained by a sacrifice of religious principle; the other, in the confession and abandonment of past errors, the restoration and more strict enforcement of religious purity, and that calm trust in the protection and the strength of God, under which, by such procedure, they hoped to place their cause. The one party regarded national division as the main cause of the nation's weakness; the other ascribed their calamities to the prevalence of national sins, especially to that violation of the National Covenant which consisted in intrusting its enemies with the power to do it injury. It is needless for shallow thinkers to imagine they can decide the question summarily, by terming the one party men of enlightened and liberal sentiments, and the other narrow-minded and intolerant bigots. The Covenanters had seen the storm of war borne back innocuous from their mountain

bulwarks but a few years before, when not a man was allowed to take up arms in the sacred cause of religion who was not believed to be personally under its influence. They had, besides, the analogy of all scriptural history in their favour; so that the views they held appeared to have the sanction of recent facts and of the Word of God. And had their opponents been as truly patriotic as they pretended, instead of seeking political influence before they would lend their aid, might they not have formed themselves into a separate army, hung on the enemy's flanks and rear, distracted his attention, cut off his supplies, and thereby promoted, in the most liberal and unselfish manner, and to the utmost of their power, the rescue of their country from the strong invader! This would have entitled them to the honourable appellation of men of truly enlightened minds and genuine patriotism; but their whole conduct, then and subsequently, proved them to have been influenced chiefly by ambitious, selfish, and despotic principles.

Let the reader take up the question, and muse upon it deeply, in the form of the following hypothetic proposition: Are there not principles and rules applicable to wars strictly religious, by which all operations should be governed and directed, essentially different from those involved in ordinary warfare? What we mean to suggest is this, that in wars strictly religious, which are of course solely defensive (for religion may not be propagated by the sword, although it may, in extraordinary cases, be so defended), no principle of merely secular policy can be admitted without vitiating the cause; no principle can be held and acted upon which has not the clear warrant of the Word of God, either in stated precept or recorded example. On the other hand, in ordinary warfare, means may be employed, and results anticipated, more according to the calculations and arrangements of human wisdom, skill, and genius. Not that, in the latter case, the over-ruling influence of Providence is more in abeyance than in the former, but that its direct power is less conspicuously displayed. Now, the Covenanters regarded the war as of a strictly religious character, otherwise they would not have engaged in it at all; and therefore they could not,

ed not, employ means on which they could not im-
 d expect the blessing of the Lord of hosts. Men of
 on may deem this view fanatical; but it will require
 n the usual amount of reason and philosophy—we
 t to such men of religion—which they bring to bear
 subject, before they prove it to be either irrational
 ard, or inconsistent with the providential govern-
 the “Most High, who doeth according to his will
 rmies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the

nnecessary to dwell on the minor details which took
 ring the remainder of the Protectorate. After the
 Oliver Cromwell, a series of intrigues commenced,
 ded in the restoration of Charles II. In Scotland
 rigues were chiefly guided by Robert Douglas, the
 'the Resolutioners, through the instrumentality of
 harp, who at that time affected, perhaps entertain-
 oughly as such a man could, a warm zeal for the
 of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Monk,
 remained in Scotland since its subjugation by Crom-
 eared for a time to favour the Presbyterian cause,
 inued to hold intercourse with Douglas through the
 of Sharp. The epistolary correspondence between
 and Sharp, preserved in Wodrow, clearly proves
 icity, selfishness, and treachery of Sharp, and pre-
 for the dark and cruel tyranny which that hollow-
 and ruthless man subsequently exercised towards
 ch which he at first betrayed, and then set himself
 ute.*

as II. entered London in triumph on the 29th of
 0; and with his restoration to the sovereignty begins
 a of the Church of Scotland's history, the record
 is one of sufferings, and lamentations, and woe.

very full, accurate, and impartial view of the period that elapsed be-
 eath of Charles I. and the restoration of Charles II., the reader is re-
 e “History of the Church of Scotland during the Commonwealth,” by
 mes Beattie, recently published.

[APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

No. I.

NOTE ON THE DEATH OF CARDINAL BEATON.

Page 54.

empt which has been made by Patrick Fraser Tytler, Esq., in his of Scotland, to prove that the great and pious Scottish Reformers implicated in some of the most criminal transactions of that dark and cruel period in which they lived, having been briefly alluded to in the course of this work, it may seem necessary to take more specific notice of their opinions than could there appropriately be done. With regard to the charge insinuated against Wishart, however, that he was concerned in a conspiracy against the life of Cardinal Beaton, little need be said, till we can give a satisfactory answer to the complete "Vindication of Wishart," which appeared in the "Edinburgh Christian Monitor," p. 475, in the year 1823. The grounds of this accusation are, the language of Wishart at the stake, which some men think more likely to have proceeded from actual knowledge of an intended assassination than from any preternatural enlightenment granted to the dying martyr; and the casual mention, in some manuscript correspondence of the time, that "a Scottishman called Wysshert," was said to have been employed by Henry VIII. in some alleged conspiracy against the life of Cardinal Beaton. The first of these conjectural suppositions we leave to others to entertain or reject; because neither reasoning, nor reference to similar well-authenticated cases, would be likely to produce conviction in their minds. Another answer might be given, which would be satisfactory to some: neither Fox, in his account of Wishart's martyrdom, nor Knox, make any mention of his prophetic language: those, however, who wish to fasten this charge upon him must first prove that he uttered such words. With regard to the other, it is enough to state, that the "Vindication" referred to above, it is proved, by direct testimony, that if any such person existed as is mentioned in the charge, he could neither have been the martyr, nor his brother the martyr Pittarow. This of itself is enough to vindicate the memory of Wishart from any such mere conjectural aspersion; for no conjecture, founded on the mere similarity of a name, loosely mentioned in the gos-

siping language of epistolary correspondence, may ever be allowed to set aside direct historical testimony. It would, besides, require the most incontrovertible evidence to substantiate such a charge against all the moral improbabilities, or rather impossibilities, which it has to encounter when brought against the mild, patient, gracious, and heavenly-minded martyr, George Wishart.

NOTE ON THE DEATH OF RIZZIO.

Page 124.

In the seventh volume of his *History of Scotland*, Mr. Tytler has directly, and even ostentatiously, charged John Knox with being "precognizant of, and implicated in," the murder of David Rizzio. This charge has been met, and, as most people think, completely refuted, by the Rev. Thomas M'Crie, D.D., son of the distinguished biographer of Knox. It is not my intention, certainly, to retrace the ground which has been so ably occupied by Dr. M'Crie, thinking it enough to refer the reader to his answer to Mr. Tytler, as it appeared in the appendix to his "*Sketches of Scottish Church History*." Still, as there may be different methods of demonstrating the same truth, I think it expedient to offer, very briefly, my reasons for regarding Mr. Tytler's accusation as utterly untenable; and this, I trust, I may do without being suspected of intending any disrespect to that gentleman.

Every historian finds himself often compelled to balance conflicting evidence, in order to arrive at the truth of any subject respecting which contradictory statements have been made. The evidence thus to be estimated is to be of two kinds—the evidence of facts, and the evidence of moral probability. These kinds of evidence sometimes seem opposed to each other, and sometimes they coincide. When they coincide, a conclusion, amounting to absolute certainty, is obtained; but when they are opposed to each other, the task becomes considerably difficult to determine to which of them the greatest credit is due, and very opposite conclusions will be drawn from the same data by minds differently constituted. It requires a higher cast of mind to appreciate duly the evidence of moral probability, than it does that of facts; although, no doubt, when the facts can be, or have been, fully ascertained and substantiated, nothing more is required, and the controversy is at an end. Yet such is the power of moral probability, that every man must have felt himself constrained in peculiar instances to reject instinctively the argument of facts, and to say, "I cannot believe that a man of a character so high and noble could have done a deed so base." It will not be a small amount of the evidence of facts that will suffice to set aside such an instinctive moral conviction; and when facts are brought forward with that view, they will be met by a sifting investigation whether they really occurred, and on what authority we are asked to believe that they actually took place as they are said to have done. Nothing short of the direct testimony of a sufficient number of witnesses of undoubted veracity, and adequately acquainted with the facts which they relate, will ever substantiate

a charge which is instinctively felt to be morally improbable. If, for example, any person were to attempt to propagate a report that the Duke of Wellington had been detected in an act of petty theft, every man would at once indignantly feel and declare that it was impossible; and it would require an extraordinary amount of direct evidence to induce and constrain any man to believe a report so abhorrently incredible. Not less clear and incontrovertible ought to be the evidence brought forward by him who accuses John Knox of being implicated in an act of private murder. What, then, is the amount of evidence adduced by Mr. Tytler?

The following is a brief outline of the main facts of the event. Queen Mary had joined the League of Bayonne, which was framed for the purpose of utterly exterminating Protestantism by violence. This was well known to the Scottish Protestant nobles; and her Italian secretary, David Rizzio, was believed to be the agent through whom she held intercourse with the Romish powers. The Protestant nobles resolved to seize Rizzio, bring him to trial, and condemn him to death, as a person engaged in treasonable transactions. At the same time, the weak, vain, and violent Darnley conceived a strong hatred against this Italian, on the ground of an imagined guilty intercourse between him and the queen. The nobles were not reluctant to obtain Darnley's countenance to promote their own design against Rizzio's life. There was thus a double plot; and Mr. Tytler, without the shadow of evidence to support it, nay, against direct evidence to the contrary, conjectures that the nobles must have abandoned their own intention of a public trial and execution, and adopted Darnley's scheme of a private murder. Rizzio was actually seized and murdered. Soon afterwards, the blandishments of the queen prevailed over her fickle husband, and induced him to violate his engagement to the lords; and thus the conspiracy was broken up, and the betrayed noblemen fled to various quarters, to escape from the vengeance of the queen. John Knox retired to Kyle for a season, well knowing that Mary bore to him no favour, and that if she had it in her power to bring him within the sweep of her meditated vengeance, she was not likely to let slip the opportunity.

Accounts of these transactions were sent to Cecil by the Earl of Bedford, and by Sir Thomas Randolph, from Berwick, to which town several of the Scottish nobles had fled for safety. In Randolph's letter, dated the 21st of March, the names of those who were concerned in the death of Rizzio are mentioned; and in the same letter it is stated that the intention of the lords was to have hanged him, but that a tumult arising in the court below, and fearing a rescue, they went the next way to work with him. On the 27th, another letter was sent by Randolph, giving a formal and authentic list of those who were concerned in the death of Rizzio. In neither of these does the name of Knox occur. An account of the whole matter was sent to Cecil by Morton and Ruthven; and as rumour had then begun to implicate Knox and Craig, these noblemen expressly declare, that the ministers were "neither art nor part of that deed, nor participate thereof." A similar declaration is contained in Ruthven's own narrative of the event, in which he strongly exonerates

the ministers. Douglas of Lochleven, another of the conspirators, disclaims the intention of murdering Rizzio, and declares that it was their purpose to punish him by order of justice. Hume of Godscroft, in his History of the House of Douglas, says the same. Every author, in short, of any credibility, gives the same general statement—that the lords intended to bring Rizzio to a public trial, and to condemn him to death, and execute him as a plotter against the religion and the liberties of the kingdom, and that the ministers were in no respect implicated in the matter.

To overwhelm the whole of the evidence thus briefly stated, Mr. Tytler brings forward the one small fact, that he found a slip of paper pinned to Randolph's first letter, which slip contained a list of those "who were at the death of Davy, and privy thereunto, and are now in displeasure with the queen, and their houses taken and spoiled." This pinned list contains the names of John Knox and John Craig. It has no signature, but is thought to be in the hand-writing of a clerk employed by the Earl of Bedford—a likely enough person to pick up the floating rumours of the day. This pinned list contains enough to prove it unworthy of credit. It states that "all these were at the death of Davy," whereas it is certain that neither Knox nor Craig were present. It further adds, that they "are now in displeasure with the queen, and their houses taken and spoiled;" yet it is known that Craig was not in displeasure with the queen, and there is no evidence that the house of Knox was "taken and spoiled." Such glaring mis-statements prove this pinned slip to be a mere transcript of some popular report, such as are busily circulated without examination, when any remarkable event excites the public mind, but which no man of candour or of judgment regards. It is strange reasoning, surely, to say, that because an unauthenticated rumour is false in two points, it must be true in the third. Mr. Tytler is not at liberty to change the express words of this precious document, converting *and* into *or*, that it may the better serve his purpose. He does so at the hazard of endangering his own character for candour and integrity. It must be taken as it is, without any such constructions, and then it manifests its own falsehood.

Feeling, apparently, that this small fact of the pinned list furnished but slender evidence on the strength of which to implicate John Knox in a charge of murder, Mr. Tytler attempts to corroborate it by reasoning from the known sentiments of the Reformer; that is, he leaves the evidence of facts, and enters upon the evidence of moral probability. His first and chief argument is, that Knox held it lawful for private persons to put to death notorious murderers and tyrants, provided that all redress by the ordinary courts of justice was impossible. This will not prove that Knox would either have engaged in such a deed *himself*, or would have approved of its being done *privately*; and, besides, in the case of Rizzio, the supposed emergency did not exist, the banded lords being sufficiently powerful to bring him to a public trial, as it is proved that they intended to do, his private seizure being merely to prevent the possible occurrence of a public tumult. The attempt to fasten such a charge upon the Reformer, on the ground of his holding such an abstract theory,

is manifestly absurd, unless it be first proved that the case was precisely such as his theory supposed. And even then it would be necessary to show that he could, consistently with his own character, have put his theory into execution, in the same manner as that in which Rizzio was killed. Now, from the whole tenor of Knox's life, it is evident that he could not have committed a deliberate, contrived, private murder. Such a man, had he not been a Christian, might have killed a tyrant in his open court and surrounded by his guards, but could not have crept into his bed-chamber to murder him in secret. Mr. Tytler attempts further to prove, that the murder of Rizzio was not accidental, arising out of a sudden tumultuous frenzy enhanced by the apprehension of being frustrated in the completion of their design. Strange that he does not perceive how much more improbable this renders it that Knox could have been implicated in the crime. Indeed, reasoning from Mr. Tytler's premises, and taking into consideration the high, bold, and pious character of John Knox, I do not hesitate to say, that no man who can comprehend moral evidence will ever regard the charge against him as anything else than a charge involving a moral impossibility. And this I regard as a proof how unfit Mr. Tytler is to deal with moral evidence.

Another argument on which he builds is this: that at a subsequent period one of the ministers, defending Knox from the aspersions of King James, said, "that the slaughter of David was *allowed* by Knox, as far as it was the work of God, and not otherwise." Mr. Tytler here evidently misunderstands both the sentiment and the word used to express it. The sentiment is a sufficiently common one, nothing being more usual than for men to say, when any great criminal perishes miserably, that it is a remarkable instance of the righteous retribution of Providence, while they do not intend to express approbation of the human instrumentality by which such retribution was effected. The word *allowed* was in former times used, not to mean *permitted* an event to take place, but generally in the loose sense of *approbation of the object intended*, and often little more than *obtaining from censure*. The meaning of the sentence is plainly this: So far as the death of Rizzio may be regarded as the righteous retribution of Providence, John Knox approved, or did not condemn it; but he expressed no approbation of it, so far as it was the deed of guilty men. Rightly understood, this goes to prove that Knox was not implicated in a deed which, so far as it was man's, he *disallows*.

Mr. Tytler attempts to remove another objection to which his accusation is exposed from the declaration of Morton and Ruthven, that none of the ministers were "art and part, or participate," in the deed. This he does by labouring to show that, in Morton's estimation, to be precognizant of an intended crime without revealing it, and to be "art and part" in it, were not equivalent expressions. He might have understood Morton's meaning better had he attended a little more accurately to his reasoning. Morton was accused of being "art and part" in Darnley's murder. This he strenuously denied; yet he owned that he knew it was intended, and did not reveal it. When asked how he could reconcile this with his denial of being art and part in it, he answered, "To whom

should I have revealed it? To the queen! She was the doer thereof. The king was such a child, that there was nothing told him but he would reveal it to her again. And therefore I durst in no ways reveal it. I foreknew, indeed, and concealed it, because I durst not reveal it to any creature for my life." Morton reasons, that the primary law of self-preservation exonerated him from the accusation of being accessory to the commission of a crime of which he was precognizant, and disapproved yet concealed, because he believed that to reveal it would cause his own death, and would not prevent its being committed. But he could not have given to John Knox the same excuse which he took to himself, when he denied that "precognizance" was in such a case equivalent to "art and part," unless he had been prepared to prove, that for Knox to have revealed it would have caused his own death without preventing the crime, so that to be silent was merely an act of self-preservation, and implied no approbation of the deed. In this instance, also, Mr. Tytler shows himself to be singularly unable to understand and apply moral evidence and reasoning.

But it is needless to traverse the whole ground of Mr. Tytler's small facts and smaller arguments. Enough has been said, I trust, to substantiate the opinion given in the body of this work, that "certainly so grave a charge, and so improbable, was never brought forward and maintained on evidence so slender, nay, so absolutely incredible." Mr. Tytler would need to beware, otherwise his character as a historian will not long stand high, either for candour and impartiality, or for soundness of judgment. There is a law of retribution which never fails in its operation. When a man assails the character of another, and fails to prove his charge, the accusation recoils, crushing him who put it in motion. And even though no consequence so serious should take place, the public may begin to draw this conclusion, that the mind which is continually prying into minute details, is liable to lose the higher faculties of comprehensiveness and discrimination, to form an undue estimate of the value of small facts, and to regard as discoveries what a mind of higher order would at once have perceived to be merely the idle rumours or the partisan insinuations of the day, and would have deemed unworthy of any notice.

NO. II.

THE FIRST BOOK OF DISCIPLINE.

TO THE GREAT COUNCELL OF SCOTLAND now admitted to the Regiment, by the providence of God, and by the common consent of the Estates thereof, your honours' humble Servitors and Ministers of Christ Jesus within the same, wish grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the perpetual increase of the Holy Spirit.

From your honours we received a charge, dated at Edinburgh the 29th of April, in the yeare of our Lord 1560, requiring and commanding us, in

the name of the Eternall God, as we will answer in his presence, to commit to writing, and in a book deliver to your wisdoms our judgements touching the reformation of religion which heretofore in this realme (as in others) hath been utterly corrupted; upon the receipt whereof (so many of us as were in this towne) did convene, and in unitie of minde doe offer unto your wisdoms these subsequents for common order and uniformitie to be observed in this realme concerning doctrine, administration of sacraments, election of ministers, provision for their sustentation, ecclesiastical discipline, and policie of the church; most humbly requiring your honours, that as you look for participation with Christ Jesus, that neither ye admit anything which God's plain Word shall not approve, neither yet that ye shall reject such ordinances as equitie, justice, and God's Word do specifie: For as we will not bind your wisdoms to our judgements, further then we are able to prove by God's plain Scriptures; so must we most humbly crave of you, even as ye will answer in God's presence (before whom both ye and we must appeare to render accounts of all our facts), that ye repudiate nothing for pleasure and affection of men, which ye be not able to improve by God's written and revealed Word.

CHAPTER I.

The First Head,—of Doctrine.

Seeing that Christ Jesus is he whom God the Father hath commanded onely to be heard and followed of his sheepe, we judge it necessary, that his gospell be truly and openly preached in every church and assembly of this realme; and that all doctrine repugnant to the same be utterly repressed, as damnable to man's salvation.

The Explication of the First Head.

1. Lest that upon this generalitie ungodly men take occasion to cavill, this we add for explication. *By preaching of the gospell*, we understand not onely the Scriptures of the New Testament, but also of the Olde, to wit, the Law, Prophets, and Histories, in which Christ Jesus is no less contained in figure, then we have him now expressed in veritie: And therefore, with the apostle we affirme, that *all Scripture inspired of God is profitable to instruct, to reprove, and to exhort*. In which books of Old and New Testaments we affirme, that all thing necessary for the instruction of the church, and to make the man of God perfect, is contained and sufficiently expressed.

2. *By the contrary doctrine* we understand whatsoever men by lawes, councells, or constitutions, have imposed upon the consciences of men, without the expresse commandement of God's Word, such as be the vows of chastitie, forswearing of marriage, binding of men and women to severall and disguised apparells, to the superstitious observation of fasting dayes, difference of meat for conscience' sake, prayer for the dead; and keeping of holy dayes of certaine saints commanded by man, such as be

all those that the Papists have invented, as the Feasts (as they terme them) of the Apostles, Martyrs, Virgines, of Christmasse, Circumcision, Epiphanie, Purification, and other fond Feasts of our Ladie: Which things, because in God's Scriptures they neither have commandement nor assurance, we judge them utterly to be abolished from this realme; affirming farther, that the obstinate maintainers and teachers of such abominations ought not to escape the punishment of the civil magistrate.

CHAPTER II.

The Second Head—of the Sacraments.

1. To Christ Jesus his holy gospell truly preached, of necessity it is that his holy sacraments be annexed, and truly ministered, as seales and visible confirmations of the spirituall promises contained in the Word: and they be two, *to wit*, Baptism, and the Holy Supper of the Lord Jesus; which are then rightly ministered, when by a lawfull minister the people, before the administration of the same, are plainly instructed and put in mind of God's free grace and mercie, offered unto the penitent in Christ Jesus; when God's promises are rehearsed, the end and use of [the] Sacraments preached and declared, and that in such a tongue as the people doe understand; when farther to them is nothing added, from them nothing diminished, and in their practise* nothing changed besides the institution of the Lord Jesus, and practise of his holy apostles.

2. And albeit *the order* of Geneva, which now is used in some of our churches, is sufficient to instruct the diligent reader how that both these sacraments may be rightly ministered; yet for an uniformitie to be kept, we have thought good to adde this as superabundant.

3. In baptisme we acknowledge nothing to be used except the element of water onely (that the word and declaration of the promises ought to preceed we have said before); wherefore whosoever presumeth in baptisme to use oyle, salt, waxe, spittle, conjuration, and crossing, accuseth the perfect institution of Christ Jesus of *imperfection*; for it was void of all such inventions devised by men. And such as would presume to alter Christ's perfect ordinance you ought severely to punish.

4. The table of the Lord is then most rightly ministered, when it approacheth most near to Christ's own action; but plaine it is, that at supper Christ Jesus sate with his disciples, and therefore doe we judge that sitting at a table is most convenient to that holy action; that bread and wine ought to be there, that thanks ought to be given, distribution of the same made, and commandement given that the bread should be taken and eaten, and that all should likewise drinke of the cup of wine, with declaration what both the one and the other is; we suppose no godly man will doubt. For as touching the damnable error of the Papists, who dare defraud the common people of the one part of the Holy Sacrament, *to wit*, of the cup of the Lord's blood, we suppose their error to be so manifest that it needeth no confutation; neither yet intend we to confute

* Administration.

any thing in this our simple confession, but to offer public disputation to all that list oppugne any thing affirmed by us.

5. That the minister breake the bread, and distribute the same to those that be next unto him, commanding the rest, every one with reverence and sobrietie, to break with other, we thinke it nearest to Christ's action, and to the perfect practise [of the apostles], as we reade in St. Paul. During the which action we thinke it necessarie that some comfortable places of the Scripture be read, which may bring in minde the death of Christ Jesus, and the benefit of the same; for seeing that in that action we ought chiefly to remember the Lord's death, we judge the Scriptures making mention of the same most apt to stirre up our dull mindes then, and at all times. Let the discretion of the ministers appoint the places to be read as they think good. What times we think most convenient for the administration of the one and of the other of these sacraments, shall be declared in the *Policeie of the Kirk*.*

CHAPTER III.

The Third Head—touching the Abolishing of Idolatrie.

1. As we require Christ Jesus to be truely preached, and his holy sacraments rightly ministred, so [we] cannot cease to require idolatry, with all monuments and places of the same, as abbeyes, monkeries, frieries, nunneries, chapels, chanteries, cathedrall churches, chanonries, colledges, others then presently are parish churches, or schooles, to be utterly suppressed in all bounds and places of this realme, except onely palaces, mansions, and dwelling places adjacent thereto, with orchards and yards of the same. As also [we desire] that idolatrie may be removed from the presence of all persons of what estate or condition that ever they be, within this realme.

2. For let your honours assuredly be perswaded, that where idolatry is maintained or permitted, where it may be suppressed, that there shall God's wrath raigue, not onely upon the blind and obstinate idolaters, but also the negligent sufferers [of the same]; especially if God have armed their hands with power to suppress such abomination.

3. By *idolatrie*, we understand the masse, invocation of saints, adoration of images, and the keeping and retaining of the same: And finally, all honouring of God not contained in his holy Word.

CHAPTER IV.

I. The Fourth Head—concerning Ministers and their lawfull Election.

1. In a church reformed, or tending to reformation, none ought to presume either to preach, or yet to minister the sacraments, till that orderly they be called to the same. Ordinarie vocation consisteth in election, examination, and admission. And because that election of ministers in this cursed Papistrie hath altogether been abused, we thinke expedient to intreat it more largely.

* See chap. xi. of this book, sect. 5.

2. It appertaineth to the people, and to every severall congregation, to elect their minister. And in case that they be found negligent therein the space of fourty dayes, the best reformed church, to wit, the church of the superintendent with his counsell, may present unto them a man whom they judge apt to feed the flock of Christ Jesus, who must be examined as well in life and manners as in doctrine and knowledge.

3. And that this may be done with more exact diligence, the persons that are to be examined must be commanded to appeare before men of soundest judgement, remaining in some principal town next adjacent unto them, as they that be in *Fife, Angus, Mearnes, or Straitharne*, to present themselves in *Saint Andrews*; these that be in *Louthian, Merse, or Teridsail, in Edinburgh*; and likewise those that be in other countries must resort to the best reformed citie and towne, that is, to the towne of the superintendent, where first in the schooles, or failing thereof in open assembly, and before the congregation, they must give declaration of their giftes, utterance, and knowledge, by interpreting some place of Scripture to be appointed by the ministerie; which being ended, the person that is presented, or that offereth himself to the administration * of the church, must be examined by the ministers and elders of the church, and that openly and before all that list to heare, in all the chiefe points that now be in controversie betwixt us and the *Papists, Anabaptists, Arrians*, or other such enemies to the Christian religion. In which if he be found sound, able to perswade by wholesome doctrine, and to convince the gainsayer, then must he be directed to the church and congregation where he should serve, that there, in open audience of his flock in diverse public sermons, he may give confession of his faith in the article of justification, of the office of Christ Jesus, and of the number, effect, and use of the sacraments; and finally, in the whole religion, which heretofore hath been corrupted by the *Papists*.

4. If his doctrine be found wholesome and able to instruct the simple, and if the church justly can reprehend nothing in his life, doctrine, nor utterance, then we judge the church, which before was destitute, unreasonable if they refuse him whom the church did offer; and [that] they should be compelled, by the censure of the counsell and church, to receive the person appointed and approved by the judgement of the godly and learned; unlesse that the same church have presented a man better, or as well qualified to the examination before that this foresaid tryall was taken of the person presented by the counsell of the whole church. As, for example, the counsell of the church presents to any church a man to be their minister, not knowing that they are otherwise provided; in the meane time, the church is provided of another sufficient in their judgement for that charge, whom they present to the learned ministers and next reformed church to be examined. In this case the presentation of the people, to whom he should be appointed pastor, must be preferred to the presentation of the counsell or greater church, unlesse the person presented by the inferiour church be judged unable of the regiment by the learned. For altogether this is to be avoided, that any man be vio-

* Service.

lently intruded or thrust in upon any congregation; but this libertie with all care must be reserved to every severall church, to have their votes and suffrages in election of their ministers. But violent intrusion we call not, when the councell of the church, in the feare of God, and for the salvation of the people, offereth unto them a sufficient man to instruct them, whom they shall not be forced to admit before just examination, as before is said.

II. *What may enable any person, that he may not be admitted to the Ministerie of the Church.*

5. It is to be observed that no person, noted with publique infamie, or being unable to edifie the church by wholesome doctrine, or being known of corrupt judgement, be either promoted to the regiment of the church, or yet retained in ecclesiastical administration.

Explication.

6. By *public infamy* we understand, not the common sinnes and offences which any hath committed in time of blindness, by fragility, if of the same by a better and more sober conversation, he hath declared himselfe verily penitent; but such capitall crimes as the civill sword ought and may punish with death by the Word of God. For besides that the apostle requireth the life of ministers to be so *irreprehensible*, that they have a *good testimonie from those that be without*, we judge it a thing unseemly and dangerous, that he shall have publick authoritie to preach to others life everlasting, from whom the civill magistrate may take the life temporall for a crime publickly committed; and if any object that the prince hath pardoned his offence, and that he hath publickly repented [the same], and so not onely his life is in assurance, but also that he may be received to the ministerie of the church; we answer, that repentance doth not take away the temporall punishment of the law, neither doth the pardon of the prince remove his infamie before man.

7. That the life and conversation of the person presented or to be elected may be the more clearely knowne, publick edicts should be directed to all parts of this realme, or at the least to those parts where the person hath been most conversant; as where he was nourished in letters, or where he continued since the yeares of infancie and childhood were passed. Straight commandement would be given, that if any capitall crimes were committed by him, that they should be notified, as if he had committed wilful murder [or] adulterie: [or] if he were a common fornicator, a theife, a drunkard, a fighter, brawler, or contentious person. These edicts ought to be notified in the chiefe cities, with the like charge and commandement, with declaration that such as concealed his sinnes knowne, did deceive and betray, as far as in them lay, the church which is the spouse of Christ Jesus, and did communicate with the sinnes of that wicked man.

III. *Admission of Ministers.*

8. The admission of ministers to their offices must consist in [the] con-

sent of the people and church whereto they shall be appointed, and approbation of the learned ministers appointed for their examination.

9. We judge it expedient that the admission of ministers be in open audience, [and] that some speciall minister make a sermon touching the duty and office of ministers, touching their manners, conversation, and life; as also touching the obedience which the church oweth to their ministers. Commandement should be given, as well to the minister as to the people, both being present, *to wit*, that he with all carefull diligence attend upon the flock of Christ Jesus, over the which he is appointed pastor; that he will walk in the presence of God so sincerely, that the graces of the Holy Spirit may be multiplied into him; and in the presence of men so soberly and uprightly, that his life may confirme in the eyes of men, that which by tongue and word be perswaded unto others. The people should be exhorted to reverence and honor their ministers chosen, as the servants and ambassadors of the Lord Jesus, obeying the commandements which they pronounce from God's Word, even as they would obey God himselfe. For whosoever heareth Christ's ministers heareth himself; and whosoever rejecteth and despiseth their ministerie and exhortation, rejecteth and despiseth Christ Jesus.

10. Other ceremonie than the public approbation of the people, and declaration of the chiefe minister, that the person there presented is appointed to serve the* church, we cannot approve; for albeit the apostles used imposition of hands, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremonie we judge not necessarie.†

11. The minister elected or presented, examined, and, as sayd is, publicly admitted, may neither leave the flocke at his pleasure, to which he hath promised his fidelitie and labours; neither yet may the flocke reject or change him at their appetite, unlesse they be able to convict him of such crimes as deserve deposition, whereof we shall after speak. We mean not but that the whole church, or the most part thereof, for just considerations, may transferre a minister from one church to another; neither yet mean we, that men who now serve as it were of benevolence, may not be appointed and elected to serve in other places; but once being solemnly elected and admitted, we cannot approve that they should change at their own pleasure.

12. We are not ignorant that the raritie of godly and learned men will seem to some a just reason why that so straight and sharpe examination should not be taken universally; for so it would appear that the most part of the kirks shall have no minister at all. But let these men understand, that the lack of able men shall not excuse us before God, if by our consent unable men be placed over the flock of Christ Jesus; as also that amongst the Gentiles godly and learned men were as rare as they be now amongst us, when the apostle gave the same rule to trie and examine ministers, which we now follow. And lastly, let them understand that it is alike to have no minister at all, and to have an idoll in the place of a true minister, yea, and in some case it is worse; for those that be utterly destitute of ministers will be diligent to search for them, but those that have a vain

* That church.

† See the Second Book of Discipline, chap. iii. sect. 6.

shadow, do commonly without further care content themselves with the same, and so remain they continually deceived, thinking that they have a minister when in verie deed they have none; for we cannot judge him a dispensator of God's mysteries, that in no wise can breake the bread of life to the fainting and hungrie soules; neither judge we that the sacraments can be rightly ministred by him, in whose mouth God had put no sermon of exhortation.

13. The chiefest remedie left to your honours and to us, in all this raritie of true ministers, is fervent praier unto God, that it will please his mercie to thrust forth faithfull workmen into this his harvest. And next, that your honours, with consent of the church, are bound by your authoritie to compel such men as have gifts and graces able to edifie the church of God, that they bestow them where greatest necessitie shall be known; for no man may be permitted to live idle, or as themselves list, but must be appointed to travell where your wisdoms and the church shall think expedient. We cannot prescribe unto your honours certain rules how that ye shall distribute the ministers and learned men, whom God hath already sent unto you; but hereof we are assured, that it greatlie hindereth the progresse of Christ's gospell within this poore realm, that some altogether abstract their labours from the church, and others remain altogether in one place, the most part of them being idle. And therefore of your honours we require in God's name, that by your authoritie, which ye have of God, ye compel all men to whom God hath given any talent to persuade, by wholesome doctrine, to bestow the same, if they be called by the church to the advancement of Christ's glorie, and the comfort of his troubled flock; and that ye, with the consent of the church, assign unto the chiefest workmen, not onelie townes to remaine in, but also provinces, that by their faithfull labours churches may be erected, and order established where none is now. And if on this manner ye shall use your power and authoritie, chieffie seeking God's glorie, and the comfort of your brethren, we doubt not but God shall blesse you and your enterprises.

IV. For Readers.

14. To the churches where no ministers can be had presentlie, must be appointed the most apt men that distinctlie can read the common Praiers* and the Scriptures, to exercise both themselves and the church, till they grow to greater perfection; and in process of time he that is but a reader may attain to a farther degree, and by consent of the church and discreet ministers, may be permitted to minister the sacraments; but not before that he be able somewhat to perswade by wholesome doctrine, beside his reading, and be admitted to the ministerie, as before is said. Some we know that of long time have professed Christ Jesus, whose honest conversation deserveth praise of all godly men, and whose knowledge also might greatly helpe the simple [and ignorant people], and yet they onely content themselves with reading; these must be animated, and by gentle admonition encouraged, by some exhortation to comfort their

* That is, the Prayers that were printed with the *Book of Common Order* and *Psalm Book*.

brethren, and so they may be admitted to administration of the sacraments; but such readers as neither have had exercise nor continuance in Christ's true religion, must abstain from ministration of the sacraments, till they give declaration and witnessing of their honestie and further knowledge, that none be admitted to preach but they that are qualified therefore, but rather be retained readers; and such as are preachers already, not found qualified therefore by the superintendent, [are] to be placed readers.

CHAPTER V.

The Fifth Head, concerning the Provision for the Ministers, and for the Distribution of the Rents and Possessions justly appertaining to the Church.

1. Seeing that of our Maister Christ Jesus, and his Apostle Paul, we have, *that the workman is worthy of his reward*, and that *the mouth of the labouring oxe ought not to be musseld*; of necessitie it is, that honest provision be made for the ministers, which we require to be such that they have neither occasion of sollicitude, neither yet of insolencie and wantonnesse. And this provision must be made not onely for their owne sustentation, during their lives, but also for their wives and children after them. For we judge it a thing most contrarious to reason, godlinesse, and equitie, that the widow and the children of him who in his life did faithfully serve in the kirk of God, and for that cause did not carefully make provision for his family, should after his death be left comfortlesse of all provision; which provision for the wives of the ministers after their deccasse, is to be remitted to the discretion of the kirk.

2. Difficile it is to appoint a several stipend to every minister, by reason that the charge and necessitie of all will not be alike: For some will be continuers in one place, some will be compelled to travel and oft to change their dwelling-place, if they shall have charge of divers kirks; among these some will be burdened with wife and children, and one with moe then others, and some perhaps will be single men; if equal stipends should be appointed to these that in charge should be so unequal, either should the one suffer penurie, or else should the other have superfluitie and too much. We judge therefore that every minister have sufficient whereupon to keep an house, and be sustained honestly in all things necessarie, as bookes, cloathes, flesh, fish, fewell, and other things necessarie, [forth] of the rents and treasure of the kirk [where he serveth], at the discretion of the congregation, conforme to the qualitie of the person and necessitie of the time. Wherein it is thought good that every minister shall have at least fourtie bolls meale, twenty-six bolls malt,* to finde his house bread and drinke; and more, so much as the discretion of the church findes necessarie: Besides money for buying of other provisions to his house and other necessities; the modification whereof is referred to the judgement of the kirk, to be made every yeare at the choosing of the elders and deacons of the kirk. Providing alwaies that there be

Some copies have only *twenty bolls malt*.

advanced to every minister sufficient provision for a quarter of a yeare beforehand of all things.

3. But to him that travels from place to place, whom we call superintendent, who remaines as it were a mouth or lesse in one place for establishing of the kirk, and for the same purpose changing to another, must [further] consideration be had. And therefore to such we thinke sixe chalders beere, nine chalders meale, three chalders oates,* sixe hundreth merks money, to be eiked and paired at the discretion of the prince and counsell of the realme, to be payd to him in manner foresaid.

4. The children of the ministers must have the liberties of the cities next adjacent, where their fathers laboured, freely granted. They must have the priviledges in schooles, and bursisses in colledges, *that is*, that they shall be sustained at learning, if they be found apt thereto; and failing thereof they [must] be put to some handicraft, or exercised in some vertuous industry, whereby they may be profitable members of the commonwealth; and the same we require of their daughters, *to wit*, that they be vertuously brought up, and honestly doted when they come to maturity of years, at the discretion of the kirk. And this in God's presence we witnesse, we require not so much for our selves, or for any that appertaine to us, so that we do it for the increase of vertue and learning, and for the profite of the posterity to come; [for] it is not to be supposed that any man will dedicate himselfe and his children so to God and to his kirk, that they look for no worldly commodity; but this cankered nature which we beare, is provoked to follow vertue when it seeth profite and honour thereto annexed; and contrarily, then is vertue by many despised when vertuous and godly men are without honour; and sorry would we be that poverty should discourage men from studie, and following of the way of vertue, by which they might edifie the kirk and flock of Christ Jesus.

5. Nothing have we spoken of the stipend of readers, because if they can do nothing but reade, they neither can be called nor judged true ministers, and yet regard must be had to their labours; but so that they may be spurred forward to vertue, and not by any stipend appointed for their reading to be retained in that estate. To a reader, therefore, that is newly entered, forty merkes, or more or lesse, as parishioners and readers can agree, is sufficient: Provided that he teach the children of the parish, which he must doe, besides the reading of the common prayers,† and bookes of the Old and New Testament. If from reading he begin to exhort and explain the Scriptures, then ought his stipend to be augmented, till finally he come to the honour of a minister: But if he be found unable after two yeares, then must he be removed from that office, and discharged of all stipend, that another may be proved as long; for this alwaies is to be avoided, that none who is judged unable to come at any time to some reasonable knowledge, whereby he may edifie the kirk, shall be perpetually sustained upon the charge of the kirk. Farther, it must be avoided, that no child, nor person within age, *that is*, within twentie-one yeares of age, be admitted to the office of a reader; but

* Some copies add, *for provand to his horse*, and have only 500 merks of money.

† That is, the Prayers which were printed with the Psalm Book.

readers ought to be endued with gravity and discretion, lest by their lightnesse the prayers or Scriptures read be of lesse price or estimation. It is to be noted that the reader be put in the kirk by the admission of the superintendent. The other sort of readers, who have long continued in [the course of] godliness, and have some gift of exhortation, who are of hope to attain to the degree of a minister, and [who] teach the children; we think an hundred merkes, or more or lesse, at the discretion of the kirk, may be appointed; so that difference may be made, as said is, betwixt them and the ministers that openly preaches the word and ministers the sacraments.

6. Rests yet two sorts of people to be provided for upon that which is called the patrimony of the kirk, *to wit*, the poore, and teachers of the youth-head. Every several kirk must provide for the poore within it self; for fearful and horrible it is, that the poore, whom not onely God the Father in his law, but Christ Jesus in his Evangel, and the Holy Spirit speaking by St. Paul, hath so earnestly commended to our care, are universally so contemned and despised. We are not patrons for stubborne and idle beggars, who, running from place to place, make a craft of their begging, whom the civill magistrate ought to [compel to work, or then] punish: But for the widow and fatherlesse, the aged, impotent or lamed, who neither can nor may travell for their sustentation, we say that God commands his people to be careful; and therefore for such, as also for persons of honestie fallen into decay and poverty, ought such provision to be made, that of our abundance their indigence may be relieved. How this most conveniently and most easilie may be done in every citie, and other parts of this realme, God will shew you wisdom and the meanes, so that your mindes be godly inclined thereto. All must not be suffered to beg that gladly would so doe, neither yet must beggars remain where they would, but the stout and strong beggars must be compelled to worke; and every person that may not worke, must be compelled to repair to the place where he or she was borne, unlesse of long continuance they have remained in one place; and there reasonable provision must be made for [their] sustentation, as the kirk shall appoint. The order nor summes, in our judgements, cannot particularly be appointed, until such times as the poore of every citie, town, and parish, be compelled to repaire to the places where they were borne, or of their residence, where their names and number must be taken and put in roll, and then may the wisdom of the kirk appoint stipends accordingly.

CHAPTER VI.

I. *The Head of the Superintendents.*

1. Because we have appointed a larger stipend to them that shall be superintendents than to the rest of the ministers; we have thought good to signifie to your honours, such reasons as moved us to make difference betwixt preachers at this time; as also how many superintendents we think necessarie, with their bounds, office, [the manner of their] election and [the] causes that may deserve deposition from that charge.

2. We consider that if the ministers whom God hath endowed with his singular graces amongst us, should be appointed to severall places there to make their continuall residence, that then the greatest part of the realme should be destitute of all doctrine; which should not onely be the occasion of great murmur, but also be dangerous to the salvation of many. And therefore we have thought it a thing most expedient at this time, that from the whole number of godly and learned men, now presently in this realme, be selected ten or twelve (for in so many provinces we have divided the whole), to whom charge and commandement should be given to plant and erect kirkes, to set, order, and appoint ministers as the former order prescribes, to the countries that shall be appointed to their care where none are now; and by their meanes, your love and common care over all [the] inhabitants of this realme, to whom you are equally debtors, shall evidently appear; as also the simple and ignorant, who perchance have never heard Jesus Christ truly preached, shall come to some knowledge, by the which many that are dead in superstition and ignorance shall attaine to some feeling of godlinesse, by the which they may be provoked to search and seek farther knowledge of God, and his true religion, and worshipping; whereas by the contrary, if they shall be neglected, then shall they not onely grudge, but also seeke the meanes whereby they may continue in their blindness, or return to their accustomed idolatry. And therefore nothing we desire more earnestly, than that Christ Jesus be universally once preached throughout this realme, which shall not suddenly be, unlesse that by you men be appointed and compelled, faithfully to travell in such provinces as to them shall be assigned.

II. *The names of the places of residence, and severall Diocesses of the Superintendents.*

1. *Imprimis*, the superintendent of Orkney, whose diocesse shall comprehend the isles of [Orkney and] Zetland, with Cathnes and Stranaver, his residence to be in Kirkwall.

2. The superintendent of Rosse, whose diocesse shall comprehend Rosse, Sutherland, Murray, with the North Isles of Skie and Lewes, with the adjacents, his residence to be in the channourie of Rosse.

3. The superintendent of Argyle, whose diocesse shall comprehend Argyle, Kintyre, Lorn, the South Isles, Arran, and Bute, with their adjacents, with [the countrey of] Lochwaber, his residence to be in Argyle.

4. The superintendent of Aberdene, whose diocesse is betwixt Dee and Spay, containing the shirefdoms of Aberdene and Bamfe, whose residence shall be in Old Aberdene.

5. The superintendent of Brechen, whose diocesse shall be the whole shirefdoms of the Merns and Angus, and the Brae of Mar to Dee, his residence to be in Brechen.

6. The superintendent of Fife [whose diocesse shall be Fife], and Fortherinham to Stirling, and the whole shirefdom of Perth, his residence to be in Saint Androes.

7. The superintendent of Edinburgh, whose diocesse shall comprehend

the whole sherifdoms of Lowthian, and Stirling on the south side of the water of Forth, his residence to be in Edinburgh.

8. The superintendent of Jedburgh, whose diocesse shall comprehend the whole Tivitdail, Tweeddale, Liddisdail, and thereto is added by consent of the whole kirk,* the Merse, Lawderdail, and Weddail, with the Forrest of Ettrick, his residence to be in Jedburgh.

9. The superintendent of Glasgow, whose diocesse shall comprehend Clidsdaill, Renfrew, Menteth, Lennox, Kyle, and Cunninghame, his residence to be in Glasgow.

10. The superintendent of Dumfries, whose diocesse shall comprehend Galloway, Carrik, Nithsdail, Anandaile, with the rest of the Dailes in the West, his residence shall be in Dumfriese.

4. Those men must not be suffered to live as your idle bishops have done heretofore, neither must they remaine where gladly they would; but they must be preachers themselves, and such as may not make long residence in any place till their kirks be planted and provided of ministers, or at the least of readers. Charge must be given to them that they remain in no place above twenty daies in their visitation, till they have passed through their whole bounds. They must thrice everie week preach at the least, and when they retorne to their principall town and residence, they must be likewise exercised in preaching and edification of the kirk; and yet they must not be suffered to continue there so long, that they may seem to neglect their other kirks: But after they have remained in their chiefe town three or foure moneths at most, they shall be compelled (unlesse by sicknesse they be retained) to re-enter in visitation, in which they shall not onely preach, but also examine the life, diligence, and behaviour of the ministers; as also the order of the kirkes [and] the manners of the people. They must further consider how the poore be provided, how the youth be instructed: They must admonish where admonition needeth, and dresse such things as by good counsell they be able to appease. And finally, they must note such crimes as be heynous, that by the censure of the kirk the same may be corrected.

5. If the superintendent be found negligent in any of the chiefe points of his office, and specially if he be noted negligent in preaching of the word, and visitation of the kirkes; or if he be convict of such crimes which in common ministers are damned, he must be deposed without respect of his person or office.

III. *The Election of Superintendents, &c.*

6. In this present necessity, the nomination, examination, and admission of the superintendent, cannot be so straight as we require, and as afterward it must be. For this present, therefore, we thinke expedient that either your honours by yourselves nominate so many as may serve the fore-written provinces; or that ye give commission to such men as ye suppose the feare of God to be in, to doe the same: And the same men being called in your presence shall be by you, and such as your honours please

* This seems to have been done after the first division. For in some copies the Merse Lawderdail, and Stow of Tweeddail, are in the diocess of Edinburgh.

call unto you for consultation in that case, appointed to their provinces. We thinke it expedient and necessarie, that as well the gentlemen, as burgesses of every diocie be made privy at this time to the election of the superintendent, as well to bring the kirk in some practise of her liberty, as that the pastor may be the better favoured of the flock whom themselves have chosen. If your honours cannot finde for this present so many able [men] as necessity requireth, then in our judgments, more profitable it is those provinces vaikie till God provide better for them, then that men unable to edifie and govern the kirk, so suddenly be placed in that charge; for experience hath teachd us what pestilence hath been engendered in the kirk by men unable to discharge their offices. When therefore after three yeares any superintendent shall depart, or chance to be deposed, the cheefe towne within the province, *to wit*, the ministers, elders, and deacons, with the magistrate and councill of the same towne, shall nominate, and by public edicts, proclaime, as well to the superintendents, as to two or three provinces next adjacent, two or three of the most learned and godly ministers within the whole realme, that from amongst them one with public consent may be elected and appointed to the office then vacant: And this the chiefe towne shall be bound to doe within the space of twentie daies; which being expired and no man presented, then shall three of the next adjacent provinces, with consent of their superintendents, ministers, and elders, enter in the right and priviledge of the towne, and shall present every one of them one or two, if they list, to the chiefe town to be examined as the order requires; as also it shall be lawfull for all the kirks of the diocesse, to nominate within the same time such persons as they thinke worthy to stand in election, who all must be put in an edict.

7. After [the] nomination is made, publick edicts must be sent forth, warning all men that have any exception against the persons nominate, or against any of them, to be present in the chiefe town at the day affixed, and place, to object what they can against the election of any of them. Thirtie dayes we thinke sufficient to be assigned thereto;—thirtie dayes we meane after the nomination be made.

8. Which day of the election being come, the whole ministers of the province, with three or foure superintendents next adjacent, or that shall be thereto nominated, shall examine, not onely the learning, but also the manners, prudence, and habilitie to governe the kirk, of all these that be nominated; that he who shall be found most worthie may be burdened with the charge. If the ministers of the whole province should bring with them the votes of them that were committed to their care, the election should be the more free; but alwayes the votes of them that convene should be required. The examinations must be publickly made, [and] they that stand in election must publickly preach; and men must be charged, in the name of God, to vote according to conscience, and not after affection. If any thing be objected against him that standeth in election, the superintendents and ministers must consider whether the objection be made of conscience or malice, and they must answer accordingly. Other ceremonies then sharp examination, approbation of the

THE
NEW YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY
ASTOR
LENOX
TILDEN

in the primitive kirke: Of necessity it is that your honours be most careful for the vertuous education and godly up-bringing of the youth of this realm, if either ye now thirst unfainedly the advancement of Christ's glorie, or yet desire the continuance of his benefits to the generation following; for as the youth must succeed to us, so we ought to be carefull that they have knowledge and erudition to profit and comfort that which ought to be most deare to us, to wit, the kirk and spouse of our Lord Jesus.

2. Of necessitie therefore we judge it, that every several kirk have one schoolmaister appointed, such a one at least as is able to teach grammar and the Latine tongue, if the town be of any reputation. If it be upland,* where the people convene to the doctrine but once in the week, then must either the reader or the minister there appointed, take care of the children and youth of the parish, to instruct them in the first rudiments, especially in the Catechisme,† as we have it now translated in the Booke of the Common Order, called the Order of Geneva. And further, we think it expedient, that in every notable town, and specially in the town of the superintendent, there be erected a colledge, in which the arts, at least logick and rhetorick, together with the tongues, be read by sufficient masters, for whom honest stipends must be appointed. As also [that] provision [be made] for those that be poore, and not able by themselves nor by their friends to be sustained at letters, and in speciall these that come from landward.

3. The fruit and commoditie hereof shall suddenly appeare. For first, the youth-head and tender children shall be nourished and brought up in vertue, in presence of their friends, by whose good attendance many inconveniences may be avoyded in which the youth commonly fall, either by over much libertie which they have in strange and unknowne places, while they cannot rule themselves; or else for lack of good attendance, and [of] such necessaries as their tender age requires. Secondly, the exercise of children in every kirke shall be great instruction to the aged and unlearned]. Last, the great schooles called the universities shall be replenished with these that shall be apt to learning; for this must be carefully provided, that no father, of what estate or condition that ever he be, use his children at his own fantasie, especially in their youth-head; but all must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and vertue.

4. The rich and potent may not be permitted to suffer their children to pass their youth in vaine idlenesse, as heretofore they have done. But they must be exhorted, and by the censure of the kirk compelled to dedicate their sonnes, by [training them up in] good exercises, to the profite of their soules and good health, and that they must doe of their own expense. The children of the poore must be supplied by the charge of the kirk, tryall being taken whether they be found or not. If they be found apt to learning, they must not (we meane, neither the sons of the poore) be permitted to reject learning, but must be

† That is, Calvin's Catechisme.

charged to continue their studie, so that the commonwealth may have some comfort by them. And for this purpose must discreet, grave, and learned men be appointed to visit schooles for the tryall of their exercise, profit, and continuance; to wit, the minister and elders, with the best learned men in every town, shall in every quarter make examination how the youth have profited.

5. A certain time must be appointed to reading and learning of the Catechisme, and [a] certain [time] to the grammar and to the Latine tongue, and a certain [time] to the arts of philosophie, and the [other] tongues, and [a] certain [time] to that studie in the which they intend chiefly to travel for the profite of the commonwealth; which time being expired, we meane in every course, the children should either proceed to farther knowledge, or else they must be set to some handie craft, or to some other profitable exercise; providing alwaies that first they have further knowledge of Christian religion, *to wit*, the knowledge of God's law and commandments, the use and office of the same, the chief articles of the beleefe, the right form to pray unto God, the number, use, and effect of the sacraments, the true knowledge of Christ Jesus, of his offices and natures, and such other [points], without the knowledge whereof neither any man deserves to be called a Christian, neither ought any to be admitted to the participation of the Lord's table; and therefore thir principles ought and must be learned in the youth-head.

II. *The Time appointed to every Course.*

6. Two yeares we thinke more then sufficient to learne to reade perfectly, to answer to the Catechisme, and to have some entres in the first rudiments of grammar; to the full accomplishment whereof (we meane of the grammar) we thinke other three years or four at most sufficient to the arts, *to wit*, logick, to rhetorick, and to the Greek tongue [we allow other] four years; and the rest till the age of 24 years, to be spent in the study, wherein the learner would profit the church or commonwealth, be it in the lawes, physick, or divinitie, which time of 24 years being spent in the schools, the learner must be removed to serve the church or commonwealth, unlesse he be found a necessary reader in this same colledge or university. If God shall move your hearts to establish and execute this order, and put these things in practice, your whole realme, we doubt not, within few years, will serve itselfe of true preachers, and of other officers necessary for the commonwealth.

III. *Of the Erection of Universities.*

7. The grammer schoole being erected, and of the tongues as we have said, next we think it necessary there be three universities in this whole realme, established in the three towns accustomed.* The first in St. Androes, the second in Glasgow, and the third in Aberdeen. And in the first and principal university, *viz.*, St. Androes, that there be three col-

* The University of Edinburgh was not founded till the year 1582; and that in the town of Aberdeen not till some time after.

ledges; and in the first colledge, which is the entry of the university, there be four classes or sieges, the first to the new supposts shall be only [of] Dialectick, next only Mathematicks, the third of Physicks only, the fourth of Medicine. And in the second colledge two classes or sieges, the first of Morall Philosophy, the second of the Lawes. And in the third colledge, two classes or sieges, the first of the tongues, *to wit*, Greek and Hebrue, the second of Divinity.

IV. *Of Readers, of the Degrees, and Time of Studie [and of Principals and Rector, and of Bursars].*

8. *Imprimis*, In the first colledge and first classe shall be a reader of Dialectick, who shall accomplish his course thereof in a yeare. In Mathematicks, which is the second classe, shall be a reader who shall compleat his course of Arithmetick, Geometrie, Cosmography, and Astrologie in one yeare. In the third classe shall be a reader of Naturall Philosophy, who shall compleat his course in one yeare. And who after thir three years, by tryall and examination, shall be found sufficiently instructed in the fore-said sciences, shall be laureat and graduat in Philosophy. In the fourth classe shall be a reader of Medicine, who shall compleat his course in five years; after the study of the which time, being by examination found sufficient, they shall be graduat in Medicine.

9. *Item*, In the second colledge in the first classe, one reader onely in the Ethicks, Œconomicks, and Politicks, who shall compleat his course in the space of one yeare. In the second classe shall be two readers in the Municipal and Roman Laws, who shall compleat their course in four yeares; after which time being by examination found sufficient, they shall be graduate in the Lawes.

10. *Item*, In the third colledge in the first classe, one reader of the *Hebrew* and another of the *Greek* tongue, who shall compleat the grammer thereof in three moneths, and the remanent of the yeare, the reader of the *Hebrew* shall interpret one book of Moses, [or of] the Prophets, or the Psalms, so that this course and classe shall continue one year; the reader of the *Greek* shall interpret some book of Plato, together with some places of the New Testament [and shall compleat his course the same year]. In the second classe shall be two readers in *Divinitie*, the one in the New Testament, the other in the Old, who shall compleat their course in five years; after which time, who shall be found by examination sufficient, they shall be graduate in *Divinitie*.

11. *Item*, Wee thinke expedient that none be admitted to the first colledge, and be [made] supposts of the Universitie, unlesse he have from the master of the schoole, and minister of the town where he was instructed in the tongues, ane testimonie of his learning, docility, age, and parentage; and likewise triall be taken by certain examiners, depute by the rector and principalls of the same. And if he hath been taught [the] dialectick, and be found sufficiently instructed therein, he shall incontinent the same year be promoted to the classe of mathematicks.

12. *Item*, That none be admitted to the classe of medicine, but he that

shall have his testimoniall of his time well spent in Dialectick, Mathematicks, and Physicks, and of his docility in the last.

13. *Item*, That none be admitted unto the classe of the lawes, but he that shall have sufficient testimonialls of his time well spent in Dialecticks, Mathematicks, Physicks, Ethicks, Œconomicks, and Politicks, and of his docilitie in the last.

14. *Item*, That none be admitted unto the classe and siege of divinity, but he that shall have sufficient testimonialls of his time well spent in Dialectick, Mathematicks, Physicks, Ethicks, Œconomicks, and Politicks, and the Hebrew tongue, and of his docilitie in the moral philosophy and the Hebrew tongue. But neither shall such as apply them[selves] to heare the Lawes, be compelled to heare Medicine; neither such as apply them[selves] to heare Divinitie, be compelled to heare either Medicine or yet the Lawes.

15. *Item*, In the second University, which is Glasgow, shall be two colledges onely: In the first shall be a classe of Dialectick, an other of Mathematicks, the third of Physicks, ordered in all sorts as S. Androea.

16. *Item*, In the second [colledge shall be] foure classes, the first of Moral Philosophy, Ethicks, Œconomicks, and Politicks; the second of the Municipal and Roman Lawes; the third of the Hebrew tongue; the fourth of Divinity: Which shall be ordered in all sorts [according] to that we have written in the order of the Universitie of St. Androea.*

17. The third University of Aberdeen shall be conforme to this Universitie of Glasgow in all sorts.

18. *Item*, We thinke needfull that there be chosen [forth] of the bodie of the Universitie to every colledge, a Principall, [who must be a] man of learning, discretion, and diligence. He shall receive the whole rents of the colledge, and distribute the same according to the erection of the colledge, and shall dayly hearken the dyet counts; adjoyning to him[selfe] weekly one of the readers or regents, above whom he shall take attendance upon their diligence, as well in their reading as exercising of the yowth in the matter taught: [he shall oversee] the policie and uphold† of the place: And for punishment of crimes shall hold a weekly convention with the whole members of the colledge. He shall be countable yearly to the superintendent, rector, and the [rest of the] principalls convened, about the first of November. His election shall be in this sort, there shall be three of the most sufficient men of the Universitie (not principalls already) nominate by the members of the colledge whose principall is departed [and who are] sworn to follow their consciences, [then these three shall be] publickly proponed through the whole Universitie: Eight days after the which time, the superintendent himselfe or his speciall procurator, with the rector and the rest of the principalls, as a chapter convenit, shall confirme one of the three they think most sufficient; being before sworn to do the same with a single eye but respect to fead or favour.

19. *Item*, In every colledge we thinke needfull at least a steward, a

* There is here no mention made of Medicine or Greek; but it is probable that a Professor of Greek was designed both for Glasgow and Aberdeen, for the reason given in the remark on the 25th section of this chapter.

† Some copies have *buildingz*.

cooke, a gardiner, and porter, who shall be subject to [the] discipline of the principall, as [are] the rest.

20. *Item*, That everie universitie have a beddall subject to serve at all times throughout the whole universitie, as the rector and principall shall command.

21. *Item*, That everie universitie have a rector chosen from yeare to yeare as shall follow. The principalls being convened with the whole regents chapterly, shall be sworn that every man [speaking] in his [own] roome, shall nominate such a one as his conscience shall testify to be most sufficient to beare such charge and dignity; and three of them that shall be ofttest nominated shall be put in edict publickly fifteen daies before Michaelmas; and then shall on Michaelmas even convene the whole principalls, regents, and supports that are graduat, or at the least [have] studyed their time in Ethicks, Œconomicks, and Politicks, and no others yonger; and every one [having] first protested in God's presence to follow the sincere dytment of their conscience, shall nominate [one] of the three, and he that hath most votes shall be confirmed by the superintendent and principals, and his duty with an exhortation proponed unto him, and this to be the 28 day of September; and thereafter [an oath] shall be taken [of] him for his just and godly government, and of the rest [for their] lawful submission and obedience: He shall be propyned by the university at his entry with a new garment,* bearing *insignia magistratus*. [And] he shall be holden monethly to visite every colledge, and with his presence decore and examine the lections and exercises thereof. His assessors shall be a lawyer and a theologue, with whose advice he shall decide all questions civill betwixt the members of the university. If any without the university persue a member thereof, or he be persued by a member of the same, he shall assist the provost and baillies in these cases, or other judges competent, to see justice be ministred. In like wise if any of the university be criminally persued, he shall assist the judges competent, and see that justice be ministred.

22. *Item*, We think [it] expedient that in every colledge in every university there be 24 bursars, divided equally in all the classes and sieges as is above expremitt; *that is*, in St. Androes 72 bursars, in Glasgow 48 bursars, in Aberdeen 48, to be sustained onely in meat upon the charges of the colledge; and to be admitted at the examination to the ministerie [of the town] and chaptour of principalls in the university as well in the locality of the persons offered, as of the ability of their parents to sustaine them themselves, and not to burden the commonwealth with them.

V. *Of the Stipends and Expenses necessary.*

23. We thinke expedient that the universities be doted with temporall ands, with rents and revenues of the bishopricks temporalitie, and of the kirkes collegiat, so farre as their ordinary charges shall require; and herefore that it would please your honours, by advice of your honourable

* Some copies have, *insignia magistratus* being borne before him, he shall visite every colledge monethly, &c.

that they may finde some benefite of Christ Jesus now preached unto them.

2. With the griefe of our hearts we heare, that some gentlemen are now as cruell over their tenants as ever were the Papists, requiring of them [the tiends and] whatsoever they afore paid to the kirk, so that the Papistical tyrannie shall onely be changed into the tyrannie of the lord and laird. We dare not flatter your honours, neither yet is it profitable for you that we so doe. [For neither shall we,] if we permit cruelty to be used; neither shall ye, who by your authoritie ought to gainestand such oppression, nor yet they that use the same, escape God's heave and fearful judgements. The gentlemen, barones, earles, lords, and others, must be content to live upon their just rents, and suffer the kirk to be restored to her [right and] liberty; that by her restitution, the poore, who heretofore by the cruell Papists have been spoiled and oppressed, may now receive some comfort and relaxation, that their tiends and other exactions be cleane discharged, and no more taken in times comming. The uppermost claith, corps-present, clerk maile, the pasche-offering, tiend-ale, and all handlings upaland,* can neither be required nor received of good conscience.

3. Neither do we judge it to proceed of justice, that any man should possess the tiends of another, but we think it a most reasonable thing that every man have the use of his own tiends, provided that he answer to the deacons and treasurers of the kirk, of that which [of] justice shall be appointed to him. We require the deacons and treasurers rather to receive the rents, then the ministers themselves; because that of the tiends must not onely the minister be susteined, but also the poore and schooles. And therefore we think it expedient that common treasurers, viz., the deacons, be appointed from yeare to yeare, to receive the whole rents appertaining to the kirk, and that commandement be given that none be permitted either to receive or yet to intronet with any thing appertaining to the sustentation of the persons foresaid, but such as by common consent of the kirk are thereto appointed.

4. If any think this prejudiciall to the tackes and assedations of them that now possesse the tiends: Let them understand that their unjust possession is no possession before God; for they of whom they received their title, and pre-supposed right or warrant, were theeves and murtherers, and had no power so to alienate the patrimonie and common good of the kirk. And yet we are not so extreame but that we wish just recompence to be made to such as have debursed summes of money to the unjust possessors, so that it hath not been done of late dayes in prejudice of the kirk; but such as are found and known to be done of plaine collusion, in no wayes ought to be maintained by you. And for that purpose we think it most expedient that whosoever have assedation of tiends [of] any kirk [in part or in whole], be openly warned to produce their assedation and assurance, that cognition being taken, the just taksmen may have the just and reasonable recompence for the yeares that are to runne, the profite of the yeares past being considered and deduced; and the unjust and surmised

* Exactions in the country.

may be served accordingly, so that the kirk in the end may receive her libertie and freedom, and that onely for the reliefe of the poore.

5. Your honours may easily understand that we speake not now for our selves, but in favour of the labourers defrauded and opprest by the priests, and by their confederate pensioners; for while that the priests pensioner his idle belly is delicately fed, the poore, to whom the portion of that appertaines, was pynd with hunger, and moreover the true labourer was compelled to pay that which he ought not: For the labourer is neither debtor to the dumbe dogge called the bishop, neither yet to his hired pensioner, but is debtor onely to the kirk; and the kirk is bound to sustaine and nourish of her charges the persons before mentioned, *to wit*, the ministers of the word, the poore, and the teachers of the youth.

6. But now to returne to the former head. The summes able to sustaine the forenamed persons, and to furnish all things appertaining to the preservation of good order and policie within the kirk, must be lifted of the tenths, *to wit*, the tenth sheaf of [all sorts of corn], hay, hemp, [and] lint; [tenth] fishe, tenth calfe, tenth lamb, tenth wooll, tenth folle, tenth cheese. And because that we know that the tenth reasonably taken, as is before expressed, will not suffice to discharge the former necessity; we thinke that all things doted to hospitality, and annual rents both in burgh and land pertaining to the priests, chanteries, colledges, chappellanries, and the freeries of all orders, to the sisters of the seenes, and such kirk or kirks within the townes and parishes where they were doted. Furthermore, to the upholding of the universities, and sustentation of the superintendents, the whole renew of the temporality of the bishops, deanes, and archdeanes lands, and of all rents of lands pertaining to the cathedral kirks whatsoever. And further [we thinke that] merchants and rich craftsmen in free burghs, having nothing to doe with the manuring of the ground, must make some provision in their cities, towns, and dwelling places, for to support the need of the kirk.

7. To the ministers, and failing thereof the readers, must be restored their manses and gleibs; for else they cannot serve [nor attend] their flocks at all times, as their dutie is. If any gleib exceed six akers of ground, the rest shall remain in the hands of the possessours, till [further] order be taken therein.

8. The receivers and collectors of these reuts and duties must be deacons or thesaurers appointed from yeare to yeare in every kirk, and by the common consent and free election of the kirk, the deacons must distribute no part of that which is collected, but by command of the ministers and elders; and they may command nothing to be delivered, but as the kirk hath before determined, *to wit*, the deacons shall of the first part pay the summes, either quarterly, or from halfe yeare to halfe yeare, to the ministers which the kirk hath appointed. The same they shall doe to the schoolmasters, readers, and hospitall, if any be, receiving alwayes an acquittance for their discharge.

9. If any extraordinary summes be to be delivered, then must the ministers, elders, and deacons, consult whether the deliverance of such summes doth stand with the common utilitie of the kirk or not, and if they

do universally condescend and agree upon the affirmative or negative, then because they are in credite and office for the yeare, they may do as best seems; but if there be any controversy amongst themselves, the whole kirk must be made privy, and after that the matter be proponed, and the reasons [heard], the judgment of the kirk with the ministers consent shall prevaile.

10. The deacons shall be compelled and bound to make accounts to the minister and elders of that which they received, as oft as the policie shall appoint; and the elders when they are changed, which must be every yeare, must cleare their count before such auditors as the kirk shall appoint; and both the deacons and elders being changed, shall deliver to them that shall be new elected all summes of money, cornes, and other profites, resting in their hands: the tickets whereof must be delivered to the superintendents in their visitation, and by them to the great councill of the kirk, that as well the aboundance as the indigence of everie kirk may be evidently known, that a reasonable equality may be had throughout this whole realm. If this order be perfectly kept, corruption cannot suddenly enter. For the free and yearly election of deacons and elders* shall suffer none to usurp a perpetuall domination over the kirk; the knowledge of the rentall shall suffer them to receive no more then whereof they shall be bound to make accounts; the deliverance of money to the new officers shall not suffer private men [to] use in their private business, that which appertaines to the publick affaires of the kirk.

CHAPTER IX.

I. *The Serenth Head—of Ecclesiasticall Discipline.*

1. As that no common-wealth can flourish or long indure without good lawes and sharp execution of the same; so neither can the kirk of God be brought to purity, neither yet be retained in the same, without the order of ecclesiasticall discipline, which stands in reprovng and correcting of the faults, which the civill sword either doth neglect, or [may] not punish: blasphemie, adulterie, murder, perjurie, and other crimes capitall, worthy of death, ought not properly to fall under [the] censure of the kirk; because all such open transgressors of God's lawes ought to be taken away by the civill sword. But drunkenness, excesse, be it in apparell or be it in eating and drinking, fornication, oppressing of the poore by exactions, deceit in buying and selling by wrang met and measure, wanton words and licentious living tending to slander, do properly appertaine to the kirk of God to punish them as God's Word commands.

2. But because this accursed Papestrie hath brought in such confusion into the world, that neither was vertue rightly praised, neither yet vice severely punished; the kirk of God is compelled to draw the sword which of God she hath received, against such open and manifest contemners, cursing and excommunicating all such, as well those whom the civill sword ought to punish as the other, from all participation with her in prayers

* See the Second Book of Discipline, chap. vi. sect. 2, and chap. viii. sect. 2.

and sacraments till open repentance appeare manifestly in them. As the order and proceeding to excommunication ought to be slow and grave, so being once pronounced against any person of what estate or condition that ever they be, it must be kept with all severity; for lawes made and not kept engender contempt of vertue, and bring in confusion and liberty to sinne; and therefore this order we thinke expedient to be observed afore and after excommunication.

3. First, if the offence be secret or known to few men, and rather stands in suspicion, then in manifest probation, the offender ought to be privately admonished to abstaine from all appearance of evill, which if he promise to doe, and declare himselfe sober, honest, and one that feares God and feares to offend his brethren, then may the secret admonition suffice for his correction. But if he either contemne the admonition or after promise made to shew himselfe no more circumspect then he was before, then must the minister admonish him, to whom if he be found inobedient they must proceed according to the rule of Christ, as after shall be declared.

4. If the crime be publick, and such as is heynous, as fornication, drunkennesse, fighting, common swearing, or execration, then ought the offender to be called in presence of the minister, elders and deacons, where his sinne and trespasse ought to be declared and aggregated, so that his conscience may feelee how farre he hath offended God, and what slander he hath raised in the kirk; if signes of unfained repentance appeare in him, and if he require to be admitted to publick repentance, the minister may appoint unto him a day when the whole kirk convenes together, that in presence of all he may testify his repentance which before he professed: which if he accept, and with reverence confesse his sinne, earnestly desiring the congregation to pray to God with him for mercy, and to accept him in their societie notwithstanding the former offence; then the kirk may and ought to receive him as a penitent, for the kirk ought to be no more severe then God declares himselfe to be, who witnesses that in *whatsoever* *houre a sinner unfeignedly repents, and turnes from his wicked way, that he will not remember one of his iniquities;* and therefore ought the kirk diligently to advert that it excommunicate not those whom God absolves.

5. If the offender called before, the ministerie be found stubborn, hard-hearted, or in whom no signe of repentance appeares, then must he be dimitted with an exhortation to consider the dangerous estate in which he stands; assuring him that if they finde in him no other tokens of amendment of life, that they will be compelled to seek a further remedy: if he, within a certaine space, shew his repentance to the ministerie, they may present him to the kirk, as before is said.

6. If he continue not in his repentance, then must the kirk be advertised that such crimes are committed amongst them, which by the ministry hath bene reprehended, and the persons provoked to repent; whereof because no signes appeare unto them, they could not but signifie unto the kirk the crimes, but not the person, requiring them earnestly to call to God to move and touch the heart of the offender, so that suddenly and earnestly he may repent.

7. If the person maligne, the next day of publick assembly, the crime

and the person must be both notified unto the kirk, and their judgments must be required, if that such crimes ought to be suffered unpunished among them: Request also should be made to the most discrete and nearest friend of the offender to travell with him to bring him to [the] knowledge of himself, and of his dangerous estate; with a commandement given to all men to call to God for the conversion of the unpenitent. If a solemne and speciall prayer were drawne for that purpose, the thing would be more gravely done.*

8. The third Sondag the minister ought to require, if the unpenitent have declared any signes of repentance to one of the ministry, and if he have, then may the minister appoint him to be examined by the whole ministry; either then instantly, or another day affixed to the consistorie: And if repentance appeare, as well for his crime as for his long contempt, then he may be presented to the kirk, and make his confession to be accepted as before is said: But if no man signifie his repentance, then ought he to be excommunicated, and by the mouth of the minister, and consent of the ministry, and commandement of the kirk, must such a contemner be pronounced excommunicate from God, and from all society of the kirk.

9. After which sentence may no person (his wife and family onely excepted) have any kind of conversation with him, be it in eating and drinking, buying and selling, yea in saluting or talking with him; except that it be at commandement or licence of the ministrie for his conversion: That he, by such meanes confounded, seeing himselfe abhorred of the godly and faithfull, may have occasion to repent, and so be saved. The sentence of excommunication must be published universally throughout the realme, lest that any man should pretend ignorance.

10. His children begotten and born after that sentence and before his repentance, may not be admitted to baptisme till either they be of age to require the same, or else that the mother or some of his speciall friends, members of the kirk, offer and present the child, abhorring and damning the iniquity and obstinate contempt of the impenitent. If any man should think it severe that the child should be punished for the iniquity of the father, let him understand that the sacraments appertaine to the faithfull and their seed; but such as stubbornly contemne all godly admonition, and obstinately remaine in their iniquity, cannot be accounted amongst the faithfull.

II. *The Order for Public Offenders.*

We have spoken nothing of them that commit horrible crimes, as murderers, manslaughterers, adulterers; for such, as we have said, the civill sword ought to punish to dead: But in case they may be permitted to live, then must the kirk, as is before said, draw the sword which of God she hath received, holding them as accursed, even in their very fact. The offender being first called, and [the] order of the kirk used against him, in the same manner as the persons for their obstinate impenitency are publicly excommunicate. So that the obstinate impenitent after the sentence of

* See the Ordour of Excommunication, and of Public Repentance, chap. ii.

excommunication, and the murtherer or adulterer stand in one case, as concerning the judgement of the kirk; *that is*, neither of both may be received in the fellowship of the kirk to prayers or sacraments (but to hearing the word they may) till first they offer themselves to the ministrie, humbly requiring the ministers and elders to pray to God for them, and also to be intercessors to the kirk that they may be admitted to publick repentance, and to the fruition of the benefits of Christ Jesus, distributed to the members of his bodie.

12. If this request be humbly made, then may not the ministers refuse to signifie the same unto the kirk, the next day of publick preaching the minister giving exhortation to the kirk to pray to God to perform the worke which he appears to have begun, working in the heart of the offender unfaigned repentance of his grievous crime and offence, [with a sense] and feeling of his great mercy, by the operation of the Holy Spirit. Thereafter one day ought publickly to be assigned unto him to give open profession of his offence and contempt, and so to make publick satisfaction to the kirk of God: Which day the offender must appear in presence of the whole kirk, with his own mouth damning his own impiety, publickly confessing the same; desiring of God his mercy and grace, and [of] his congregation that it would please them to receive him in their society, as before is said. The minister must examine him diligently whether he finds a hatred and displeasure of his sinne, as well of his contempt as of his crime: Which if he confesse, he must travell with him to see what hope he hath of God's mercies.

13. If he finde him [humbly disposed, and] reasonably instructed in the knowledge of Christ Jesus, and the vertue of his death; then may the minister comfort him with God's infallible promises, and demand of the kirk if they be content to receive that creature of God, whom Satan before had drawn in his nettes, into the society of their bodie, seeing that he [hath] declared himselfe penitent: Which if the kirk grant, as they cannot justly deny the same, then ought the minister in public prayer commend him to God, [and] confesse the sin of that offender before the whole kirk, desiring mercy and grace for Christ Jesus sake. Which prayer being ended, the minister ought to exhort the kirk to receive that penitent brother into their favours, as they require God to receive themselves when they offend; and in signe of their consent, the elders and chiefe men of the kirk shall take the penitent by the hand, and one or two in the name of the rest shall kiss and embrace him with reverence and gravitie as a member of Christ Jesus.

14. Which being done, the minister shall exhort the received, that he take diligent heed in times comming, that Sathan trap him not in such crimes, admonishing him that he* will not cease to tempt and trie by all meanes possible to bring him from that obedience which he hath given to God and to the ordinance of Jesus Christ. The exhortation being ended, the minister ought to give publick thankes unto God for the conversion of their brother, and for all benefits which we receive of Christ Jesus, praying for the increase and continuance of the same.

* How that enemy will not, &c.

15. If the penitent after he hath offered himself unto the ministrie, or to the kirk, be found ignorant of the principall points of our religion, and chiefly in the articles of justification and of the offices of Christ Jesus, then ought he to be exactly instructed before he be received. For a mocking of God it is to receive them to repentance who know not wherein standeth their remedie, when they repent their sinne.

III. *Persons subject to Discipline.*

16. To discipline must all the Estates within this realme be subject, as well the rulers as they that are ruled; yea, and the preachers themselves, as well as the poorest within the kirk: And because the eye and mouth of the kirk ought to be most single and irreprehensible, the life and conversation of the minister ought to be diligently tried, whereof we shall speak after that we have spoken of the election of elders and deacons, who must assist the minister in all publick affairs of the kirk.

CHAPTER X.

The Eight Head—touching the Election [and Office] of Elders and Deacons; [and the Censure of Ministers, Elders, and Deacons.]

1. Men of best knowledge in God's word, and cleanest life, men faithfull and of most honest conversation that can be found in the kirk, must be nominate to be put in election, and their names must be publickly read to the whole kirk by the minister, giving them advertisement, that from amongst them must be chosen elders and deacons; if any of these nominate be noted with publick infamie, he ought to be repelled; for it is not seemly that the servant of corruption should have authoritie to judge in the kirk of God. If any man know others of better qualities within the kirk then these that be nominate, let them be put in election [with them], that the kirk may have the choyce.

2. If the kirk be of smaller number then that seniors and deacons can be chosen from amongst them, then may they well be joyned to the next adjacent kirks. For the pluralitie of kirks without ministers and order shall rather hurt than edifie.

3. The election of elders and deacons ought to be made every yeare once, which we judge to be most convenient on the first day of August; lest of long continuance of such officers, men presume upon the liberty of the kirk: [And yet] it hurteth not that one be received in office moe yeares than one, so that he be appointed yearly [thereto] by common and free election;* provided alwayes, that the deacons and thesaurers be not compelled to receive the [same] office againe for the space of three yeares. How the votes and suffrages may be best received, so that every man may give his vote freely, every severall kirk may take such order as best seems [to] them.

4. The elders being elected, must be admonished of their office, which is to assist the ministers in all publicke affaires of the kirk; to wit, in determining and judging causes, in giving admonition to the licentious liver, in

* See the Second Book of Discipline, chap. vi. sect. 2; and chap. viii. sect. 2

having respect to the manners and conversation of all men within their charge. For by the gravitie of the seniors, the light and unbridled life of the licentious must be corrected and bridled.

5. Yea the seniors ought [also] to take heed to the life, manners, diligence, and study of their minister. If he be worthy of admonition, they must admonish him; of correction, they must correct him; and if he be worthy of deposition, they with consent of the kirk and superintendent may depose him, so that his crime deserve so. If a minister be light of conversation, by his elders and deacons he ought to be admonished: If he be negligent in study, or one that vaikes* not upon his charge or flock, or one that propones not faithfull doctrine, he deserves sharper admonition and correction; to the which if he be found stubborn and inobedient, then may the seniors of the kirk complain to the ministry of the two next adjacent kirks, where men of greater gravitie are, to whose admonition if he be found inobedient, he ought to be discharged of his ministry, till his repentance appeare, and a place be vakand for him.

6. If any minister be deprehended in any notable crime, as whoredome adulterie [murther], manslaughter, perjurie, teaching of heresie, or any other deserving death, or that may be a note of perpetual infamie, he ought to be deposed for ever. By heresie we mean pernicious doctrine plainly taught, and +openly defended, against the foundations and principles of our faith; and such a crime we judge to deserve perpetual deposition from the ministry: For most dangerous do we know it to be to commit the flocke to a man infected with the pestilence of heresie.

7. Some crimes deserve deposition for a time, and while the person give declaration of greater gravitie and honesty: As if a minister be deprehended drinking, brawling, or fighting; an open slanderer or infamer of his neighbours, factious, and a sower of discord, he must be commanded to cease from his ministry till he declare some sign of repentance, upon the which the kirk shall abide him the space of 20 dayes or further, as the kirk shall think expedient, before they proceed to a new election.

8. Every inferiour kirk shall by one of their seniors and one of their deacons once in the yeare, notifie unto the ministers of the superintendent's kirk the life, manners, study, and diligence of their ministers, to the end the discretion of some may correct the levitie of others.

9. Not onely must the life and maners of ministers come under censure and judgment of the kirk, but also of their wives, children, and familie: Judgment must be taken that he neither live riotously, neither yet avaritiously; yea, respect must be had how they spend the stipend appointed to their living: If a reasonable stipend be appointed, and they live avaritiously, they must be admonished to live as they receive; for as excesse and superfluitie is not tolerable in a minister, so is avarice and the careful solicitude of money utterly to be damned in Christ's servants, and especially in them that are fed upon the charge of the kirk: We judge it unseemly and intolerable, that ministers should be buirded in common ale-houses or in tavernes.

10. Neither must a minister be permitted to frequent and commonly

* Waiteth.

† Obstinate.

haunt the court, unlesse it be for a time, when he is either sent by the kirk, or called for by the authoritie for his counsell and judgment in civil affairs.* Neither yet must he be one of the counsell,† be he judged never so apt for the purpose; but either must he cease from the ministry (which at his own pleasure he may not do), or else from bearing charge in civil affairs, unlesse it be to assist the Parliament if he be called.

11. The office of deacons, as before is sayd, is to receive the rents, and gather the alms of the kirk, to keep and distribute the same, as by the ministers and kirk shall be appointed; they may also assist in judgement with the minister and elders, and may be admitted to read in assembly if they be required, and be able thereto.

12. The elders and deacons, with their wives and household, should be under the same censure that is prescribed for the ministers: For they must be carefull over their office, and seeing they are judges over others manners, their own conversation ought to be irreprehensible: They must be sober, lovers and maintainers of concord and peace [amongst neighbours]; and finally, they ought to be examples of godliness to others. And if the contrary thereof appeare, they must be admonished thereof by the ministers, or some of their brethren of the ministry, if the fault be secret: And if the fault be open and known, they must be rebuked before the ministry, and the same order kept against the senior and deacon, that before is described against the minister.

13. We think it not necessary that any public stipend shall be appointed, either to the elders, or yet to the deacons, because their travell continues but for a yeare; and also because that they are not so occupied with the affairs of the kirk, but that reasonably they may attend upon their domesticall businesse.

CHAPTER XI.

The Ninth Head—concerning the Policie of the Kirk.

1. *Policie* we call an exercise of the kirk in such things as may bring the rude and ignorant to knowledge, or else inflame the learned to greater fervencie, or to retain the kirk in good order; and thereof there be two sorts, the one utterly necessarie, as that the word be truly preached, the sacraments rightly ministred, common prayers publickly made, that the children and rude persons be instructed in the chiefe points of religion; and that offences be corrected and punished; these things be so necessary, that without the same there is no face of a visible kirk. The other is profitable, but not merely necessary, [as] that psalms should be sung, that certain places of the Scriptures be read when there is no sermon; that this day or that, or how many [days] in the week the kirk should assemble; of these and such others we cannot see how a certain order can be established: For in some kirks the psalmes may conveniently be sung, in others perchance they cannot; some kirkes [may] convene every day, some twice, some thrice in the week, [and] some perchance but once: In this

* In any matter.

† Of the counsell in civil affairs.

and such like must every particular kirk by their consent appoint their owne policie.

2. [Yet] in great townes we thinke expedient that every day there be either sermon or common prayers, with some exercise of reading of Scriptures. What day the public sermon is, we can neither require nor greatly approve that the common prayers be publickly used, lest that we should either foster the people in superstition, who come to the prayers, as they come to the masse; or else give them occasion, that they think them no prayers, which be made before and after sermons.

3. In every notable town, we require that one day, beside the Sondag, be appointed to the sermon, which during the time of sermon and prayers must be kept free from all exercise of labour, as well of the maister as of the servant; in smaller townes, as we have said, the common consent of the kirk must put order: But the Sondag must straitly be kept both before and after noone in all townes. Before noone must the word be preached, and sacraments ministred, as also marriage solemnized if occasion offer: After noone must the yong children be publickly examined in their catechism in the audience of the people, [in doing] whereof the minister must take great diligence, as well to cause the people understand the questions proponed, as [the] answers, and the doctrine that may be collected thereof; the order [to be kept in teaching the catechism], and how much [of it] is appointed for every Sondag, is already distinguished in [the Catechism printed with] the *Book of our Common Order*, which Catechism is the most perfect that ever yet was used in the kirk. And after noone may baptisme be ministred, when occasion is offered of great travell before noone: It is also to be observed, that prayers be after noone upon Sondag, where there is neither preaching nor catechisme.

4. It appertaines to the policie of the kirk to appoint the times when the sacraments shall be ministred. Baptisme may be ministred whensoever the word is preached; but we think it more expedient that it be ministred upon Sondag, or upon the day of prayers, onely after the sermon: Partly to remove this grosse error by the which many are deceived, thinking that children be damned if they die without baptisme; and partly to make the people have greater reverence to the administration of the sacraments then they have, for we see the people begin already to wax weary by reason of the frequent repetition of those promises.

5. Foure times in the yeare we think sufficient to the administration of the Lord's table, which we desire to be distincted, that the superstitions of times* may be avoided so farre as may be: For your honours are not ignorant how superstitiously the people runne to that action at Pasche, even as if the time gave vertue to the sacrament; and how the rest of the whole year they are carelesse and negligent, as if it appertained not unto them, but at that time onely. We think therefore most expedient, that the first Sondag of March be appointed for one time [to that service]; the first Sondag of June for another; the first Sondag of September for the third; the first Sondag of December for the fourth: We do not deny but any severall kirk for reasonable causes may change the time, and may

* Superstitious observation of times.

minister oftner, but we studie to repress superstition. All ministers must be admonished to be more carefull to instruct the ignorant then readie to serve their appetite, and to use sharp examination rather then indulgence, in admitting to thir great mysteries such as be ignorant of the use and vertue of the same: And therefore we think that the administration of the table ought never to be without examination passing before, and specially of them whose knowledge is suspect; we think that none are to be admitted to this mysterie who can not formally say the Lord's prayer, the articles of the beliefe, nor declare the summe of the law [and understandeth not the use and vertue of this holy sacrament].

6. Further, we think it a thing most expedient and necessary, that every kirk have the Bible in *English*, and that the people be commanded to convene and heare the plaine reading and interpretation of the Scripture, as the kirk shall appoiat; [for] by frequent reading, this grosse ignorance, which in this cursed Papistrie hath overflowed all, may partly be removed. We thinke it most expedient that the Scripture be read in order, *that is*, that some one book of the Old or New Testament be begun and orderly read to the end; and the same we judge of preaching, where the minister for the most part remaines in one place: For this skipping and divagation from place to place of Scripture, be it in reading, or be it in preaching, we judge not so profitable to edifie the kirk, as the continuall following of one text.

7. Every master of household must be commanded either to instruct, or cause to be instructed, his children, servants, and family, in the principles of the Christian religion, without the knowledge whereof ought none to be admitted to the table of the Lord Jesus: For such as be so dull and so ignorant, that they can neither try themselves, nor yet know the dignitie and mysterie of that action, cannot eat and drink of that table worthily. And, therefore, of necessity we judge, that everie year at the least, publicke examination be had by the ministers and elders of the knowledge of every person within the kirk, *to wit*, that every master and mistresse of household come themselves and their family, so many as be come to maturity, before the minister and the elders, and give confession of their faith: If they understand not, nor cannot rehearse the commandments of God's law, know not how to pray, neither wherein their righteousness stands or consists, they ought not to be admitted to the Lord's table: And if they stubburnly contemne, and suffer their children and servants to continue in wilfull ignorance, the discipline of the kirk must proceed against them to excommunication, and then must that matter be referred to the civill magistrate; for seeing that the just lives by his own faith, and Christ Jesus justifies by knowledge of himselfe, insufferable we judge it that men be permitted to live as members of the kirk [of God], and yet [to] continue in ignorance.

8. Moreover, men, women, [and] children, would be exhorted to exercise themselves in Psalmes, that when the kirk doth convene, and sing, they may be the more able together with common hearts and voices to praise God.

9. In private houses we think expedient, that the most grave and dis-

crete person use the common prayers at morn and at night, for the comfort and instruction of others: For seeing that we behold and see the hand of God now presently striking us with divers plagues, we thinke it a contempt of his judgment, or provocation of his anger more to be kindled against us, if we be not moved to repentance of our former unthankfulness, and to earnest invocation of his name, whose onely power may, and great mercy will, if we unfaignedly convert unto him, remove from us thir terrible plagues which now for our iniquities hang over our heads. "Convert us, O Lord, and we shall be converted."

CHAPTER XII.

For Prophecying, or Interpreting of the Scriptures.

1. To the end that the kirk of God may have a tryall of men's knowledge, judgements, graces and utterances; as also, such that have somewhat profited in God's word, may from time to time grow in more full perfection to serve the kirk, as necessity shall require: it is most expedient that in every towne, where schooles and repaire of learned men are, there be [a time] in one certain day every week appointed to that exercise which St. Paul calls prophecying; the order whereof is expressed by him in thir words:* *Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge; but if anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the former keep silence: [for] ye may one by one all prophesie, that all may learne, and all may receive consolation. And the spirits, that is, the judgements, of the prophets, are subject to the prophets.* By which words of the apostle, it is evident that in the kirk of Corinth, when they did assemble for that purpose, some place of Scripture was read, upon the which one first gave his judgement to the instruction and consolation of the auditors; after whom did another either confirme what the former had said, or added what he had omitted, or did gently correct or explaine more properly where the whole verity was not revealed to the former; and in case things were hid from the one and from the other, liberty was given for a third to speak his judgement, to the edification of the kirk; above which number of three, as appears, they passed not, for avoiding of confusion.

2. This exercise is a thing most necessarie for the kirk of God this day in Scotland; for thereby, as said is, shall the kirk have judgement and knowledge of the graces, gifts, and utterances of every man within their bodie; the simple and such as have somewhat profited, shall be encouraged daily to study and to proceed in knowledge, [and] the [whole] kirk shall be edified; for this exercise must be patent to such as list to hear and learne, and every man shall have liberty to utter and declare his minde and knowledge, to the comfort and consolation of the kirk.

3. But least of this profitable exercise there arise debate and strife, curious, peregrine and unprofitable questions are to be avoided. All interpretation disagreeing from the principles of our faith, repugning to

* 1 Cor. xiv. 29, 30, 31, 32.

charity, or that stands in plaine contradiction with any other manifest place of Scripture, is to be rejected. The interpreter in this exercise may not take to himself the liberty of a public preacher (yea, although he be a minister appointed), but he must bind himselfe to his text, that he enter not in degression or in explaining common places: he may use no invective in that exercise, unlesse it be of sobriety in confuting heresies: in exhortations or admonitions he must be short, that the time may be spent in opening the minde of the Holy Ghost in that place; following the sequels and dependance of the text, and observing such notes as may instruct and edifie the auditor: for avoiding of contention, neither may the interpreter, nor any in the assemblie, move any question in open audience, whereto himselfe is not able [presently] to give resolution without reasoning with another, but every man ought to speake his own judgement to the edification of the kirk.

4. If any be noted with curiosity or bringing in of strange doctrines, he must be admonished by the moderator, ministers, and elders, immediately after the interpretation is ended. The whole ministers [with] a number of them that are of the Assembly, ought to convene together, where examination should be had, how the persons that did interpret did handle and convey* the matter; they themselves being removed till every man hath given his censure: after the which the persons being called [in,] the faults, if any notable be found, are noted, and the persons gently admonished. In that Assembly are all questions and doubts, if any arise, resolved without contention.

5. The ministers of the parish kirks in landwart adjacent to every chiefe town, and the readers, if they have any gift of interpretation, within sixe miles, must concurre and assist these that prophetic within the townes; to the end that they themselves may either learne, or others may learne by them. And, moreover, men, in whom is supposed to be any gifts which might edifie the church if they were well employed, must be charged by the ministers and elders to joyn themselves with the session and company of interpreters, to the end that the kirk may judge whether they be able to serve to God's glorie, and to the profit of the kirk, in the vocation of [the] ministry or not: and if any be found disobedient, and not willing to communicate the gifts and speciall graces of God with their brethren, after sufficient admonition, discipline must proceed against them, provided that the civill magistrate concurre with the judgment and election of the kirk; for no man may be permitted as best pleaseth him to live within the kirk of God, but every man must be constrained, by fraternall admonition and correction, to bestow his labours when of the kirk he is required, to the edification of others.

6. What day in the week is most convenient for that exercise, what books of Scripture shall be most profitable to reade, we refer to the judgement of every particular kirk, we mean, to the wisdom of the ministers and elders.

* Intreat.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of Marriage.

1. Because that marriage, the blessed ordinance of God, in this cursed Papistry hath partly bene contemued, and partly hath beene so infirmed that the parties conjoynd could never be assured in conscience, if the Bishops and Prelates list to dissolve the same; we have thought good to shew our judgements how such confusion in times comming may be avoided.

2. And first, publick inhibition must be made, that no person under the power or obedience of others; such as sonns and daughters, and those that be under curators, neither men nor women, contract marriage privately and without [the] knowledge of their parents, tutors or curators, under whose power they are for the time: which if they doe, the censure and discipline of the kirk [ought] to proceed against them. If any son or daughter, or other [under subjection], have their hearts touched with the desire of marriage, they are bound to give honour to their parents, that they open unto them their affection, asking their counsell and assistance, how that motion, which they judge to be of God, may be performed. If the father, [nearest] friend or maister,* gainestand their request, and have no other cause than the common sort of men have; to wit, lacke of goods, and because they are not so high borne as they require; yet must not the parties whose hearts are touched make any covenant till further declaration be made unto the kirk of God [or civill magistrate]: And, therefore, after that they have opened their mindes to their parents, or such others as have charge over them, they must declare it to the ministry also, or to the civill magistrate, requiring them to travell with their parents for their consent, which to doe they are bound. And if they, to wit, the ministry or magistrate, find no cause that is just why the marriage required may not be fulfilled, then, after sufficient admonition to the father, friend, master, or superiour, that none of them resist the work of God, the ministry or magistrate may enter in the place of parents, and by consenting to their just requests, may admit them to marriage: for the worke of God ought not to be hindred by the corrupt affections of worldly men; the work of God we call, when two hearts, without filthinesse before committed, are so joyned, and both require, and are content to live together in that holy band of matrimony.

3. If any commit fornication with that woman he requires in marriage, they do both loose this foresaid benefit as well of the kirk as of the magistrate; for neither of both ought to be intercessors or advocats for filthy fornicators. But the father or nearest friend, whose daughter being a virgine is defloured, hath power by the law of God to compell the man that did that injurie to marry his daughter: and if the father will not accept him by reason of his offence, then may he require the dowrie of his daughter; which if the offender be not able to pay, then ought the civill magistrate to punish his body by some other punishment. And because

* Or curator.

whoredome, fornication, [and] adulterie, are sinnes most common in this realme; we require of your honors, in the name of the eternal God, that severe punishment, according as God hath commanded, be executed against such wicked contemners: for we doubt not but such enormities and crimes, openly committed, provoke the wrath of God, as the apostle speaketh, not onely upon the offenders, but upon such places where without punishment they are committed.

4. But to return to our former purpose, marriage ought not to be contracted amongst persons that have no election for lack of understanding; and therefore we affirme that bairns and infants cannot lawfully be married in their minor age, to wit, the man within 14 yeares, and the woman 12 yeares at least; which if it have been, and they have kept themselves alwayes separate, we cannot judge them to [be bound to] adhere as man and wife, by reason of that promise, which in God's presence was no promise at all; but if in yeares* of judgement they have embraced the one the other, then by reason† of that last consent, they have ratified that which others have promitted for them in their youth-head [and are to be held as married persons].

5. In a reformed kirk, marriage ought not to be secretly used, but in open face and publick audience of the kirk: and for avoiding of dangers, expedient it is that the bannes be publickly proclaimed three [several] Sondagyes, unlesse the persons be so knowne, that no suspicion of danger may arise, and then may the time be shortned at the discretion of the ministry; but no wayes can we admit marriage to be used secretly how honourable soever the persons be, [and therefore] the Sondag before noon we think most expedient for marriage, and [that it ought to] be used no day else without the consent of the whole ministerie.

6. Marriage once lawfully contracted, may not be dissolved at man's pleasure, as our master Christ Jesus doth witnes, unlesse adulterie be committed; which being sufficiently proved in presence of the civill magistrate, the innocent, if they so require, ought to be pronounced free, and the offender ought to suffer death, as God hath commanded. If the civill sword foolishly spare the life of the offender, yet may not the kirke be negligent in their office, which is to excommunicate the wicked, and to repute them as dead members, and to pronounce the innocent partie to be at freedome, be they ever so honourable before the world: [notheless] if the life be spared, as it ought not to be, to the offenders, and if fruits of repentance of long time appeare in them, and if they earnestly desire to be reconciled with the kirk, we judge they may be received to the participation of the sacraments, and other benefites of the kirk; for we would not that the kirk should hold them excommunicate whom God absolved, *that is*, the penitent.

7. If any demand, whether that the offender, after reconciliation with the kirk, may not marrie againe? we answer, that if they cannot live continently, and if the necessity be such as that they feare further offence of God, we cannot forbid them to use the remedy ordained of God. If the partie offended may be reconciled to the offender, then we judge that

* After the years.

† Vertue.

APPENDIX.

on nowayes it shall be lawfull to the offender to marry any other, except the partie that before hath been offended; and the solemnization of the latter marriage must be in the open face of the kirk like as the former, but without proclamation of bannes. This we do offer as the best counsell that God giveth unto us in so doubtosome a case; but the most perfect reformation were, if your honours would give to God his honour and glory, that ye would preferre his expresse commandement to your own corrupt judgements, especially in punishing of these crimes, which he commandeth to be punished with death: for so should ye declare your selves God's true obedient officers, and your common-wealth should be rid of innumerable troubles. We meane not, that sinnes committed in our former blindnesse, which be almost buried in oblivion, shall be called again to examination and judgement; but we require that the law may be now and hereafter so established and exeoute, that this ungodly impunity of sinne have no place within this realme: for in the feare of God we signifie unto your honours, that whosoever perswades you that ye may pardon where God commandeth death, deceives your soules, and provokes you to offend God's majestie.

CHAPTER XIV

Of Buriall.

1. Buriall in all ages hath bene holden in estimation, to signifie that the same bodie which was committed to the earth should not utterly perish, but should rise againe [in the last day]: And the same we would have kept within this realme, provided that superstition, idolatry, and whatsoever hath proceeded of a false opinion and for advantage sake,* may be avoided, [such] as singing of Masse, Placebo, and Dirige, and all other prayers over or for the dead, which are not onely superstitious and vaine, but also are idolatry, and do repugne to the plaine Scriptures of God. For plaine it is, that every one that dyeth, departeth either in the faith of Christ Jesus, or departeth in incredulity: Plaine it is, that they that depart in the true faith of Christ Jesus rest from their labours, and from death do goe to life everlasting, as by our Master and his Apostles we are taught; but whosoever departeth in unbeleefe or incredulitie shall never see life, but the wrath of God abides upon him: And so we say that prayers for the dead are not onely superstitious and vaine, but do expresly repugne to the manifest Scriptures and veritie thereof.

2. For avoiding of all inconveniences, we judge it best that neither singing nor reading be at [the] buriall: For albeit things sung and read may admonish some of the living to prepare themselves for death, yet shall some superstitious think that singing and reading of the living may profite the dead. And therefore we think it most expedient, that the dead be conveyed to the place of buriall with some honest company of the kirk, without either singing or reading; yea, without all kind of ceremony heretofore used, other than that the dead be committed to the grave, with such gravity and sobriety, as those that be present may seem

* Advantage and gain.

to feare the judgements of God, and to hate sinne, which is the cause of death.

3. We are not ignorant that some require a sermon at the buriall, or else some place of Scripture to be read, to put the living in minde that they are mortall, and that likewise they must die: But let these men understand, that the sermons which be daily made serve for that use, which if men despise, the funerall sermons shall rather nourish superstition and a false opinion, as before is said, then that they shall bring such persons to a godly consideration of their own estate. Attour, either shall the ministers for the most part be occupied in funerall sermons, or else they shall have respect of persons, preaching at the burials of the rich and honourable, but keeping silence when the poore and despised departeth; and this with safe conscience cannot the minister do: For seeing that before God there is no respect of persons, and that their ministrie appertaineth to all alike, whatsoever they doe to the rich, in respect of their ministry, the same they are bound to doe to the poorest under their charge.

4. In respect of divers inconveniences, we think it not seemly that the kirk, appointed for preaching and ministration of the sacraments, shall be made a place of buryall, but that some other secret and convenient place, lying in the most free aire, be appointed for that use, which place ought to be walled and fenced about, and kept for that use only.

CHAPTER XV.

For Reparation of the Kirkes.

1. Least that the Word of God, and ministration of the sacraments, by unseemlinesse of the place, come in contempt, of necessity it is that the kirk and place where the people ought publickly to convene, be with expedition repaired with dores, windowes, thack, and with such preparation within, as appertaineth as well to the majestie of [the word of] God, as unto the ease and commodity of the people. And because we know the slothfulnesse of men in this behalfe, and in all other [affairs], which may not redound to their private commoditie; strait charge and commandement must be given, that within an certaine day the reparation must be begun, and within another day to be affixed by your honours, that it may be finished: Penalties and summs of money must be enjoined, and without pardon taken from the contemners.

2. The reparation would be according to the ability and number of kirks. Every kirk must have dores, close windowes of glasse, thack [or sclait] able to withhold raine, a bell to convocate the people together, a pulpet, a basen for baptizing, and tables* for ministration of the Lord's supper. In greater kirks, and where the congregation is great in number, must reparation be made within the kirk, for the quiet and commodious receiving of the people. The expenses are to be lifted partly of the people, and partly of the teinds, at the consideration of the ministry.

* A table.

CHAPTER XVI.

For Punishment of those that prophane the Sacraments, and contemne the Word of God, and dare presume to minister them, not being thereto lawfully called.

1. As Satan hath never ceased from the beginning to draw mankind into one of two extremities, to wit, that men should either be so ravished with gazing upon the visible creatures, that forgetting the cause wherefore they are ordained, they attribute unto them a vertue and power which God hath not granted unto them; or else that men should so contemne and despise God's blessed ordinances and holy institutions, as if that neither in the right use of them there were any profite, neither yet in their prophanation there were any danger: As this way, we say, Satan hath blinded the most part of mankind from the beginning; so doubt we not, but that he will strive to continue in his malice even to the end. Our eyes have scene, and presently do see, the experience of the one and of the other, what was the opinion of the most part of men, of the sacrament of Christ's bodie and blood, during the darknesse of superstition, is not unknowne, how it was gazed upon, kneeled unto, borne in procession, and finally worshipped and honoured as Christ Jesus himselfe; and so long as Satan might then retaine men in that damnable idolatrie, he was quiet as one that possessed his kingdome of darknes peaceably. But since that it hath pleased the mercie of God to reveale unto the unthankfull world the light of his word, the right use and administration of his sacraments, he assayes man upon the contrary part: For where not long agoe men stood in such admiration of that idol the masse, that none durst have presumed to have said the masse but the shaven sort, the beast's marked-men; some dare now be so bold, as, without all vocation, to minister, as they suppose, the true sacraments in open assemblies; and some idiots (yet more wickedly and impudently) dare counterfeit in their house that which the true ministers doe in the open congregations, they presume, we say, to doe it in houses without reverence, without word preached, and without minister. This contempt proceeds, no doubt, from the malice and craft of that serpent who first deceived man, of purpose to deface the glorie of Christ's Evangell, and to bring his blessed sacraments in a perpetuall contempt: And further, your honours may clearly see how stubbornly and proudly the most part despises the Evangell of Christ Jesus offered unto you, whom unles that sharply and stoutly ye resist, we mean as wel the manifest despiser as the prophaner of the sacraments, ye shall find them pernicious enemies ere it be long; and therefore, in the name of the eternall God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, we require of your honours that, without delay, strait lawes be made against the one and the other.

2. We dare not prescribe unto you what penalties shall be required of such, but this we feare not to affirme, that the one and the other deserve death; for if he who doth falsifie the seale, subscription, or coine of a king, is judged worthy of death; what shall we think of him who plainly

doth falsifie the seales of Christ Jesus, [who is the] Prince of the kings of the earth? If Darius pronounced that a balk should be taken from the house of that man, and he himselfe hanged upon it, that durst attempt to hinder the re-edifying of the materiall temple [in Jerusalem]; what shall we say of those that contemptuously blaspheme God, and manifestly hinder the [spirituall] temple of God, which is the soules and bodies of the elect, to be purged, by the true preaching of Christ Jesus [and right administration of the sacraments], from the superstition and damnable idolatry in which they have bene long plunged and holden captive? If ye, as God forbid, declare your selves carelesse over the true religion, God will not suffer your negligence unpunished: and, therefore, more earnestly we require that strait lawes may be made against the stubborne contemners of Christ Jesus, and against such as dare presume to minister his sacraments not orderly called to that office, least while that there be none found to gainstand impiety, the wrath of God be kindled against the whole.

3. The Papisticall priests have neither power nor authoritie to minister the sacraments of Christ Jesus, because that in their mouth is not the sermon of exhortation: And, therefore, to them must strait inhibition be made, notwithstanding any usurpation they have made in the time of blindnesse [not to presume upon the like hereafter, as likewise to all others who are not lawfully called to the holy ministry], it is neither the clipping of their crownes, the greasing* of their fingers, nor the blowing of the dumb dogges called the bishops, neither the laying on of their hands, that maketh [true] ministers of Christ Jesus. But the Spirit of God inwardly first moving the heart to seeke [to enter in the holy calling for] Christ's glory and the profite of his kirk, and thereafter the nomination of the people, the examination of the learned, and publick admission, as before is said, make men lawfull ministers of the word and sacraments. We speak of the ordinarie vocation [in kirks reformed], and not of that which is extraordinary, when God by himselfe and by his onely power, raiseth up to the ministerie such as best pleaseth his wisdom.

The Conclusion.

1. Thus have we in these few heads offered unto your honours our judgements, according as we were commanded, touching the reformation of things which heretofore have altogether bene abused in this cursed Papistrie. We doubt not but some of our petitions shall appeare strange unto you at the first sight; But if your wisdomes deeply consider, that we must answer not onely unto man, but also before the throne of the eternall God and of his Son Christ Jesus, for the counsell which we give in this so grave a matter; your honours shall easily consider, that more assured it is to us to fall in the displeasure of all men in the earth, than to offend the Majestie of God, whose justice cannot suffer flatterers and deceitfull counsellors unpunished.

2. That we require the kirk to be set at such liberty, that she neither be compelled to feed idle bellies, neither yet to sustaine the tyrannie

* Crossing.

which heretofore hath been by violence maintained, we know we shall offend many; but if we should keep silence hereof, we are most assured to offend the just and righteous God, who by the mouth of his apostle hath pronounced this sentence, *He that laboureth not, let him not eat*. If we in this behalfe, or in any other, require or aske any other thing, then by God's expresse commandement, [or] by equity and good conscience ye are bound to grant, let it be noted and after repudiate: but if we require nothing which God requireth not also, let your honours take heed how ye gainstand the charge of him whose hand and punishment ye cannot escape.

3. If blind affection rather lead you to have respect to the sustentation of those your carnall friends, who tyrannously have impyred above the flock of Christ Jesus, then that the zeale of Christ Jesus his glorie provoke and move you to set his oppressed kirk at freedome and liberty; we feare your sharpe and suddaine punishments, and that the glorie and honour of this enterprise [shall] be reserved unto others: and yet shall this our judgement abide to the generations following for a monument and wnesse, how lovingly God called you and this nation to repentance, what counsellours God sent unto you, and how ye have used the same. If obediently ye heare God now calling, we doubt not but he shall heare you in your greatest necessitie: but if, following your own corrupt judgements, ye contemne his voyce and vocation, we are assured that your former iniquitie, and present ingratitude, shall together crave great punishment from God, who cannot long delay to execute his most just judgements, when, after many offences and long blindnesse, grace and mercy offered is contemptuously refused.

4. God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the power of his Holy Spirit, so illuminate your hearts, that ye may clearly see what is pleasing and acceptable in his presence, and so how the same to his obedience, that ye may preferre his reveiled will to your own affections: and so strengthen you by the spirit of fortitude that boldly ye may punish vice and maintaine vertue within this realme, to the praise and glory of his holy name, to the comfort and assurance of your own consciences, and to the consolation and the good example of the posterity following. Amen.

From Edinburgh, the 20th of May 1560, by your Honours most humble
Servitours.

*Act of Secret Counsell, 17 of January, anno 1560.**

Wee which have subscribed thir presents, having advised with the articles herein specified, as is above mentioned from the beginning of this Book, thinkes the same good and conforme to God's word in all points; conforme to the notes and additions hereto eiked; and promises to set the same forward to the uttermost of our powers. Providing that the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates and beneficed men which els have adjoined themselves to us, bruik the revenues of their benefices during their lifetimes; they sustaining and upholding the ministry and ministers, as herein

* 1561. The year did not begin at that time till the 25th day of March.

is specified, for the preaching of the word, and ministring of the sacraments.

James Duke of Chatellerault, ancestor to the Duke of Hamiltoun.
 James Hamiltoun, Earl of Arran, eldest son to the Duke of Chatellerault.
 Archbald Argyle, ancestor to the Duke of Argyle.
 James Steuart, Lord James Steuart, then Prior of St. Andrews, afterward Earl of Murray, known by the title of the Good Regent.
 Rothes, Andrew Earl of Rothes.
 Marshal, the Earl of Marshal.
 John of Monteith, Earl of Monteith.
 Mortoun, James Douglass Earl of Mortoun.
 Glencairn, the Earl of Glencairn.
 Boyd, Lord Boyd, ancestor to the Earl of Kilmarnock.
 William Lord Hay, Lord Yester, ancestor to the Marquess of Tweeddale.
 Alexander Campbel.
 M. Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway.
 Uchiltrie, Steuart Lord Uchiltrie, now extinct.
 Sanquhare, Lord Sanquhare, ancestor to the Earl of Dumfries.
 St. Jhones, Sir James Sandelandes of Calder, Lord St. Johns, ancestor to the Lord Torphichen.
 William of Culross.
 Drumlangrig, ancestor to the Duke of Queensberry.
 Lord Lindsay, John Lord Lindsay, ancestor to the Earl of Crawford.
 Maister of Lindsay, Patrick, eldest son to the Lord Lindsay.
 Bargannie younger, Kennedy Laird of Bargannie.
 Lochinvar, ancestor to the Viscount of Kenmuir.
 Garleiss, ancestor to the Earl of Galloway.
 Cunninghamhead.
 James Haliburtoun.
 Jhone Lockart of Bar.
 Jhone Schaw of Halie.
 Scot of Haning.
 James Maxwell, Master of Maxwell, ancestor to the Earl of Nithsdale.
 George Fentoun of that Ilk.
 Andro Ker of Fadownside.
 Andro Hamiltoun of Lethane.
 Dean of Murray. This is probably the same with Alexander Campbell above.

The Duke of Chatellerault, the Earls of Marshal, Monteith, and Mortoun, the Lord Lindsay, and the Laird of Garleiss, are not in the edition printed 1621. But Knox, Spotiswood, and Calderwood, number them amongst the subscribers to this Book of Discipline. The Master of Lindsay is added from Knox and Calderwood.

*Ane schort Somme of the Buik of Discipline for the Instruction of Ministers and
Reidaris in thair Office.*

I. *Doctrine.*—The word of God onelie, quhilk is the New and Auld Testament, sal be taught in everie kirk within this realme, and all contraire doctrine to the same sal be impugnit and utterlie suppressit.

We affirme that to be contrarious doctrine to the word, that man has inventit and imposed upon the consciences of men be lawis, counsallis and constitutions, without the expresse command of Godis word.

Of this kynd ar vowis of chastitie, disgysit apparell, superstitious observatioun of fasting dayis, difference of meatis for conscience saik, prayer for the dead, calling upon sanctis, with sic uther inventiouns of men. In this rank ar holie dayis inventit be men, sic as Christimes, Circumcision, Epiphania, Purificatioun, and utheris fond feastis of our Ladie: with the feastes of the Apostillis, Martyris, and Virgins, with utheris quhilk we judge utterlie to be abolisheit furth of this realme, because they have na assurance in Godis word. All mainteinaris of sic abhominatiouns suld be punishit with the civill sword.

The word is sufficient for our salvatioun, and thairfoir all thingis neidfull for us ar conteinit in it. The Scriptures sal be red in privie houses for removing of this gross ignorance.

II. *Sacramentis.*—The sacramentis of necessitie are joynit with the word, quhilk are twa onlie, baptisme and the tabill of the Lord. The preaching of the word man preceid the administratioun of the sacramentis. In the dew administratioun of the sacramentis all things suld be done according to the word, nothing being addit, nor zit diminisht. The sacramentis suld be ministerit efter the order of the kirk of Geneva. All ceremonies and reittis inventit be men suld be abolisheit, and the sympill word followit in all poyntis.

The ministratioun of the sacramentis in na wayis suld be gevin him in quhais mouth God has not put the word of exhortatioun. In the ministration of the tabill sum confortabil places may be red of the Scriptures.

III. *Idolatrie.*—All kynd of idolatrie and monumentis of idolatrie suld be abolishit, sic as places dedicat to idolatrie and relickis. Idolatrie is all kynd of worshiping of God not conteinit in the word, as the mess, invocation of sainctis, adoratioun of images, and all uther sic thingis inventit be man.

IV. *The Ministrie.*—No man suld enter in the ministrie without ane lawfull vocatioun. The lawfull vocatioun standeth in the electioun of the peopill, examinatioun of the ministrie, and admissioun be thame baith. The extraordinar vocatioun has ane uther consideratione, seing it is wrocht only be God inwartlie in menis hartis.

No minister suld be intrused upon any particular kirk without thair consent; bot gif ony kirk be negligent to elect, than the superintendent with his counsall suld provyde ane qualifeit man within fortie dayis.

Nather for raritie of men, necessity of teiching, nor for any corruptions of time, suld unable personis be admitted to the ministrie. Better it is to have the rowme vaikand, than to have unqualifiet personis, to the sclander of the ministrie and hurt of the kirk. In the raritie of qualifiet men, we suld call unto the Lord, that he of his gudnes wald send forth trew laboreris to his harvest: the kirk and faithfull magistrate suld compell sic as have the giftis to take the office of teiching upon thame.

We sould consider first, quhiddir God has geven the giftis to him quhame we wald choise: for God callis no man to the ministrie quhame he armes not with necessarie giftis.

Personis noted with infamy, or unabill to edefie the kirk be helsome doctrine, or of ane corrupt judgement, suld not be admittit nor zit reteinit in the ministrie; the Princeis pardon nor reconciliatioun with the kirk takis not away the infamie befor men: thairfoir publick edictis suld be set furth in all places quhair the persone is knawin, and strait charge gevin to all men to reveill gif they knaw ony capital cryme committit be him, or gif he be sclanderous in his life.

Personis proponed be the kirk sal be examineted publicklie be the superintendant and brethren, in the principal kirk of the diocie or province. Thay sal geif publick declaratione of thair giftis, be the interpretatione of sum places of Scripture. Thay sal be examineted openlie in all the principall poyntis that now ar in controversie. Quhen thay ar approvin be the judgment of the brethren, thay suld mak sindrie sermones befor thair congregations afor they be admittit.

In thair admission, the office and dewtie of ministeris and peopill sould be declarit be sum godlie and learnit minister. And sua publicklie befor the people sould they be placeit in thair kirk, and jointit to thair flock at the desire of the samin: uther ceremonies except fasting with prayer, sic as laying on of hands, we judge not necessair in the institution of ministerie.

Ministeris sa placeit may not for their awin plesure leve thair awin kirkis; nor zit thair kirkis refuse thaim, without sum wechtie causis tryit and knawin: but the General Assemblie for guid causes may remove ministeris from place to place without the consent of the particular kirkis.

Sic as ar preichers alreddie placeit, and not found qualifiet efter this forme of tryall, sal be maid reidaris: and sa for no sort of men sal this rigour of examination be omittit.

V. *Reidaris*.—Reidaris ar bot for a time, till through reiding of the Scriptures thay may come to furder knowledge and exerceis of the kirk in exhorting and explaining of the Scriptures. No reider sal be admittit within twentie-ane zeiris of age, and unless thair be ane hope that be reiding he sal schortlie com to exhorting. Reiders fund unabill, efter twa zeiris exerceis, for the ministrie, sould be removit, and uthers als lang put in thair rowme.

No reider sal attempt to minister the sacramentis, untill he, be abill til exhorte and perswad be helsum doctrine. Reideris a landwart sal teiche the zouth of the parochinis.

Ministeris and reideris sal begin evir sunn buik of the Auld or New Testament, and continow upon it unto the end; and not to hip from place to place as the Papistis did.

VI. Provision for Ministeris.—The ministeris stipend sould be moderated that nether thei have occasion to be cairfull for the warld, nor zit wanton nor insolent onywyse. Thair wyfis and children sould be sustenit not onlie in thair time, but also after thair death.

VII. Elderis and Deaconis.—Men of the best knowledge, judgement, and conversatioun, sould be chosin for elderis and deaconis. Thair election sal be zearlie, quhair it may be convenientlie observit. How the vottis and suffrages may be best resavit with everie manis fredome in votting, we leif to the judgement of everie particular kirk. Thei sal be publicklie admittit, and admonished of thair office, and also the peopil of thair dutie to them, at thair first admission.

Thair office is to assist the ministeris in thair execution of discipline in all grit and weightie matteris. The elderis sal wathe upon all menis maneria, religioun, and conversatioun, that ar within thair charge: correct all licentious leveris, or else accuse them befor the session.

Thei sould tak heid to the doctrine, diligence, and behavior of thair minister and his houshold; and gif neid be, admonishe and correcte thame accordingly.

It is undecent for ministeris to be buirdit in ane ailhouse or taverne, or to hant mekil the court, or to be occupiet in counsel of civill affairis.

The office of deaconis is to gadder and distribute the almes of the puire according to the directione of session. The deaconis suld assist the assemblie in judgement, and may reid publicklie gif neid requyris.

Elderis and deaconis being judges of uther manis maneria, man with thair houshold leve godlilie, and be subject to the censure of kirk.

It is not necessair to appoynt ane publick stipend for elderis and deaconis, seing thei ar changed zearlie, and may wait upon thair awin vocation with the charge of the kirk.

VIII. Superintendentis.—The necessitie, nominatioun, examination, and institution of superintendentis, ar at large contenit in the Buik of Discipline: and in monie thingis doe agrie with the examinatioun and admission of ministeris. Principall townis sal not be spoilzeit of thair ministers to be appointit superintendentis. Superintendentis ainis admittit sal not be changed without grit causeis and considerationis.

Superintendentis sal have thair awin special kirkis besyde the common charge of utheris. Thei sal not remaine in ane place untill thair kirkis be provydit of ministeris or reideris. Thei sal not remaine abone twentie dayis in ane place in thair visitation till thei pass throw thair boundis. They sal preiche themselvis thryce in the weik at the leist. Quhan thei come hame again to thair awin kirk, thei man be occupyt in preiching and edifieing of the kirk: thei sal not remain at thair cheif kirk abone thrie or four monethis, bot sal pas agane to thair visitatioun.

In their visitatioun thei sal not onlie preiche, but als examine the doctrine, life, diligence, and behavior of the ministeris, reideris, elderis, and deaconis. They sal consider the ourder of the kirk, the maneris of the peopil, how the puire ar providit, how the zouth ar instructit, how the discipline and policie of the kirk ar keipit, how heinous and horribil crymis ar corrected. They sal admonish, and dress thingis out of ordour, with thair counsel as thei may best.

Superintendentis are subject to the censure and correction not onlie of the synodal conventioun, bot also of thair awn kirk and uther within thair jurisdiction. Quhatsumevir crime deservis correctione or depositione in ony uther minister, the same deservis the lyke in the superintendent.

Thair stipend wald be considerit and augmentit abone uther ministeris, be reasone of thair gritt charges and travell.

IX. Discipline.—As no common-welth can be governet without executione of gude lawis, na mair can the kirk be reteined in puritie without discipline. Discipline standeth in the correctione of these thingis that ar contrarie to Goddis law, for the edefieing of the kirk. All estatis within the realme ar subject to the discipline of the kirk, als weil reuleris and preicheris as the common peopill.

In secreit and privie faultis the ordour prescribed be our Maister sould be observed, quhairof we neid not to wryte at length, seing it is largelie declared in the Buik of Excommunication.*

Befor the sentence proceed, labour sould be takin with the giltie be his friendis, and publick prayer maid for his conversioun unto God. Quhen all is done, the minister sould ask gif ony man will assuir the kirk of his obedience, and gif ony man promeis, than the sentence sal stay for that time. Gif efter publick proclameing of thair namis they promeis obedience, that sould be declarit to the kirk quha hard their former rebellione.

The sentence being ainis pronounced, na member of the kirk sould have companie with thame under paine of excommunicatione, except sic personis as ar exemit be the law. Thair children sould not be resavit to baptisme in thair name, bot be sum member of the kirk quha sall promeis for the children, and detaist the parentis impietie.

Comittaris of horribil crymis worthie of death, gif the civill sword spair them, thei sould be halden as deid to us, and cursed in their factis.

Gif God move thair hartis to repentance, the kirk cannot deny thame conciliatione, thair repentance being tryed and fund trew. Some of the elderis sould resave sic personis publickly in the kirk in taken of reconciliatione.

X. Mariage.—Personis under cuir of utheris sal not mary without thair consent lauchfullie requyrit. Quhen the parentis and utheris ar hard and stubborn, than the kirk and magistratis sould enter in the parentis rowme, and decerne upone the equitie of the caus without affectione: the kirk

* The Book of Excommunication was written in the 1567: so this Summary was not written till some time after.

and magistrat sal not sute for thame that commit furnicatioun befor thay sute the kirk.

Promeises of bairnes within aige ar null, except thay be ratifeit efter thay cum to age.

Band of mariage suld be proclamit upon thrie severall Sondagis to tak away all excuse of impediment.

Committeris of adulterie suld not be oversait be the kirk, albeit the civil sword oversie thame, but suld be estimit as deid and excommunicate in thair wickit fact. Gif sic offenderis desire earnestlie to be reconceilit to the kirk, we dar not refuse thame, nor excommunicat them quhame God has brocht to repentance.

The pairtie that is provin to be innocent suld be admittit to mariage againe. As for the pairtie offending, all dout of mariage wald be removit if the civil sword wald stryk according to Godis word.

XI. Policie.—Policie is an exerceis of the kirk serving for instructioun of the ignorant, inflaming of the learnit to gritter service, and for reteining of the kirk of God in gude order.

Of the partis of policie sum ar necessar, and sum not necessar absolutlie. Necessar is the trew preiching of the word, the right ministration of the sacramentis, the common prayeris, the instructioun of the zouth, the support of the puir, and the punishment of vice: Bot singing of psalmis, certaine dayis of the conventionis in the weik, thryse or twise preiching on week-dayis, certain places of Scripture to be red quhen thair is na sermone, with sic thingis, ar not necessar.

In townes we requyre everie day aither sermon or publick prayeris, with sum reiding of Scriptures. Publick prayers ar not neidfull in the dayis of preiching, leist thereby we suld nurische the peopill in superstition, causing tham understand that the publick prayeris succedeis to the Papisticall messe. In everi notabil towne we requyre that at the leist anis in the weik beside the Sunday the hail peopill convene to the preiching.

The Sunday man be keipit straitlie in all townis baith befor none and efter for heiring of the word. At afternone upon the Sunday the Catechisme sall be taught, the children examinited, and the baptisme ministerit. Publick prayeris sal be usit upon the Sunday als weil after none as befor, quhen sermones cannot be had.

It apperteinis to the policie of everie particular kirk to appoynt the time quhen the sacramentis sal be ministerit.

XII. Baptisme.—Baptisme may be ministerit quhansoever the word is preichit, bot we think it maist expedient that it be ministerit upon Sunday, or upon the day of common prayeris: Thus we tak away that error of the Papistis concerning the estait of the infantis depairting without baptisme. We bring the ministratioun of baptisme to the presence of the peopill, to be keipit in gritter reverence, and to put everie ane in remembrance of the promesis of baptisme, in the quhilk now mony wax faint and cauld.

XIII. The Tabill.—The tabill of the Lord sal be ministerit foure times in the zeir, and out of the times of superstitione. We judge the first Sunday of March, Junii, September, and December, to be the meitest: Bot this we leve to the judgement of the particular kirkis.

Let all ministeris be mair diligent to instruct the ignorant, and to suppress superstitioun, than to serve the vaine appetytes of men. The ministratioun of the tabill suld never be without scharp examinatioun ganging befor; chiefie of thame quhais life, ignorance, or religioun is suspectit. Quha can nocht say the Lordis Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, and declare the soume of the law, suld not be admittit. Quhow will stubbornly remaine ignorant of the principall poyntis of our salvation suld be excommunicat, with thair parentis and maisteris that keip thame in that ignorance: Everie maister of houshold suld be commandit aither to instruct his children and servants, or cause thame be instructit; and gif thay will not, the kirk suld proceed agains thame.

It is verie neidfull that publick examinatioun of everie persone be maid at the leist anis in the zeir, be the ministeris and elderis.

Everie maister and maisteris of houshold suld cum with thair houshold and familie to give confessioun of thair faith, and answer to the principall poyntis of our religioun.

We think it verie expedient that prayeris be had dayly in privie houses at morne and at nicht, for the confort and instruction of uthers; and this to be done be the maist grave and discreit persone of the house.

XIV. The Exerceis.—In townis quhair lernit men ar, the exerceis of the Scriptures suld be weiklie. In this exerceis thre onlie sal speik to the opening of the text and edefeing of the peopill. This exerceis sal be upon some places of Scripture, and openlie, that all that will may heir and speik thair judgment to the edefeing of the kirk. In this kynd of exerceis the text is onlie openit without any digressing or exortation, following the file and dependance of the text, confuting all errors as occasion sal be geven. Na man suld move a questioun the quhilk himself is na abill to solve.

The exerceis being endit, the ministeris and elderis present suld convene apairt and correct the thingis that hes bein done or spokin without ordor, and not to the edefeing of the kirk. In this publick exerceis all affectatioun and vaine curiositie man be abone all thingis eschewit, leist for edefeing we suld slander the kirk of God.

Ministeris within sax myles about suld cum in willinglie, and also reideris that wald profite suld cum baith to teich uthers and to lerne: Uther lernit men, to quhame God has gevin the gift of interpretatioun, suld be chairgit to joyn themselis.

XV. Schulis.—Because schulis ar the seid of the ministrie, diligent cair suld be taken over thame that thay be orderit in religioun and conversatioun according to the word. Everie towne suld have ane schule-maister, and a landwart the minister or reider suld teich the childrein that cum to

thame: Men suld be compellit be the kirk and magistratis to send thair bairnes to the schulis, pure menis childrein suld be helpit.

XVI. Universities.—This universities suld be erectit in this realme, Sanct Andros, Glasgow, and Aberdein: Thair order of proceeding, provision, and degreis, with thair reideris and officeris, ar at length declarit in the Buik of Discipline; how mony collegis, how mony classes in everie college, and quhat suld be taucht in everie class, is thair expressit.

A contributioun sal be maid at the entrie of the studentis for the uphalding of the place: And ane sufficient stipend is ordeinit for everie member of the universitie according to thair degrie.

XVII. Rentis of the Kirk.—The haill rentis of the kirk abusit in Papistrie, sal be referrit againe to the kirk, that thairbe the ministrie, schulis, and the puir may be menteinit within this realme according to thair first institutioun.

Everie man suld be sufferit to leid and use his awin teithis, and nocht man suld leid ane uther manis teithis. The upermost claithe, the cors-present, the cleirk meill, the pasche offeringis, teithe-ale, and haill uther sic thingis, suld be dischargit.

The deaconis suld tak up the haill rentis of the kirk, disposing thame to the ministrie, the schulis, and puir within thair bounds, according to the appointment of the kirk.

All Frearies, Noneries, Chantereis, Chapelanreis, Annualrentis, and all thingis dotit to the hospitalitie, sal be reducit to the help of the kirk. Merchantis and craftsmen in burgh suld contribute to the support of the kirk.

XVIII. Buriall.—We desire that buriall be sa honourablie handlit that the hoip of our resurrectioun may be nurischit; and all kynd of superstitione, idolatrie, and quhatsumever thing proceedeth of the fals opinione, may be avoided.

At the buriall nether singing of psalmis nor reiding sal be usit, leist the peopill sould be nurischit thairbe in that auld superstitioun of praying for the deid: But this we remitt to the judgement of the particular kirkis with advyce of the ministeris. All superstitioun being removit, ministeris sal not be burdenit with funeral sermonis, seing that daylie sermonis are sufficient aneuch for ministering of the living. Buriall sould be without the kirk in ane fine air, and place wallit and keipit honourabillie.

XIX. Repairing of Kirkis.—The kirk dois crave maist earnestlie the Lordis thair assistance for hastie prepairing of all paroch kirkis, quhair the peopill suld convene for the heiring of the word and resaving of the sacramentis: This reparatioun sould not onlie be in the wallis and fabrick, but also in all thingis neidfull within, for the peopill and decencies of the place appoyntit for Godis service.

XX. Punishment of Profaneris of the Sacramentis.—We desire strait lawis

to be maid for punischment of thame that abuse the sacramentis, als weil the ministeris as reideris. The halie sacramentis ar abusit quhen the minister is not lauchfullie callit, or quhen thay are gevin to opin injurareis of the treuth or to profane leiveris; or quhen they ar ministerit in an privie place without the word preichit. The exempils of Scripturis do plainlie declair that the abuseris of the sacramentis, and contemneris of the word, ar worthie of deith.

This our judgment for reformationoun of the kirk sal beir witnes, haith befor God and man, quhat we have cravit of the nobilitie, and how thay have obeyit our leiving admonitiounis.

Thus far out of the Buik of Discipline quhilk was subscrivit be
the Kirk and Lordis.

THE SECOND BUIK OF DISCIPLINE,

OR HEIDIS AND CONCLUSIONES OF THE POLICIE OF THE KIRK.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Kirk and Policie thereof in generall, and quherein it is different from the Civill Policie.

1. The kirk of God is sumtymes largelie takin, for all them that professe the Evangill of Jesus Christ, and so it is a company and fellowship not onely of the godly, but also of hypocrites professing alwayis outwardly ane true religion. Uther tymes it is takin for the godlie and elect onlie, and sumtymes for them that exercise spiritual function amongis the congregation of them that professe the truth.

2. The kirke in this last sense hes a certaine power grantit be God, according to the quhilk it uses a proper jurisdiction and governement, exerciseit to the confort of the hole kirk. This power ecclesiasticall is an authoritie grantit be God the Father, throw the Mediator Jesus Christ, unto his kirk gatherit, and having the ground in the word of God; to be put in execution be them, unto quhom the spirituall governement of the kirk be lawful calling is committit.

3. The policie of the kirk flowing from this power, is an order or forme of spirituall governement, quhilk is exerciseit be the members appoyntit thereto be the word of God: And therefore is gevin immediatly to the office-beararia, be quhom it is exerciseit to the weile of the hole bodie. This power is diverslie usit: For sumtyme it is severally exerciseit, chiefly by the teacharis, sumtyme conjunctly be mutuall consent of them that beir the office and charge, efter the forme of judgement. The former is commonly callit *potestas ordinis*, and the uther *potestas jurisdictionis*. These two kinds of power have both one authority, one ground, one finall cause, but are different in the manner and forme of execution, as is evident be the speiking of our Master in the 16 and 18 of Matthew.

4. This power and policie ecclesiasticall is different and distinct in the awin nature from that power and policie quhilk is callit the civill power, and appertenis to the civill government of the common welth: Albeit they be both of God, and tend to one end, if they be rightlie usit, to wit, to advance the glorie of God, and to have godlie and gud subjectis.

5. For this power ecclesiasticall flowes immediatlie from God, and the Mediator Jesus Christ, and is spirituall, not having a temporall heid on earth, bot onlie Christ, the onlie spirituall King and Governour of his kirk.

6. It is a title falslie usurpit be Antichrist, to call himselfe heid of the kirk, and aucht not to be attribute to angel nor man, of what estait that ever he be, saving to Christ the onlie Heid and Monarch of the kirk.

7. Therefore this power and policie of the kirk sould leane upon the word immediatlie, as the onlie ground thereof, and sould be tane from the pure fountaines of the Scriptures, the kirk hearing the voyce of Christ the onlie spirituall King, and being rewlit be his lawes.

8. It is proper to kings, princes, and magistrates to be callit lordis, and dominators over their subjectis, whom they govern civilly, bot it is proper to Christ onlie to be callit Lord and Master in the spirituall government of the kirk, and all uthers that beiris office therein aucht not to usurp dominion therein, nor be callit lordis, bot onlie ministeris, disciples, and servantis. For it is Christis proper office to command and rewill his kirk universall, and every particular kirk, throw his Spirit and word, be the ministrie of men.

9. Notwithstanding, as the ministeris and uthers of the ecclesiasticall estait ar subject to the magistrat civil, so aucht the person of the magistrat be subject to the kirk spiritually, and in ecclesiasticall government. And the exercise of both these jurisdictiones cannot stand in one person ordinarlie. The civill power is callit the power of the sword, and the uther the power of the keyes.

10. The civill power sould command the spiritual to exercise and doe their office according to the word of God: The spiritual rewlaris sould requyre the Christian magistrate to minister justice, and punish vyce, and to maintaine the libertie and quietness of the kirk within their boundis.

11. The magistrate commandes externall thingis for externall peace and quyetnes amongis the subjects: The minister handles externall thingis onlie for conscience cause.

12. The magistrat handles externall things onlie, and actions done befor men: Bot the spiritual rewlar judges both inward affectionis and externall actionis, in respect of conscience, be the word of God.

13. The civill magistrat craves and gettis obedience be the sword, and uther externall meanis: Bot the ministrie* be the spiritual sword, and spirituall meanis.

14. The magistrat neither aucht to preich, minister the sacramentis, nor execute the censuris of the kirk, nor yet prescrive any rewill how it sould be done; bot command the ministeris to observe the rewill commandit in the word, and punish the transgressouris be civil meanes: The ministeris

* The copie in Spottiswood's History hath, "the minister." An old manuscript hath, "the ministeris."

exerce not the civill jurisdiction, bot teich the magistrat how it sould be exercit according to the word.

15. The magistrat aucht to assist, mentain and fortifie the jurisdiction of the kirk. The ministeris sould assist their princes in all thingis agreiable to the word, providing they neglect not their awin charge be involving themselves in civill affairis.

Finally, as ministeris are subject to the judgement and punishment of the magistrat in externall thingis, if they offend: So aucht the magistratis to submit themselves to the discipline of the kirk, gif they transgresse in matteris of conscience and religioun.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Pairtes of the Policie of the Kirk, and Persons or Office-beiraris to whom the Administratioun is committit.

1. As in the civill policie the haill common welth consistis in them that ar governours or magistratis, and them that ar governit or subjects: So in the policie of the kirk sum ar appointit to be rewlaris, and the rest of the members thereof to be rewlit, and obey according to the word of God, and inspiratioun of his Spirit, alwayis under one heid and chiefe governour, Jesus Christ.

2. Againe, the haill policie of the kirk consisteth in three thingis, *vis*, in doctrine, discipline, and distribution. With doctrine is annexit the administratioun of sacramentis. And according to the pairtes of this division, aris is a threfald sort of office-beiraris in the kirk, to wit, of ministeris or preachers, eldaris or governours, and deaconis or distributeris.

3. And all these may be callit be ane generall word, ministers of the kirk. For albeit the kirk of God be rewlit and governit be Jesus Christ, who is the onlie King, hie Priest, and Heid thereof, yit he useis the ministry of men, as the most necessar middis* for this purpose. For so he hes from tyme to tyme, befor the law, under the law, and in the tyme of the Evangell, for our great comfort raisit up men indewit with the giftis of his Spreit, for the spirituall government of his kirk, exercising be them his awin power, throw his Spreit and word to the beilding of the same.

4. And to take away all occasion of tyrannie, he willis that they sould rewl with mutuall consent of brether, and equality of power, every one according to their functiones.

5. In the New Testament, and tyme of the Evangell, he hes usit the ministry of the apostles, prophetis, evangelistes, pastouris and doctoris in the administratioun of the word: the elderschip for gude order, and administratioun of discipline: the deaconschip to have the cure of the ecclesiasticall gudis.

6. Sum of thir ecclesiasticall functiones ar ordinar, and sum extraordinar or temporarie. There be three extraordinary functiones, the office of the apostle, of the evangelist, and of the prophet, quhilkis ar not perpetuall, and now have ceisit in the kirk of God, except quhen it pleisit God extraordinarily for a tyme to steir sum of them up againe. There are

* An old manuscript hath, "as maist necessar servandis for his purpose."

four ordinary functiones or offices in the kirk of God, the office of the pastor, minister or bishop; the doctor; the presbyter or elder; and the deacon.

7. Their offices are ordinary, and ought to continue perpetually in the kirk, as necessary for the government and policie of the same, and no more offices ought to be received or suffered in the true kirk of God, established according to his word.*

8. Therefore all the ambitious titles invented in the kingdom of antichrist, and in his usurped hierarchy, which are not any of these four sorts, together with the offices depending thereupon, in any word ought all utterly to be rejected.

CHAPTER III.

How the Persons that bear Ecclesiastical Functiones are admitted to their Office.

1. Vocation or calling is common to all that should bear office within the kirk, which is a lawful way, be the which qualified persons are promoted to any spiritual office within the kirk of God: without this lawful calling, it was never lawful to any person to meddle with any function ecclesiastical.

2. There are two sorts of calling, an extraordinary be God himself immediately, as was of the prophetis and apostles, which in kirks established and well already reformed has no place.

3. The other calling is ordinary, which besides the calling of God, and inward testimonie of a good conscience, has the lawful approbation and outward judgement of men, according to God's word, and order established in his kirk. None ought to presume to enter in any office ecclesiastical without he have this testimonie of a good conscience before God, who only knows the hearts of men.

4. This ordinary and outward calling has two parts, election and ordination. Election is the choosing out of a person or persons most able to the office that waits, be the judgement of the eldership and consent of the congregation, to whom the person or persons be appointed. The qualities in general requisite in all them who should bear charge in the kirk, consist in soundness of religion, and godliness of life, according as they are sufficiently set forth in the word.

5. In this ordinary election† it is to be eschewed, that no person be intruded in any of the offices of the kirk, contrary to the will of the congregation to whom they are appointed, or without the voice of the eldership. None ought to be intruded, or placed‡ in the places already planted, or in any room that waits not, for any worldly respect: and that which is called the benefice ought to be nothing else, but the stipend of the ministers that are lawfully called.§

* An old manuscript hath, "be his word."

† An old manuscript and some printed copies have, "in the order of election."

‡ An old manuscript hath, "or enter in the places;" the copy which is in Spottiswood's History, "or placed in the ministry in places."

§ An old manuscript hath, "called and elected."

6. Ordinatione is the separatione and sanctifying of the persone appointit to God and his kirk,* eftir he be weill tryit and fund qualifiet. The ceremonies of ordinatione are fasting, earnest prayer, and imposition of hands of the elderschip.

7. All thir, as they must be raisit up be God, and be him made able for the wark quhairto they ar callit; so aucht they know their message to be limitit within God's word, without the quhilk bounds they aucht not to passe. All thir sould tak these titils and names onlie (leist they be exaltit and puft up in themselves) quhilk the Scriptures gevis unto them, as these quhilks import labour, travell and wark; and ar names of offices, and service, and not of idleness, dignitie, warldlie honour or prebeminence,† quhilk be Christ our Maister is expreslie reprovit and forbidden.

8. All these office-beararis sould have their awin particular flockis amongst whom they exercise their charge, and sould mak residence with them, and tak the inspection and oversicht of them, every ane in his vocation. And generallie thir twa things aucht they all to respect, the glorie of God, and edifieing of his kirk, in discharging their dewties in their callings.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Office-beararis in particular, and first of the Pastoris or Ministeris.

1. Pastors, bishops, or ministers, ar they wha ar appointit to particular congregations, quhilk they rewill be the word of God, and over the quhilk they watch. In respect whairof, sumetyme they ar callit pastors, because they feid their congregation; sumetyme *episcopi*, or bishops, because they watch over their flock; sumetymes ministers, be reason of their service and office; and sumetymes also presbyters or seniors, for the gravity in manners, quhilk they aucht to have in taking cure of the spirituall government, quhilk aucht to be most deir unto them.

2. They that are callit unto the ministrie, or that offer themselvis thereunto, aucht not to be electit without ane certain flock be assignit unto them.

3. Na man aucht to ingyre himselve, or usurpe this office without lawfull calling.

4. They that ar anis callit be God, and dewlie electit be man, eftir that they have anis acceptit the charge of the ministrie, may not leive their functions: the desertours sould be admonishit, and in case of obstinacie finallie excommunicate.

5. Na pastor may leive his flock, without licence‡ of the provinciall or nationall Assemblie, quhilk gif he do eftir admonition not obeyit, let the censures of the kirk stryke upon him.

6. Unto the pastors appertenis teaching of the word of God, in season and out of season, publickly and privatelie, alwayes travelling to edifie and discharge his conscience, as God's word prescryves to him.

* The old manuscript hath, "be God and his kirk." Spottiswood hath, "by." &c.

† Some copies have, "honour or warldlie preferment."

‡ An old manuscript hath, "advyce."

7. Unto the pastors onlie apperteins the administration of the sacramentis, in lyke manner as the administration of the word: for baith ar appointit be God as meanes to teach us, the ane be the ear, and the uther be the eyes and uther senses, that be baith knowlege may be transferrit to the mynde.

8. It apperteinis be the same reason to the pastors to pray for the people, and namely for the flock committed to his charge, and to blesse them in the name of the Lord, who will not suffer the blessing of his faithfull servants to be frustrat.

9. He aucht also to watch over the manners of his flock, that the better he may apply the doctrine to them in reprehending the dissolute persons, and exhorting the godlie to continue in the feir of the Lord.

10. It apperteinis to the minister eftir lawfull proceeding be the elderschip,* to pronounce the sentence of binding and lousing upon any person, according unto the power of the keyes grantit unto the kirk.

11. It belongs to him lykewyse, eftir lawfull proceeding in the matter be the elderschip, to solemnizate mariage betwixt them that ar to be joynit therein; and to pronounce the blessing of the Lord upon them that enter in that holie band in the feir of God.

12. And generallie all publick denunciations that ar to be made in the kirk before the congregation, concerning the ecclesiasticall affaires, belong to the office of a minister; for he is as a messenger and herauld betwix God and the people in all these affairs.

CHAPTER V.

Of Doctors and thair Office, and of the Schoolis.

1. Ane of the twa ordinar and perpetuall functions that travell in the word, is the office of the Doctor, quha also may be callit Prophet, Bischop, Elder, Catechizar, that is, teicher of the Catechisme, and rudiments of religione.

2. His office is to open up the mynde of the Spirit of God in the Scriptures simple, without sic applications as the ministers usis, to the end that the faithfull may be instructit, and sound doctrine teichit, and that the purity of the Gospell be not corruptit throw ignorance or evill opinions.

3. He is different from the pastor not onely in name, but in diversity of gifts. For to the Doctor is gine the word of knowlege, to open up be simple teiching the mysteries of faith; to the Pastor the gift of wisdom, to apply the same be exhortation to the manners of the flock, as occasion craveth.

4. Under the name and office of a Doctor, we comprehend also the order in schooles, colledges and universities, quhilk hes bene from tyme to tyme carefullie maintainit als weill among the Jewes and Christians as amangs the prophane nations.

5. The Doctor being an elder, as said is, sould assist the pastor in the

* An old manuscript hath, "it apperteinis to the minister be lawfull precluding with the eldership," &c.

government of the kirk, and concur with the elders his brethren in all assemblies: he reason the interpretation of the word, quhilk is onlie judge in ecclesiastical matters, is committed to his charge.

6. Not to preach unto the people, to minister the sacraments, and to celebrate marriages, pertineth not to the Doctor, unlesse he be utherwyse callit ordinary; howbeit the pastor may teich in the schoolis, as he wha has also the gift of knowledge oftentimes meit therefore, as the examples of Polycarpus and others testife.

CHAPTER VI.

Of Elders, and their Office.

1. The word *Elder* in the Scripture sumetyne is the name of age, sumetyne of office. When it is the name of ane office, sumetyne it is taken largely, comprehending als weill the Pastors and Doctors, as them who ar callit seniors or elders.

2. In this our division, we call these elders, whom the Apostles call presidents or governours. Their office as it is ordinar, so is it perpetuall, and alwayes necessar in the kirk of God. The elderschip is a spirituall function, as is the ministrie. Eldaris anis lawfully callit to the office, and having gifts of God meit to exercise the same, may not leive it again. Albeit sic a number of elders may be chosen in certane congregations, that ane pairt of them may reliefe anuther for a reasonable space, as was among the Levites under the law in serving of the temple. The number of the elders in every congregation cannot weill be limitit, but sould be according to the bounds and necessitie of the people.

3. It is not necessar that all elders be also teichars of the word, albeit the chief aucht to be sic,* and swa ar worthie of double honour. What manner of persons they aucht to be, we referre it to the expresse Word of God, and namely the Canons written be the Apostle Paul.

4. Their office is als weill severallie as conjunctlie, to watch diligently upon the flock committit to their charge, baith publickly and privately, that na corruption of religion or manners enter therein.

5. As the Pastors and Doctors sould be diligent in teiching and sawing the seid of the word, so the elders sould be cairfull in seiking the fruit of the same in the people.

6. It appertaines to them to assist the pastor in examination of them that cumis to the Lord's table: *Item*, in visiting the sick.

7. They sould cause the actes of the Assemblies, als weill particular as generall, to be put in execution cairfullie.†

8. They sould be diligent in admonishing all men of their dewtie according to the rewl of the Evangell. Things that they cannot correct be privat admonitions, they sould bring to the assemblie of the elderschip.

9. Their principall office is to hald assemblies with the pastors and doctors who ar also of their number, for establishing of gude ordor, and

* The copie in Spottiswood's History and several manuscripts have, "albeit chiefly they aucht to be sic."

† An old manuscript hath, "als weill particular, as provincial or generall."

execution of discipline. Unto the quhilks assemblies all persones ar subject that remain within thair bounds.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Eldarschips, and Assemblies, and Discipline.

1. Elderschips and assemblies are commonlie constitute of Pastors, Doctors, and sic as we commonlie call Elders, that labour not in the word and doctrine, of quhom, and of whais severall power hes bene spokin.

2. Assemblies ar of four sortis. For aither ar they of particular kirks and congregations ane or ma, or of a province, or of ane haill nation, or of all and divers nations professing one Jesus Christ.

3. All the ecclesiasticall assemblies have power to convene lawfully togidder for treating of things concerning the kirk, and pertaining to thair charge. They have power to appoynt tymes and places to that effect; and at ane meiting to appoint the dyet, time and place for another.

4. In all assemblies ane moderator sould be chosen be common consent of the haill brethren convenit, who sould propone matters, gather the votes, and cause gude order to be keipit in the assemblies. Diligence sould be taken, chiefly be the moderator, that onlie ecclesiasticall things be handlit in the assemblies, and that there be na meddling with ony thing pertaining to the civill jurisdiction.

5. Every assembly hes power to send furth from them of their awin number, ane or moe visitours to sie how all things beis rewlit in the bounds of thair jurisdiction. Visitation of mae kirks is na ordinar office ecclesiastick in the person of ane man, naither may the name of a Bischop be attribute to the visitor onlie, naither is it necessar to abyde alwayes in ane man's person, but it is the part of the elderschip to send out qualifeit persons to visit *pro re nata*.

6. The finall end of all assemblies is first to keip the religion and doctrine in puritie, without error and corruption. Next, to keip cumelines and gude order in the kirk.

7. For this orders cause, they may make certane rewls and constitutions appertaining to the gude behaviour of all the members of the kirk in thair vocation.

8. They have power also to abrogate and abolish all statutes and ordinances concerning ecclesiasticall matters that are found noysome and unprofitable, and agrie not with the tyme, or ar abusit be the people.

9. They have power to execute ecclesiastical discipline and punishment upon all transgressors, and proud contemners of the gude order and policie of the kirk, and swa the haill discipline is in thair hands.

10. The first kynde and sort of assemblies, although they be within particular congregations, yet they exerce the power, authoritie, and jurisdiction of the kirk with mutuall consent, and therefore beir sumtyme the name of the kirk. When we speik of the elders of the particular con-

gregations, we mein not that every particular parish kirk can, or may have their awin particular elderschips, specially to landwart, bot we think thrie or four, mae or fewar particular kirks, may have ane common elderschip to them all, to judge their ecclesiasticall causes. Albeit this is meit that some of the elders be chosen out of every particular congregation, to concurre with the rest of their brethren in the common assemblie, and to take up the delations of offences within their awin kirks, and bring them to the Assemblie. This we gather of the practise of the primitive kirk, where elders or colleges of seniors were constitute in cities and famous places.

11. The power of thir particular elderschips, is to use diligent labours in the boundis committit to thair charge, that the kirks be kept in gude order, to inquire diligently of nauchtie and unruly persons, and to travell to bring them in the way againe, either be admonition or threatening of God's judgements, or be correction.

12. It pertaines to the elderschip to take heid, that the word of God be purely preichit within their bounds, the sacraments rightly ministrat, the discipline rightly mantenit, and the ecclesiasticall gudes uncorruptlie distributit.

13. It belangs to this kynde of assembly, to cause the ordinances made be the assemblies provincially, nationall, and generall, to be keipit, and put in execution. To mak constitutions quhilk concerne *et regere* in the kirk, for the decent order of these particular kirks* where they governe: Provyding they alter no rewlis made by the general or provincially assemblies, and that they mak the provincially assemblies foresein of these rewlis that they sal mak, and abolish them that tend to the hurt of the same.

14. It hes power to excommunicat the obstinat.

15. The power of election of them who beir ecclesiasticall charges, pertaines to this kynde of assemblie, within thair awin bounds, being well erectit, and constitute of many pastors and elders of sufficient abilitie.

16. By the like reason their deposition also pertains to this kynde of assemblie, as of them that teich erronious and corrupt doctrine; that be of sclanderous lyfe, and efter admonition desist not; that begine to schisme or rebellion against the kirke, manifest blasphemie, simonie, corruption of brybes, falsett, perjurie, whoredome, thift, drunkennes, feghting worthy of punishment be the law, usurie, dancing, infamie, and all uthers that deserve separation fra the kirk: These also who are fund altogether unsufficient to execute their charge sould be deposit. Quhair of uther kirks wald be advertisit, that they receive not the persons deposit.

17. Yet they aucht not to be deposit, wha throw age, sicknes, or uther accidents, become unmeit to do thair office; in the quhilk case their honour sould remain to them, their kirk sould mantein them; and uthers aucht to be provedit to do thair office.

18. Provincially assemblies we call lawful conventions of the pastors, doctors, and uther eldaris of a province, gatherit for the common affaires of the kirkes thereof, quhilk also may be callit the conference of the kirk and brethren.

* An old manuscript hath, "Paroch kirks."

19. Thir assemblies are institute for weighty matters, to be intreatit be mutuall consent and assistance of the brethren within that province, as neid requyres.

20. This assemblie hes power to handle, order, and redresse all things ommittit or done amisse in the particular assemblies. It hes power to depose the office-beirers of that province for gude and just causes deserving deprivation. And generallie thir assemblies have the haille power of the particular elderschips whair of they ar collectit.

21. The nationall assemblie quhilk is generall to us, is a lawfull convention of the haille kirks of the realm, or nation, where it is usit and gatherit for the common affaires of the kirk; and may be callit the generall eldership of the haille kirk within the realme. Nane ar subject to repaire to this assemblie to vote bot ecclesiasticall persons to sic a number as shall be thocht gude be the same assemblie: Not excluding uther persons that will repaire to the said assemblie to propone, heir and reason.

22. This assemblie is institute, that all things aither ommittit, or done amisse in the provinciall assemblies, may be redressit and handlit: And things generallie serving for the weill of the haille bodie of the kirk within the realme may be foirsein, intreatit, and set furth to Godis glorie.

23. It sould tak cair, that kirks be plantit in places quhair they are not plantit. It sould prescrive the rewill how the uther twa kynds of assemblies sould proceed in all things.

24. This assemblie sould tak heid, that the spirituall jurisdiction and civil be not confoundit to the hurt of the kirk: That the patrimonie of the kirk be not consumit* nor abusit: And generallie concerning all weighty affaires that concerne the weill and gude order of the haille kirks of the realm, it aucht to interpone authoritie thairto.

25. There is besydes these, an uther mair generall kynde of assemblie, quhilk is of all nations and estaits of persons within the kirk, representing the universall kirk of Christ: Quhilk may be callit properlie the Generall Assemblie or Generall Councell of the haille kirk of God.

These assemblies were appoyntit and callit together, specially when ony great schisme or contraversie in doctrine did aryse in the kirk, and wer convocat at command of godlie emperours being for the tyme, for avoiding of schismes within the universal kirk of God: Quhilk because they appertene not to the particular estait of ane realme, we ceis further to speik of them.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Deaconis and thair Office, the last ordinar Function in the Kirk.

1. The word *Διακονος*, sumtymes is largely takin, comprehending all them that beir office in the ministrie and spirituall function in the kirk: Bot now, as we speik, it is taken only for them, unto whom the collection and distribution of the almes of the faithfull and ecclesiasticall gudes does belang.

2. The office of the deacons sa takin, is an ordinar and perpetuall eccle-

* An old manuscript hath, "diminishit or abusit."

siasticall function in the kirk of Christ. Of what properties and dewties he ought to be that is callit to this function, we remit it to the manifest Scriptures. The deacon aucht to be callit and electit as the rest of the spirituall officers, of the quilk election was spoken befor.

3. Thair office and power is to receave, and to distribute the haill ecclesiasticall gudes unto them to whom they ar appoyntit. This they aucht to do according to the judgement, and appoyntment of the Presbyteries or elderships (of the quhilk the deacons ar not) that the patrimonie of the kirk and puir be not convertit to privat mens usis, nor wrangfullie distributit.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Patrimonie of the Kirk, and Distribution thairof.

1. Be the patrimonie of the kirk we mein whatsumever thing hath bene at ony tyme before, or shall be in tymes coming gevin; or be consent or universall custome of countries professing the Christian religion, applyit to the publique use and utilitie of the kirk. Swa that under the patrimonie we comprehend all things gevin, or to be gevin to the kirk and service of God, as lands, biggings, possessions, annual-rents, and all sic lyke, wherewith the kirk is dotit, aither be donations, foundations, mortifications, or ony uther lawfull titles, of Kings, Princes, or ony persons inferiour to them; together with the continuall oblations of the faithfull. We comprehend also all sic things as be lawis or custome, or use of countries, hes bene applyit to the use and utilitie of the kirk; of the quhilk sort ar teinds, manses, gleibs, and sic lyke, quhilks be common and municipall lawis and universall custome are possessit be the kirk.

2. To tak ony of this patrimonie be unlawfull meinis, and convert it to the particular and profane use of ony person, we hald it ane detestable sacriledge befor God.

3. The gudes ecclesiasticall aucht to be collectit, and distributit be the deacons, as the word of God appoynts, that they who beir office in the kirk be providit for without cair or solicitude. In the apostolicall kirk, the deacons wer appoyntit to collect and distribute quhatsumevir was collectit of the faithfull to distribute unto the necessitie of the saincts; sa that nane lackit among the faithfull. These collections war not onlie of that quhilk was collectit in manner of almes, as sume suppose; but of uther gudes, moveable and unmoveable, of lands and possessions, the price quhairof was brocht to the feit of the Apostles. This office continuit in the deacons hands, quha intromettit with the haill gudes of the kirk, ay and whil the estate therof was corruptit be Antichrist, as the ancient canons beir witnes.

4. The same canons mak mention of ane fourfald distribution of the patrimonie of the kirk, quhairof ane part was applyit to the pastor or bishop for his sustentation and hospitalitie; anuther to the elders and deacons, and all the clergie; the third to the puir, sick persons and strangers; the fourth to the uphald and uther affaires of the kirk, specialie extraordinar: We adde hereunto the schules and schuile maisters

also, quhilk aucht and may be weill susteinit of the same gudes, and ar comprehended under the clergie. To wham we joyn also clerks of assemblies als weill particular as generall; syndicks or procutors of the kirk affaires, takers up of psalmes, and sic lyke uther ordinar officers of the kirk, sa far as they ar necessar.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Office of a Christian Magistrat in the Kirk.

1. Although all the members of the kirk be halden every ane in their vocation, and according therto to advance the kingdom of Jesus Christ sa far as lyes in their power; yit chiefly Christian Princes, and uther magistrates, ar halden to do the same: For they ar callit in the Scripture nourishers of the kirk, for sameikle as be them it is, or at least aucht to be manteinit, fosterit, uphalden, and defendit agains all that wald procure the hurt thereof.

2. Sua it perteinis to the office of a Christian magistrat to assist and fortifie the godly proceedings of the kirk in all behalves; and namelie to sie that the publike estait and ministrie thereof be manteinit and susteinit as it apperteins, according to Godis word.

3. To sie that the kirk be not invadit nor hurt be false teichers and heryelings, nor the rowmes therof be occupyit be dumb dogs, or idle bellies.

4. To assist and manteine the discipline of the kirk; and punish them civilly, that will not obey the censure of the same, without confounding always the ane jurisdiction with the uther.

5. To sie that sufficient provision be made for the ministrie, the schules, and the puir: And if they have not sufficient to awaite upon their charges, to supplie their indigence even with their awin rents, if neid require. To hald hand als weill to the saving of their persons from injurie and opin violence; as to their rents and possessions, that they be not defraudit, robbit, nor spuilziet thereof.

6. Not to suffer the patrimony of the kirk to be applyit to profane and unlawful uses, or to be devorit be idle bellies, and sic as have na lawfull function in the kirk, to the hurt of the ministry, schules, puire, and other godly uses, quhairupon the same aucht to be bestowit.

7. To mak lawis and constitutions agreeable to God's word, for advancement of the kirk, and policie therof; without usurping any thing that pertains not to the civil sword, bot belongs to the offices that ar meirlye ecclesiasticall, as is the ministrie of the word and sacramentis, using of ecclesiasticall discipline, and the spirituall execution thereof, or ony part of the power of the spirituall keyis, quhilks our Maister gave to the Apostles, and their trew successours. And although Kings and Princes that be godlie, sumtymes be their awin authority, whan the kirk is corruptit, and all things out of ordor, place ministers, and restore the trew service of the Lord, efter the examples of sum godly Kings of Juda, and divers godly Emperours and Kings also in the licht of the New Testament: Yit quhair the ministrie of the kirk is anes lawfullie constitute, and they

that are placen do thair office faithfullie, all godlie princes and magistratis auncit to heir and obey thair voice, and reverence the majestie of the Son of God speiking be them.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the present Abuses remaining in the Kirk, quhilk we desyre to be Reformit.

1. As it is the dewtie of the godlie magistrat to mantein the present libertie quhilk God of his mercie hes grantit to the preaching of his word, and the trew administration of the sacraments within this realme: as is it to provyde, that all abuses quhilks as yit remaine in the kirk be removit, and utterly takin away.

2. Thairfoir first the admission of men to Papisticall titles of benefices, sic as serve not, nor have na function in the reformit kirk of Christ, as abbottis, commendatoria, prioris, prioressis, and uther titles of abbyis, quhais places are now for the maist pairt be the just judgement of God demolishit and purgit of idolatrie, is plaine abusion, and is not to receive the kingdom of Christ amangs us, bot rather to refuse it.

3. Siclyke that they that of auld wer callit the chapters and convents of abbayis, cathedrall kirks, and the lyke places, serve for nathing now bot to set fewes and tacks, if ony thing be left of the kirklands and teinds, in hurt and prejudice thairof, as daily experience teiches, and thairfoir aucht to be utterly abrogat and abolishit. Of the lyke nature ar the deanes, archdeanes, chantors, subchantors, thesaurers, chancellars, and uthers having the lyke titles flowing from the Pape and canon law onlie, wha heve na place in the reformit kirk.

4. The kirks also quhilks ar unitit together, and joynit be annexation to thair benefices, aucht to be separatit and dividit, and gine to qualifet ministers, as God's word craves.

5. Neither aucht sic abusers of the kirk's patrimony to have vote in Parliament, nor sit in counsell under the name of the kirk and kirk-men, to the hurt and prejudice of the libertie thairof, and lawes of the realm made in favouris of the reformit kirk.

6. Meikle less is it lawfull, that ony person among these men sould have fyve, sax, ten or twenty kirks, or mae, all having the charge of saules;* and bruik the patrimonie thairof, either be admission of the prince, or of the kirk, in this licht of the Evangell; for it is but mockage to crave reformation where sic lyke hes place.

7. † And albeit it was thocht gude, for avoyding of greater inconvenientis, that the auld possessors of sic benefices quha had imbracit the trew religion, suld enjoy be permission the twa pairt of the rentis quhilks they possesst of befor induring thair lyfetyme: Yit it is not tolerabil to

* The copy in Calderwood's History, that printed anno 1621, in 4to, and that printed in 8vo, anno 1682, have, "all craving the charge of saules." An old manuscript hath, "and have the charge of thair saules." The copy in Spottiswood's History hath, "all having the cure of saules."

† This paragraph is not in the copy which is in Calderwood's History, neither is it in the copy printed in 4to, anno 1621, nor in that printed in 8vo, anno 1682. But it is in the Church registers and other manuscripts, and in Spottiswood's History.

continew in the lyke abuse, to geve thaise places and uthers benefices of new to als unmeit men or rather unmeitar, quha ar not myndit to serve in the kirk, bot leif an idle lyfe as uthers did quha bruikit them in the tyme of blindnes.

8. And in sa farr as in the order takin at Leith in the zeir of our Lord 1571, it appeires that sic may be admittit, being found qualifiet; either that pretendit order is agains all gude ordor, or else it must be understood not of them that be qualifiet in worldly affaires or to serve in court; bot of sic as are qualifiet to teich Godis word, having their lawfull admission of the kirk.

9. As to Bischops, if the name *episcopos* be properly takin, they ar all ane with the ministers, as befoir was declairit. For it is not a name of superioritie and lordschip, bot of office and watching. Yit because in the corruption of the kirk, this name (as uthers) hes bene abusit, and yit is lykellie to be; we cannot allow the fashion of thir new chosin bishops, neither of the chapters that ar electors of them to sic offices as they ar chosen to.

10. Trew bishops sould addict themselves to ane particular flock, quhilk sindry of them refuses, neither sould they usurpe lordship over their brethren and over the inheritance of Christ, as these men doe.

11. Pastors, in sa far as they ar pastors, have not the office of visitation of mae kirks joynit to the pastorship, without it be gine them. It is a corruption, that bishops sould have farder boundis to visit, nor they may lawfullie.* Na man aucht to have the office of visitation, bot he that is lawfully chosin be the Presbytrie thereunto. The elderschips being well establishit, have power to send out visitors ane or mae, with commission to visit the bounds within thair elderschip: And siclyke eftir compt takin of them, either continew them, or remove them from tyme to tyme, to the quhilk elderschips they shall be alwayes subject.

12. The criminall jurisdiction in† the person of a pastor, is a corruption.

13. It agries not with the word of God that bishops sould be pastors of pastors, pastors of monie flocks; and yit without ane certaine flock, and without ordinar teiching. It agries not with the Scriptures, that they sould be exemit fra the correction of their brethren, and discipline of the particular elderschip of the kirk, where they shall serve; neither that they usurpe the office of visitation of uther kirks, nor ony uther function besyde uther ministers, bot sa far as sall be committit to them be the kirk.

14. Heirfoir we desyre the bishops that now ar, either to agrie to that order that God's word requyres in them, as the generall kirk will prescrive unto them not passing that bounds either in ecclesiasticall or civil affairs, or else to be deposit fra all function in the kirk.

15. We deny not in the mein tyme, bot ministers may and sould assist their Princes when they are requyrit, in all things agreiable to the word, quhither it be in Councill or Parliament, or utherwayis, provyding al-

* The copy in Spottiswood's History hath, "than they may conveniently overtake."

† The copy printed in 8vo, anno 1682, which is said to have been printed from the Presbytery Book of Haddingtoun, hath, "civil jurisdiction."

ways they neither neglect their awin charge, nor throw flatterie of Princes, hurt the publick estait of the kirk. Bot generallie, we say no person, under whatsumever title of the kirk, and specially the abusit titles in Papistrie, of Prelates, Convents, and Chapters, aucht to attempt ony act in the kirk's name, either in Councell or Parliament, or out of Councell, having na commission of the reformat kirk within this realme.

16. And be act of Parliament it is provydit, that the Papisticall kirk and jurisdiction sould have na place within the same, and na bischop nor uther prelate in tymes cuming sould use ony jurisdiction flowing from his authoritie. And again, that na uther ecclesiasticall jurisdiction sould be acknowledged within this realm, bot that quhilk is, and shall be in the reformat kirk, and flowing therefra. Sa we esteim halding of chapiters in Papisticall manner, aither in cathedrall kirks, abbayis, colledges, or uther conventuall places, usurping the name and authoritie of the kirk, to hurt the patrimonie thair of, or use ony uther act to the prejudice of the same, sen the zeir of our Lord 1560, to be abusion and corruption, contrar to the libertie of the trew kirk and lawis of the realme, and thairfor aucht to be annullit, reducit, and in all tyme cuming all utterlie dischargit.

17. The dependances also of the Papisticall jurisdiction are to be abolishit, of the quhilk sort is the minglit jurisdiction of the commissars, in sa far as they meddle with ecclesiasticall matters, and have na commission of the kirk thairto, but wer erectit in tyme of our Soveraignis mother, whan things wer out of order. It is an absurd thing that sindry of them having na function of the kirk, sould be judgis to ministers, and depose them from their roumis. Thairfoir they either wald be dischargit to meddle with ecclesiasticall matters, or it wald be limitit to them in quhat matters they might be judges, and not hurt the libertie of the kirk.

18. They also that befor wer of the ecclesiasticall estait in the Papis kirk, or that ar admittit of new to the Papisticall titles, and now ar tollerat be the lawes of the realme to possess the twa pairt of thair ecclesiasticall rents, aucht not to have ony farther libertie bot to intromet with the portion assignit and grantit to them for thair lyfetymes: And not, under the abusit titles quhilks they had, to dispone the kirk rentis, set tackes and fewes thair of at thair pleasure, to the grit hurt of the kirk, and puir labourers that dwell upon the kirk-lands, contrar to all good conscience and order.

CHAPTER XII.

Certain Speciall Heids of Reformation quhilk we crave.

1. Quhatsumever hes bene spokin of the offices of the kirk, the severall power of the office-beirars, their conjunct power also, and last of the patrimonie of the kirk; we understand it to be the right reformation, which God craves at our hands, that the kirk be orderit according thairto, as with that order quhilk is most agreeable to the word. Bot because something wald be touched in particular, concerning the estait of the countrey, and that quhilk we principally seik to be reformat in the same, we have collectit them in thir heids following.

2. Seeing the hail countrey is dividit in provinces, and thir provinces again are dividit in parishes, als weill in landwart as in townes; in every pariah and reasonable congregation there wald be placit ane or mae pastors to feid the flock, and no pastor or minister alwaies to be burdenit with the particular charge of mae kirks or flockes then ane alanerly.

3. And because it will be thocht hard to finde out pastors or ministers to all the paroch kirks of the realm, als well in landwart as in townes, we think be the advice of sic, as commission may be gine to be the kirk and prince, parishes in landwart or small villages, mae be joynd twa or three or mae, in sum places together, and the principall and maist commodious kirks, to stand, and be repairit sufficiently, and qualifiit ministers placit thereat; and the uther kirks, quhilk ar not fund necessar, may be sufferit to decay, their kirk-yards alwaies beand kept for buriall places: And in sume places where neid requyres ane parish, where the congregation is owir great for ane kirk, may be dividit in twa or mae.

4. Doctors wald be appointit in universities, colledges, and in uther places neidfull, and sufficiently provided for; to opin up the meining of the Scriptures, and to have the charge of schules, and teich the rudiments of religion.

5. As for elders, there wald be sume to be censurers of the manners of the people, ane or mae in every congregation; bot not an assembly of elders in every particular kirk, bot only in townes and famous places quhere resort of men of judgement and habilitie to that effect may be had, quhere the eldars of the particular kirks about may convene together, and have a common eldership and assembly place amang them, to treat of all things that concernes the congregations of which they have the oversight.

6. And as there ought to be men appointit to unite and divyde the parishes, as necessity and commodity requyres: Sa wald there be appointit be the generall kirk, with advyce* of the prince, sic men as feir God, and know the estait of the countries, that were able to nominate and desyne the places, quhere the particular elderships should convene, taking consideration of the diocesses as they were dividit of auld, and of the estait of the countries and provinces of the realme.

7. Lykewise concerning provinciall and synodall assemblies, consideration wer easie to be taken, how mony and in quhat places they were to be halden, and how oft they sould convene, aucht to be referrit to the libertie of the general kirk, and order to be appoyntit therein.

8. The nationall assemblies of this countrey, callit commonlie the Generall Assemblies, aucht alwayes to be reteinit in their awin libertie, and have their awin place, with power to the kirk to appoynt tymes and places convenient for the same; and all men, als weill magistrats as inferiours, to be subject to the judgement of the same in ecclesiasticall causes, without any reclamation or appellation to ony judge, civill or ecclesiasticall, within the realm.

9. The libertie of the election of persons callit to the ecclesiasticall functions, and observit without interruption swa lang as the kirk was not

* Some copies have, "assent."

corruptit be Antichrist, we desyre to be restorit and reteinit within this realm. Swa that nane be intrusit upon any congregation, either be the prince or any inferiour person, without lawfull election and the assent of the people owir quham the person is placit; as the practis of the apostolical and primitive kirk and gude order craves.

10. And because this order, quhilk God's word craves, cannot stand with patronages and presentation to benefices usit in the Paipes kirk: We desyre all them that trewlie feir God earnestly to consider, that for swa meikle as the names of patronages and benefices, togither with the effect thair of, have flowit fra the Paip and corruption of the canon law only, in sa far as thereby any person was intrusit or placit owir kirks having *curam animarum*. And for swa meikle as that manner of proceeding hes na ground in the word of God, but is contrar to the same, and to the said libertie of election, they aucht not now to have place in this licht of reformation. And therefore quhasumever will embrace God's word, and desyre the kingdome of his Son Christ Jesus to be advancit, they will also embrace, and receive that policie and order quhilk the word of God, and upright estait of his kirk craves, otherwise it is in vaine that they have profest the same.

11. Notwithstanding as concerning uther patronages of benefices that have not *curam animarum*, as they speak: Such as ar chaplaineries, prebendaries foundit upon temporall lands, annualls, and sic lyke, may be reservit unto the ancient patrones, to dispoise thairupon, quhan they vaik, to schulis and bursars, as they are requyrit be act of Parliament.*

12. As for the kirk rents in generall, we desyre that order be admittit and mentainit amangis us, that may stand with the sinceritie of God's word, and practise of the purity of the kirk of Christ. To wit, that as was before spoken, the haill rent and patrimonie of the kirk, exceptand the small patronages before mentionat, may be dividit in four portions: Ane thereof to be assignit to the pastor for his intertainment and hospitalitie: An uther to the eldars, deacons, and uther officers of the kirk, sic as clerks of assemblies, takers up of the psalmes, beadels and keepers of the kirk, sa far as is necessar; joyning therewith also the doctors of schules, to help the ancient foundations where neid requires: The third portion to be bestowit upon the puir members of the faithfull, and hospitals: The fourth for reparation of the kirks, and uther extraordinar charges as ar profitable for the kirk; and also for the common weil, if neid requyre.

13. We desyre therefore the ecclesiasticall gudes to be upliftit, and distributit faithfullie to quham they appertein, and that be the ministerie of the deacons, to quhais office properlie the collection and distribution thereof belangs; that the puir may be answerit of their portion thereof, and they of the ministery live without care and solicitude: As also the rest of the treasure of the kirk may be reservit, and bestowit to their richt uses. Gif these deacons be electit with sic qualities as God's word craves to be in them, there is na feir that they sall abuse themselves in their office, as the prophane collectors did of before.

14. Yit because this vocation appeires to many to be dangerous, let

* Jam. VI. Parl. 1, Cap. 12. Afterward ratified Jam. VI. Parl. 12, Cap. 161.

them be oblishit as they wer of auld to a yeirlie count to the pastors and elderschip; and gif the kirk and prince think expedient, let cautioners be oblishit for their fidelitie, that the kirk rents on na wayes be dilapidat.

15. And to the effect this order may tak place, it is to be provydit, that all uthers intromettors with the kirk rent, collectors general or speciall, whether it be by appointment of the prince, or utherwaies, may be denudit of farther intromission therewith; and suffer the kirk rents in tyme cumming to be haillie intromettit with be the ministrie of the deacons, and distribute to the use before mentionat.

16. And also to the effect, that the ecclesiasticall rents may suffice to these uses, for the quhilk they ar to be appointit; we think it necessar to be desyrit, that all alienations, setting of fewes or tacks of the rents of the kirk, als weill lands as teinds, in hurt and diminution of the auld rentals, be reducit and annullit, and the patrimony of the kirk restorit to the former auld libertie. And lykewise, that in tymes cumming the teinds be set to nane bot to the labourers of the ground, or els not set at all, as was agriet upon, and subscribit be the nobilitie of before.*

CHAPTER XIII.

The Utilitie that sall flow fra this Reformation to all Estates.

1. Seing the end of this spirituall government and policie, quhairof we speik, is that God may be glorifiet, the kingdom of Jesus Christ advancit, and all who are of his mysticall bodie may live peaceable in conscience: Therefore we dar bauldlie affirme, that all these who have trew respect to thir ends, will even for conscience cause gladlie agrie and conforme themselves to this order, and advance the same, sa far as in them lyes, that their conscience being set at rest, they may be replenishit with spirituall gladnes in giving full obedience to that quhilk Godis word and the testimonie of their awin conscience does crave, and in refusing all corruption contrar to the sam.

2. Nixt we sall becum an example and paterne of gude and godly order to uther nations, countries, and kirks professing the same religion with us, that as they have glorified God in our continueing in the sinceritie of the word hitherto, without any errours, praise be to his name: So they may have the lyke occasion in our conversation, when as we conform our selfis to that discipline, pollicie, and gude order, quhilk the same word and purity of reformation craveth at our hands; utherwise that fearfull sentence may be justly said to us, "The servant knowing the will of his maister, and not doing it," &c.

3. Mairover, gif we have any pity or respect to the puir members of Jesus Christ, who so greatly increase and multiplie amanges us, we will not suffer them to be langer defraudit of that part of the patrimonie of the kirk quhilk justly belangs unto them: And by this order, if it be deuly put to execution, the burden of them sall be taken of us to our great confort, the streits sall be cleansed of thair cryings and murmurings; swa as

* See Chap. 8 of the First Book of Discipline, which was subscribed by many of the nobility. See also the Proceedings of the General Assemblie about the Policie of the Kirk.

we sall na mair be an skandall to uther nations as we have hitherto bene for not taking order with the pair amanges us, and causing the word quhilk we profess to be evill spokin of, giving occasion of sclander to the enemies, and offending the consciences of the scmpil and godly.

4. Besydes this, it sall be a great ease and commoditie to the hail common people, in relieving them of the beilding and uphalding of thair kirks, in bigging of brigges, and uther lyke publick warks: It sall be a relief to the labourers of the ground in payment of their teinds; and schortlie in all these things, whereinto they have bene hitherto rigorously handlit be them that were falslie callit kirkemen, thair tacksmen, factours, chalmerlanes, and extortionars.

Finally, to the King's Majestie and common-weill of the countrey, this profite shall redound: That the uther affaires of the kirk beand sufficientlie provydit according to the distribution of the quhilk hes bene spokin; the superplus beand collectit in the treasure of the kirk, may be profitablie imployit, and liberallie bestowit upon the extraordinar support of the affaires of the Prince and common-weill, and speciallie of that part quhilk is appoyntit for reparation of kirks.

Sa to conclude, all beand willing to apply themselves to this order, the people suffering themselves to be rewlit according thereto; the Princes and Magistrates not beand exemit, and these that ar placit in the ecclesiasticall estait richtlie rewling and governing, God sall be glorifiet, the kirk edifiet, and the bounds thereof inlargit, Christ Jesus and his kingdome set up, Satan and his kingdom subvertit, and God sall dwell in the middis of us, to our comfort, through Jesus Christ, who, togither with the Father and the Holy Ghost, abydes blessit in all eternity. Amen.

ENDIS THE BUIK OF POLICIE.

No. III.

ACTS OF PARLIAMENT.

In the year 1560, on the 17th of August, the First Confession of Faith of the Reformed Church of Scotland was "professed, ratifiet, and approveit in Parliament;" the jurisdiction of the Pope was abolished; and an act was passed against idolatry, and another abolishing the mass.

In the year 1567, on the 19th of April, Queen Mary, before the last series of criminal actions which led to her imprisonment and exile, passed an act, securing to all her subjects freedom from civil injury in their adherence to the Reformed faith.

But it was not till the meeting of the first Parliament, held by the Regent Murray, that a full recognition was made of the Reformed Church, amounting to its establishment as the National Church of Scotland. The most important points of these acts of Parliament are here given.

Act 1567, ch. 6. Anent the trew and haly Kirk, and of thame that are declarit not to be of the samin.

Item, Forsamekle as the Ministeris of the blissit Euangell of Jesus Christ, quhome God of his mercy hes now rasiť vp amangis vs, or heirefter sall rais, aggreing with thame that now liues, in doctrine and administratioun of the Sacramentis, and the pepill of this realme that professis Christ as he now is offerit in his Euangell, and do communicat with the holy sacramentis (as in the reformat Kirkis of this Realme ar publickly administrat), according to the Confession of the Faith, Our Souerane Lord, with aise of my Lord Regent and three Estatis of this present Parliament, hes declarit and declaris the fairsaid kirk to be the onelie trew and holy Kirk of Jesus Christ within this realme, and decernis and declareis that all and sundrie quha outhir gainsayis the Word of the Euangell ressaut and appreuit as the heides of the Confessioun professit in Parliament of befor, in the yeir of God 1560 yeirs, as alswa specifiet in the Actis of this Parliament mair particularlie dois expres, and now ratifyit and appreuit in this present Parliament, or that refusis the participation of the holy sacraments as thay ar now ministrat, to be na membris of the said Kirk within this realme now presently professit, swa lang as they keipe thame selfis sa deuydit fra the societie of Christis body.

Act 1567, ch. 7. Anent the admissioun of thame that sal be presentit to Benefices havand cure of Ministrie.

Item, It is statute and ordained by our Sovereine Lord, with advice of his dearest Regent, and three Estatis of this present Parliament, that the examination and admission of ministers, within this Realme, be only in the power of the Kirk, now openlie and publicly professed within the samin. The presentation of laic Patronage alwais reserved to the Just and auncient Patrones. And that the Patron present ane qualified persoun, within sex Moneths (after it may cum to his knowledge, of the decease of him quha bruiked the Benefice of before) to the Superintendent of thay partis, quhar the Benefice lyis, or uthers havand commision of the Kirk to that effect; utherswaies the Kirk to have power to dispone the samin to ane qualified person for that time.

Providing that in caice the Patron present ane person qualified to his understanding, and failzeing of ane, ane uther within the said six Moneths, and the said Superintendent or Commissioner of the Kirk refusis to receive and admit the person presented be the Patron, as said is: It sall be lessum [lawful] to the Patron to appeale to the Superintendent and Ministers of that province quhar the Benefice lyis, and desire the person presented to be admitted, quhilk gif they refuse, to appeal to the General Assemblie of the haill realme, be quhom the cause be and decyded, sall take end, as they decerne and declair.

Act 1567, ch. 12. Anent the iurisdiction of the Kirk.

Item, Anent the Artickle proponit and geuin in by the Kirk to my Lord

Regent and the thre Estatis of this present Parliament, anent the iurisdiction iustlie appertaining to the trew Kirk and immaculat spous of Jesus Christ, to be declarit and expressit as the artickle at mair lenth is consult: The Kingis Grace, with auise of my Lord Regent and thre Estatis of this present Parliament, hes declairit and grantit iurisdiction to the said Kirk: quhilk consistis and standis, in preiching of the trew word of Jesus Christ, correction of maneris, and administratioun of haly sacramentis. And declaris, that thair is na vther face of Kirk nor vther face of Religion, than is presentlie be the faour of God establischeit, within this realme. And that thair be na vther iurisdiction ecclesiasticall acknowledged within this realme, vther than that quhilk is and sall be within the same Kirk, or that quhilk flowis thairfra concerning the premisses; and forther, our Souerane Lord, with auis of my Lord Regent and thre Estatis foirsaidis, hes geuein and geuis power and commission to Schir James Balfour of Pittindreich, Knycht, Priour of Pittinweem; Mark, Commendatour of Newbottill; Johne, Priour of Coldinghame, Lord Preue Seal; Maister James Makgill of Rankillour Nether, Clerk of Register; William Maitland, younger of Lethington, Secretar to our Souerane Lord; Schir Johne Bellenden of Auchinoull, Knycht, Justice Clerk; John Erskine of Dune; Maister Johne Spottiswod, Superintendent of Lowthiane; Johne Knox; Maister Johne Craig; and Maister David Lindesay, Ministeris of the worde of God, To seirche furth mair speciallie, and to considder, quhat vther special pointis or clausis sould appertene to the iurisdiction, priuilege, and authoritie of the said Kirk, and to declair thair mindis thairanentis to my Lord Regent and thre Estatis of this Realme at the next Parliament, Swa that they may tak ordour thairintill, and authories the samin be act of Parliament, as sall be fund agreeable to the worde of God.

[These Acts were again ratified in the years 1578, 1579, and 1581.

In 1581, a short act was passed respecting the few lay patronages at that time existing, but which the king was strenuously endeavouring to increase.]

Act 1581, ch. 102. That ministeris sall be presentit be the Kingis Majestie and the lawit Patronis, to all benefices of cuir under Prelacyis.

Item, It is statute and ordainit be our Souerane Lord, with aduise of his thre Estatis of this present Parliament, That all benefices of cuir under prelacyis, sall be presentit be our Souerane Lord, and the lawit personis, in the fauoure of abill and qualifeit ministers, apt and willing to enter in that functioun—and to discharge the dewtie thair of. And in cace any sall happin to be gevin and disponsit wtherwise herefter, decernis and declaris the giftis and dispositiounis to be null and of none avail, force, nor effect.

[Next appear the "Black Acts" of 1584.]

Act 1584, ch. 129. An Act confirming the Kingis Majestie's Royall Power over all Statis and Subjectis within this Realme.

Forsamekle as syndrie personis, being laitlie callit befor the Kingis

Majestie and his secreit Counsell, to answer upon certaine pointis to have bene inquirit of thame, concerning sum treasounable, seditious, and contumelious speches, utterit by thame in Pulpit, Scholis, and vtherwayis, to the disdane and reproche of his Hienes, his Progenitouris, and present Counsell, contemtuouslie declinit the jugement of his Hienes and his said Counsell in that behalf, to the evill exemple of uthers to do the like, gif tymous remeid be not providit: Thairfoir our Souerane Lord, and his thrie Estatis, assembled in this present Parliament, ratifeis and apprevia, and perpetuallie confirmis the royall power and autoritie over all statis, alsweil Spirituall as Temporall, within this Realme, in the persoun of the Kingis Majestie, our Souerane Lord, his airis and successouris: And als statutis and ordanis, that his Hienes, his said airis and successouris, be thameselfis and thair counsellis, ar, and in tyme to cum sall be, juges competent to all personis his Hienes subjectis, of quhatsumever estate, degrie, functioun, or conditioun that ever they be of, Spirituall or Temporall, in all matteris qubairin they, or ony of thame, sall be apprehendit, summond, or chargeit to answer to sik thingis as sall be inquirit of thame, be our Souerane Lord and his Counsell. And that nane of thame, quhilkis sall happin to be apprehendit, callit, or summond to the effect foirsaid presume or tak upoun hand to decline the jugement of his Hienes, his airis or successouris, or thair Counsell, in the premisses, under the pane of treasoun.

Act 1584, ch. 131. Act discharging all jurisdictionis and jugementis, not approvit be Parliament, and all Assembleis and Conventiounis, without our Souerane Lordis speciall licence and commandment.

Our Souerane Lord and his thrie Estatis, assemblit in this present Parliament, dischargeis all jugementis and jurisdictionis, Spirituall or Temporall, accustomat to be usit and execute, upoun ony of his Hienes subjectis, quhilkis are not approvit be his Hienes, and his saids thrie Estatis, convenit in Parliament; and decernis the same to ceis in tyme cumming, quhil the ordour thereof be first sene and considerit in Parliament, and be allowit and ratifeit be thame. Certifeing thame that sall proceed in using and exerceing of the saids jugementis and jurisdictionis, or in obeying of the same, not being allowit and ratifeit, as said is, They sall be repute, halden, callit, presewit, and punissit as usurparis, and contemnaris of his Hienes auctoritie, in example of utheris. And als it is statute and ordainit, be our said Souerane Lord, and his thrie Estatis, that none of his Hienes subjectis, of quhatsumever qualitie, estate, or functioun they be of, Spirituall or Temporall, presume or tak upoun hand, to convocat, convene, or assemble thameselfis togidder, for holding of counsellis, conventiounis, or assembleis, to treat, consult, and determinat in ony matter of Estate, Civill or Ecclesiasticall (except in the ordinaire jugementis), without his Majesties speciall commandement, expres licence, had and obtenit to that effect, under the panis ordinit in the lawis and actis of Parliament, agains sic as unlawfullie convocat the Kingis lieges.

Act 1584, ch. 132. The Causes and Maner of Deprivation of Ministers.

Our Souerane Lord, and his thrie Estatis, assemblit in this present Parliament, willing that the word of God sall be preachit, and Sacramentis administrat in puritie and synceritie, and that the rentis, quhairon the Ministeris aucht to be sustenit, sall not be possest be unworthie personis neglecting to do thair dewties, for whilkis they accept thair benefices, being utherwayis polluted with the fraill and enorme crymis and vices after specefeit. It is, thairfoir, statute and ordainit be his Hienes, with auice of the saides thrie Estatis, that all Personis, Ministeris, or Reiddaris, or utheris providit to benefices, sen his Hienes Coronatioun (not having vote in his Hienes Parliament), suspectit culpable of heresie, papistrie, fals and erroneous doctrine, common blasphemie, fornication, commoun drunkennes, non-residence, pluralitie of benefices having cure, quhairunto they are providit sen the said Coronatioun, Symonie, and dilapidatioun of the rentis of benefices, contrare the lait Act of Parliament, being lawfullie and ordourlie callit, tryit, and adjudgit culpable, in the vices and causes abouewritten, or onie of thame, be the ordinare Bishop of the diocie, or utheris the Kingis Majesties Commissionaris to be constitute in Ecclesiasticall causes, sall be deprivit alsweil fra thair functioun in the Ministerie, as fra thair benefices, quhilkis sall be thairby declairit to be vacand; to be presentit and conferrit of new, as gif the personis possessouris thairof were naturallie dead: And that it sall be esteemit and jugeit not-residence, quhair the persoun being in the function of the ministerie, providit to ane benefice, sen the Kingis Majesties Coronatioun, makis not residence at his mans, gif he ony hes; and failzeing thereof, at sum uther dwelling-place within the parochin; but remainis absent thairfra, and from his Kirk, and using of his office, be the space of four Sodayis in the haill zeir, without lafull caus and impediment, allowit be his ordinare. And quhair ony persoun is admittit to ma benefices, havand cure, sen our Soverane Lordis Coronatioun, the acceptioun of the last sall be sufficient cause of deprivation from the remanent, swa that he be providit to twa or ma benefices havand cure, sen the tyme of the said Coronatioun. And nevertheles, this present Act sall not extend to ony persoun providit to his benefice befor the said Coronatioun, nather sall the bruing of the said office, quhairunto he was providit of befor, induce pluralitie of benefices in this case; bot he sall allanerlie tyne his richt of the benefice quhairunto he was providit sen the said Coronatioun allanerlie: And unioun of kirkis to ane benefice not to be jugeit pluralitie, quhill farder ordour be establiissit and providit in that behalf: Likeas alsua, the personis being in the functioun of the ministrie, that sall happin to be lawfullie and ordourlie convict befor our Soverane Lordis Justice-Generall, or utheris thair Jugeis competent of criminal causis, sick as treasoun, slachter, mutilatioun, adulterie, incest, thift, [commoun oppressioun, usurie aganes the lawis of this Realme,] perjurie, or falset: They being lykewayis lawfullie and ordourlie deprivit fra thair functioun in the ministerie, be thair ordinair, or the Kingis Commissionaris in Ecclesiasticall causes. The benefices possest be the saidis personis to vaik, be reason of the said convictioun and deprivation. And

this to have effect and execution onlie for crimis, vicis, faultis, and offenceis, that sall happin to be committit efter the dait heirof.

[That important Act commonly designated "The Great Charter of the Church," which was passed in the year 1592, demands special attention.]

Act 1592, ch. 116. Act for abolishing of the Actis contrair the trew Religion.

[Ratification of the libertie of the trew Kirk: Of General and Synodall Assemblies: Of Presbyteries of Discipline. All lawes of Idolatrie ar abrogate: Of Presentation to Benefices.]

Our Soverane Lord and Estaittis of this present Parliament, following the lovable and gude example of thair predecessours, Hies ratifiet and apprevit, and be the tenour of this present Act ratifies and apprevis, all liberties, privileges, immunities, and freedoms, quatsumever, gevin and grantit be his Hienes, his Regentis in his name, or ony of his predecessours, to the trew and haly Kirk, presentlie establishit within this realme; and declarit in the first Act of his Hienes Parliament, the twentie day of October, the zier of God ane thousand, five hundreth, three-scoir ninetene zieres; and all and whatsumevir Actis of Parliament, and statutes maid of befor, be his Hienes and his Regentis, anent the libertie and freedome of the said Kirk; and specialie the first Act of the Parliament, halden at *Edinburgh* the twentie-foure day of October, the zier of God ane thousand, five hundreth, and foir-scoir ane zieres, with the haill particulare Actis thairin mentionat, quhilk sall be als sufficient as gif the samyn wer herin exprest. And all uther Actis of Parliament maid sensyne, in favouris of the trew Kirk; and siklyke, ratifies and apprevis the Generall Assemblies appointed be the said Kirk: And declaris, that it sall be lauchfull to the Kirk and Ministrie everilk zeir at the leist, and offer *pro re nata*, as occasion and necessitie sall require, to hald and keip Generall Assemblies: Providing that the Kingis Majestie or his Commissioner with thame, to be appoyntit be his Hienes, be present at ilk Generall Assemblie, befor the dissolving thair of nominat and appoint tyme and place quhen and quhair the nixt Generall Assemblie sall be haldin: and in caise nather his Majestie nor his said Commissioner beis present for the tyme in that toun, quhair the Generall Assemblie beis halden, Then, and in that caise, it sall be lessum to the said Generall Assemblie, be themselfis, to nominat and appoynt tyme and place quhair the nixt Generall Assemblie of the Kirk sall be keipit and haldin, as they haif bene in use to do thir tymes bypast. And als ratifies and apprevis the Sinodall and Provinciaill Assemblies, to be halden be the said Kirk and Ministrie, twyis ilk zier, as they haif bene, and are presentlie in use to do, within every Province of this realme; And ratifeis and apprevis the Presbyteries, and particulare Sessionis appoyntit be the said Kirk, with the haill jurisdiction and discipline of the same Kirk, aggreit upon be his Majestie, in conference had be his Hienes with certane of the Ministrie convenit to that effect: of the quhilkis Articles the tenour followis. MATERIS to be entreated in Provincial Assemblies: Thir Assemblies ar constitute for wechtie materis, necessar to be entreatit be mutuall consent, and assistance of brethrene, within the Province as neid requyris. This Assemblie hes power to handle,

ordour, and redresse, all things omittit or done amisse in the particulare Assemblies. It hes power to depose the office-beareris of that Province, for gude and just causes, deserving deprivation: And generallie, thir Assemblies hes the haill power of the particulare Elderschippis, quhairf they are collectit. MATERIS to be entreated in the Presbyteries. The power of the Presbyteries is to give diligent lauboris in the boundis committed to their charge: That the Kirkis be kept in gude ordour: To enquire diligentlie of naughtie and ungodlie personis: And to travell to bring them in the way agane be admonitioun, or threatening of Goddis jugementis, or be correctioun. It appertenis to the Elderschip, to tak heid that the Word of God be purlie preachit within thair boundis, the Sacramentis richtlie ministrat, the Discipline enterteynit, And Ecclesiasticall guidis uncorruptlie distributit. It belangis to this kynd of Assemblies, to caus the ordinances maid be the Assembleis, Provinciallis, Nationalis, and Generallis, to be kept and put in executioun, to mak constitutionis, quihilkis concernis *res pccatas* in the Kirk, for decent ordour, in the particulare kirk quhair they governe; provyding that thay alter na rewlis maid be the Provinciall or Generall Assemblies; And that they make the Provinciall Assemblies foirsaidis, privie of the rewlis that they sall mak, and to abolishe constitutionis tending to the hurte of the same. It has power to excommunicat the obstinat, formale proces being led, and dew intervall of tymes observit. ANENT particulare kirkis, Gif they be lauchfully rewlit be sufficient ministeris and sessioun, Thay haif power and jurisdiction in their awin congregation, in materis Ecclesiasticall, And decernis and declaris the said Assembleis, Presbyteries, and Sessiounes, Jurisdiction and Discipline thairof foirsaid, to be in all tymes cuming maist just, gude, and godlie in thesself, Notwithstanding of quhatsumevir Statutis, Actis, Cannon, Civile, or municipall Lawes, maid in the contrair: To the quihilkis and every ane of thame, thir presentis sall mak expres derogatioun. And becaus thair ar divers Actis of Parliament, maid in favour of the Papistical Kirk, tending to the prejudice of the libertie of the trew Kirk of God, presentlie professit within this realme, jurisdiction, and discipline thairof, Quhilk stands zit in the buikis of the Actis of Parliament, not abrogat nor annullit: Thairfoir his Hienes and Estaittis foirsaidis hes abrogat, cassit, and annullit, and be the tennor heirof, abrogatis, cassis, and annullis, all Actis of Parliament maid be ony of his Hienes predecessoris, for maintenance of superstitioun and idolatrie, with all and quhatsumevir Acts, Lawes, and Statutes, maid at ony tyme, befor the day and dait heirof, aganis the libertie of the trew Kirk, jurisdiction, and discipline thairof, as the samyn is usit and exercesit within this realme. And in speciall, that pairt of the sevint Act of Parliament halden at [*Streviling*, the fourt day of *November*, ane thousand four hundredth, fourty-three] zeiris, commanding obedience to be gevin to *Eugin*, the Pape for the tyme: the 109 Act maid be King James the *thrid*, in his Parliament halden at *Edinburgh*, the twenty-fourth day of *Februar*, [the zeir of God] ane thousand, four hundreth, four-scor thrie zeirs. And all utheris Actis quhairby the Papis authoritie is establishit. The fourty-seven Act of King James the *third*, in his Parliament halden at *Edinburgh*, the [twenty day of *November*, ane

thousand, four hundredth, three score nine] zeirs, anent the Satterday and uther vigilis to be hally dayes from Evin sang to Evin sang. ITEM, that pairt of the thirty-one Act maid be the *Queene Regent*, in the Parliament halden at *Edinburgh*, the first day of *Februar* ane thousand, five hundredth, fifty-ane zeirs, Geving speciall licence for haldin of *Paske* and *Zule*. ITEM, the Kingis Majesty and Estatis foresaidis declaris, that the second Act of the Parliament halden at *Edinburgh*, the xxij day of Maij, the zeir of God ane thousand, five hundredth, four scoir, four zeires, sall naways be prejudiciall, nor derogat any thing to the privilege that God hes givin to the spirituall office-beareris in the Kirk, concerning heads of religioun, materis of heresie, excommunicatioun, collation or deprivation of ministeris, or ony sik essentiall censours, speciall groundit, and havand warrand of the word of God. ITEM, Our said Soverane Lord, and Estaittis of Parliament forsadis, abrogatis, cassis, and annulis the XX Act of the same Parliament, halden at *Edinburgh*, the said zeir, ane thousand, five hundredth, fourscoir, four zeires, granting commission to bischoppis and utheris juges, constitute in ecclesiasticall causes, to reessaue his Hienes presentatioun to benefices, to gif collatioun thairupon, and to put ordour in all causes ecclesiasticall: quhilk his Majesty and Estatis foresaidis declaris to be expyrit in the self, and to be null in tyme cuming, and of nane avail, force, nor effect. And thairfoir ordanis all presentationis to benefices, to be direct to the particular presbyteries, in all tyme cuming: with full power to thame to gif collationis thereupon; and to put ordour to all materis and causes ecclesiasticall, within thair boundis, according to the discipline of the Kirk: Providing the fairsaidis presbyteries be bund and astrictit to reessaue and admitt quhatsumeuir qualifiet minister presentit be his Majesty, or uther laic patrounes.

Act 1592, ch. 117. Unqualified persons being deprived, the Benefice vaikes, and the Patron not presentand, the right of Presentation pertaines to the Presbyterie, but prejudices of the tackes, set be the person deprived.

Our Souerane Lord, Considering the great abuses quhilkis ar laitlie croppen in the Kirk, throw the misbehaviour of sik personis as ar providit to ecclesiasticall functionis: sic as personages and vicarages within any parrochin, and thairefter neglecting thair charge, ather levis thair cure, or ellis committis sik crymes, faultis, or enormities that they are fund worthy of the sentence of deprivation, ather befoir thair awin presbiterie, or ellis befoir the Sinodall and Generall Assemblies. Quhilk sentence is the less regardit be thame, Because, albeit they be deprivit of their functioun and cure within the Kirk: zit they think they may bruike lawfully the profitis and rentes of their saids benefices, enduring their lyfetymes, Notwithstanding the said sentence of deprivation: Thairfore, our Soverane Lord, with avice of the Estaitis of this present Parliament, declaris, that all and quhatsumeiver sentence of deprivation, ather pronouncit already, or that happenis to be pronouncit hereafter, be ony Presbyterie, Synodall or General Assemblie, agains ony persone or vicare within their jurisdiction, provydit sen his Hienes coronation: (All personis provydit to personages and vicarages, quha hes voit in Parliament, Secreit Council, and Sessioun,

or providit thairto of auld, befor the Kingis coronatioun, And Maister George Young, Archidene of *Sanct Androis*, being specially exceptit), is and sal be repute in all judgmentis, ane just cause to seclude the persone befor providit, and than deprivit from all profitis, commodities, rentis, and deweties of the said personage and vicarage, or benefice of cure: And that ather be way of actioun, exception, or reply. And that the said sentence of deprivation sal be ane sufficient cause to mak the said benefice to vaikie thereby. And the said sentence being extractit and presentit to the Patroun, the said Patroun sal be bund to present ane qualifiit persone of new to the Kirk, within the space of sex monethis thairefter. And gif he failzie to do the same, the said Patroun sal tyne the richt of presentation for that tyme allanerlie: And the richt of presentation to be devolit in the handes of the Presbytery within the quihilk benefice lyes; to the effect that they may dispone the same, and gif collatioun thereof, to sik ane qualifiit persone as they sall think expedient. Providing allwayes, in caise the Presbytery refuses to admit ane qualifiit minister, presentit to thame be the Patroun, It sall be lauchful to the Patroun to retene the haill fruitis of the same benefice in his awin handes. And forder, his Hienes and Estatis foirsaidis declaris, that the deprivation already pronouncit, or to be pronouncit, be ony Presbytery, Synodall or General Assemblies, agaisn ony of the personis or vicaris afoirsaid, sall nawayes hurte or be prejudiciall to ony tackes, lawchfullie set be that persone deprivit, befor his deprivation, to quhatsumevir personis.

[It does not seem to be generally known, that the peculiarities of the act 1592, ch. 116, are directly favourable to the Church in that very respect in which they have been thought unfavourable. No express mention is made of the Second Book of Discipline, but certain of its main topics are ratified, while others are apparently passed over. Hence it has been argued that nothing has been ratified to the Church but what is specifically mentioned in the act itself, and that every other topic in the Book of Discipline must be held to have been rejected. It has been shown by Mr. Dunlop what fatal confusion such a theory would introduce, and that, therefore, it cannot be admitted. But the true reason of this peculiarity in the act appears to be the following: It is well known that when the Second Book of Discipline was laid before the Privy Council, certain articles were at once ratified, and others were referred to further consideration. Now, on comparing the copy of the Book of Discipline in Spotswood, in which the marginal comments of the Privy Council are given, with the act 1592, it is remarkable that none of those marked "*agreed*" are contained in the act, while the chief of those marked "*referred*" are. From this the conclusion seems inevitable, that having already agreed to these in the Privy Council, and thereby ratified them, it was not necessary to specify any but those which had been left for future consideration, and consequently, that partly by the concurrence of the Privy Council, and partly by the act 1592, thus combined, almost the whole of the Second Book of Discipline was ratified, and became the law of the land, as well as the law of the Church.]

[In the year 1649, the Scottish Parliament, when free from external

control, and at liberty to legislate solely for the good of the country, and under the influence of a religious spirit, which taught them to respect the freedom and promote the purity of Christ's spiritual kingdom, passed the following important act:—]

*Act of Parliament abolishing the Patronage of Kirks, at Edinburgh,
March 9, 1649.*

The Estates of Parliament being sensible of the great obligation that lies upon them by the National Covenant, and by the Solemn League and Covenant, and by many deliverances and mercies from God, and by the late Solemn Engagement unto duties, to preserve the doctrine, and maintain and vindicate the liberties of the Kirk of Scotland, and to advance the work of reformation therein to the utmost of their power; and, considering that patronage and presentations of kirks is an evil and bondage, under which the Lord's people and ministers of this land have long groaned; and that it hath no warrant in God's Word, but is founded only on the canon law, and is a custom Popish, and brought into the Kirk in time of ignorance and superstition; and that the same is contrary to the Second Book of Discipline, in which, upon solid and good ground, it is reckoned amongst abuses that are desired to be reformed, and unto several acts of General Assemblies; and that it is prejudicial to the liberty of the people and planting of kirks, and unto the free calling and entry of ministers unto their charge; and the said estates, being willing and desirous to promote and advance the Reformation foresaid, that every thing in the house of God may be ordered according to his Word and commandment, do therefore, from the sense of the former obligations, and upon the former grounds and reasons, discharge for ever hereafter all patronages and presentations of kirks, whether belonging to the king, or to any laick patron, presbyteries, or others within this kingdom, as being unlawful and unwarrantable by God's Word, and contrary to the doctrine and liberties of the Kirk; and do repeal, rescind, make void, and annul all gifts and rights granted thereanent, and all former acts made in Parliament, or in any inferior judicatory, in favours of any patron or patrons whatsoever, so far as the same doth or may relate unto the presentation of kirks; and do statute and ordain, that no person or persons whatsoever shall, at any time hereafter, take upon them, under pretext of any title, infeftment, act of Parliament, possession or warrant whatsoever, which are hereby repealed, to give, subscribe, or seal any presentation to any kirk within this kingdom; and discharges the passing of any infeftment hereafter, bearing a right to patronages, to be granted in favours of those for whom the infeftments are presented; and that no person or persons shall, either in the behalf of themselves or others, procure, receive, or make use of, any presentation to any kirk within this kingdom. And it is further declared and ordained, that if any presentation shall hereafter be given, procured, or received, that the same is null, and of none effect; and that it is lawful for presbyteries to reject the same, and to refuse to admit any to trials thereupon; and, notwithstanding thereof, to proceed to the planting of the kirk, *upon the suit and calling, or with the consent of the con-*

gregation, on whom none is to be obtruded against their will. And it is decreed, statuted, and ordained, that whosoever hereafter shall, upon the suit and calling of the congregation, after due examination of their literature and conversation, be admitted by the presbytery unto the exercise and function of the ministry, in any parish within this kingdom, that the said person or persons, without a presentation, by virtue of their admission, hath sufficient right and title to possess and enjoy the manse and glebe, and the whole rents, profits, and stipends, which the ministers of that parish had formerly possessed and enjoyed, or that hereafter shall be modified by the commission for plantation of kirks. And because it is needful that the just and proper interest of congregations and presbyteries, in providing of kirks and ministers be clearly determined by the General Assembly, and what is to be accounted the congregation having that interest; therefore, it is hereby seriously recommended unto the next General Assembly, clearly to determine the same, and to condescend upon a certain standing way for being a settled rule therein for all times coming.

[It is not necessary to insert the tyrannical acts passed in the reigns of Charles II. and James VII., as these are sufficiently specified in the body of the work, and necessarily perished at the period of the Revolution. The Revolution Settlement follows:—]

Act 1690, ch. 5. Act ratifying the Confession of Faith, and Settling Presbyterian Church Government.

Our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen's Majesties, and three Estates of Parliament, conceiving it to be their bound duty, after the great deliverance that God hath lately wrought for this Church and Kingdom,—in the first place, to settle and secure therein the true Protestant religion, according to the truth of God's Word, as it hath of a long time been professed within this land: As also the government of Christ's Church within this nation, agreeable to the Word of God, and most conducive to the advancement of true piety and godliness, and the establishing of peace and tranquillity within this realme: And that, by an article of the Claim of Right, it is declared that Prelacy, and the superiority of any office in the Church above presbyteries, is, and hath been, a great and unsupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people ever since the Reformation—they having reformed from Popery by Presbyters—and therefore ought to be abolished: Likeas, by an Act of the last Session of this Parliament, Prelacy is abolished: Therefore their Majesties, with advice and consent of the said Three Estates, do hereby revive, ratifie, and perpetually confirm, all Laws, Statutes, and Acts of Parliament made against Popery and Papists, and for the maintenance and preservation of the true reformed Protestant religion, and for the true Church of Christ within this kingdom, in so far as they confirm the same, or are made in favours thereof. Likeas, they, by these presents, ratifie and establish the Confession of Faith, now read in their presence; and voted and approved by them, as the publick and avowed Confession of this Church, containing the sum and substance of the doctrine of the Reformed Churches (which

Confession of Faith is subjoined to this present Act). As also they do establish, ratifie, and confirm the Presbyterian Church government and discipline; that is to say, the government of the Church by Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies, ratified and established by the 114th Act, Ja. 6, Parl. 12, anno 1592, intituled, *Ratification of the Liberty of the true Kirk, &c.*, and thereafter received, by the general consent of this nation, to be the only government of Christ's Church within this kingdom; reviving, renewing, and confirming the foresaid Act of Parliament, in the whole heads thereof, except that part of it relating to Patronages, which is hereafter to be taken into consideration: And rescinding, annulling, and making void the Acts of Parliament following, viz.:—Act anent Restitution of Bishops, Ja. 6, Parl. 18, cap. 2; Act Ratifying the Acts of Assembly 1610, Ja. 6, Parl. 21, cap. 1; Act anent the Election of Archbishops and Bishops, Ja. 6, Parl. 22, cap. 1; Act intituled, Ratification of the Five Articles of the General Assembly at Perth, Ja. 6, Parl. 23, cap. 1; Act intituled, For the Restitution and Re-establishment of the ancient Government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops, ch. 2, Parl. 1, Sess. 2, Act 1; anent the Constitution of a National Synod, ch. 2, Parl. 1, Sess. 3, Act 5; Act against such as refuse to depone against delinquents, ch. 2, Parl. 2, Sess. 2, Act 2; Act intituled, Act acknowledging and asserting the right of succession to the Imperial Crown of Scotland, ch. 2, Parl. 3, Act 2; Act intituled, Act anent Religion and the Test, ch. 2, Parl. 3, Act 6; with all other acts, laws, statutes, ordinances, and proclamations, and that in so far alienarly as the said Acts, and others generally and particularly above-mentioned, are contrary or prejudicial to, inconsistent with, or derogatory from the Protestant religion and Presbyterian government now established; and allowing and declaring that the Church government be established in the hands of, and exercised by, these Presbyterian ministers who were outed since the 1st of January 1661, for nonconformity to Prelacy, or not complying with the courses of the times, and are now restored by the late Act of Parliament; and such ministers and elders only as they have admitted or received, or shall hereafter admit or receive: And also, that all the said Presbyterian ministers have, and shall have, right to the maintenance, rights, and other privileges, by law provided to the ministers of Christ's Church within this kingdom, as they are, or shall be, legally admitted to particular churches. Likeas, in pursuance of the premises, their Majesties do hereby appoint the first meeting of the General Assembly of this Church, as above established, to be at Edinburgh, the third Thursday of October next to come, in this instant year, 1690. And because many conform ministers either have deserted, or were removed from preaching in their churches, preceding the thirteenth day of April 1689, and others were deprived for not giving obedience to the Act of the Estates made in the said thirteenth of April 1689, intituled, Proclamation against the owning of the late King James, and appointing publick prayers for King William and Queen Mary: Therefore their Majesties, with advice and consent foresaid, do hereby declare all the churches, either deserted, or from which the conform ministers were removed or deprived, as said is, to be vacant; and that the Presby-

terian ministers exercising their ministry within any of these paroches (or where the last incumbent is dead), by the desire or consent of the paroch, shall continue their possession, and have right to the benefices and stipends, according to their entry in the year 1689, and in time coming, ay and until the Church, as now established, take further course therewith. And to the effect the disorders that have happened in this Church may be redressed, their Majesties, with advice and consent foresaid, do hereby allow the general meeting, and representatives of the foresaid Presbyterian ministers and elders, in whose hands the exercise of the Church government is established, either by themselves, or by such ministers and elders as shall be appointed and authorized visitors by them, according to the custom and practice of Presbyterian government throughout the whole kingdom, and several parts thereof, to try and purge out all insufficient, negligent, scandalous, and erroneous ministers, by due course of ecclesiastical process and censures; and, likewise, for redressing all other Church disorders. And further, it is hereby provided, that whatsoever minister, being convened before the said general meeting and representatives of the Presbyterian ministers and elders, or the visitors to be appointed by them, shall either prove contumacious in not appearing, or be found guilty, and shall be therefore censured, whether by suspension or deposition, they shall *ipso facto* be suspended from or deprived of their stipends and benefices.

Act 1690, ch. 23. Act concerning Patronages.

Our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen's Majesties, considering, that the power of presenting ministers to vacant churches, of late exercised by patrons, hath been greatly abused, and is inconvenient to be continued in this realm, do therefore, with the advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament, hereby discharge, cass, annul, and make void the foresaid power, heretofore exercised by any patron, of presenting ministers to any kirk now vacant, or that shall hereafter happen to vaik within this kingdom, with all exercise of the said power: And also all rights, gifts, and infestments, acts, statutes, and customs, in so far as they may be extended, or understood, to establish the said right of presentation; but prejudice always of such ministers as are duly entered by the foresaid presentations (while in use), their right to the manse, glebe, benefice, stipend, and other profits of their respective churches, as accords: And but prejudice to the patrons of their right to employ the vacant stipends on pious uses, within the respective paroches, except where the patron is Popish, in which case he is to employ the same on pious uses, by the advice and appointment of the Presbytery; and in case the patron shall fail in applying the vacant stipend for the uses foresaid, that he shall lose his right of administration of the vacant stipend for that and the next vacancy, and the same shall be disposed of by the Presbytery to the uses foresaid; excepting always the vacant stipends within the bounds of the Synod of Argyle: And to the effect, the calling and entering ministers, in all time coming, may be orderly and regularly performed, their Majesties, with consent of the Estates of Parliament, do statute and declare, That, in case

of the vacancy of any particular church, and for supplying the same with a minister, the heritors of the said parish (being Protestants) and the elders are to name and propose the person to the whole congregation, to be either approved or disapproved by them; and if they disapprove, that the disapprovers give in their reasons, to the effect the affair may be cognosed upon by the Presbytery of the bounds, at whose judgment, and by whose determination, the calling and entry of a particular minister is to be ordered and concluded. And it is hereby enacted, that if application be not made by the eldership, and heritors of the paroch, to the Presbytery, for the call and choice of a minister, within the space of six months after the vacancy, that then the Presbytery may proceed to provide the said parish, and plant a minister in the church *tanquam jure devoluto*. It is always hereby declared, that this act shall be but prejudice of the calling of ministers to royal burghs by the Magistrates, Town-Council, and Kirk-Session of the burgh, where there is no landward parish, as they have been in use before the year 1660. And where there is a considerable part of the paroch in landward, that the call shall be by Magistrates, Town-Council, Kirk-Session, and the heritors of the landward paroch. And in lieu and recompense of the said right of presentation, hereby taken away, their Majesties, with advice and consent aforesaid, statute and ordain the heritors and liferenters of each paroch, and the Town-Councils for the burgh, to pay the said patrons, betwixt and Martinmas next, the sum of six hundred merks, &c., &c.

[The circumstances connected with the act 1693, and the objects it was intended to subserve, are mentioned in the body of the work, see vol. ii., pp. 211-214.]

Act 1693. Act for Settling the Quiet and Peace of the Church.

Our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen's Majesties, with advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament, ratifie, approve, and perpetually confirm, the fifth act of the second session of this current Parliament, entitled, Act ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling Presbyterian Church Government, in the whole Heads, Articles, and Clauses thereof; and do further statute and ordain, that no person be admitted, or continued for hereafter, to be a minister or preacher within this Church, unless that he having first taken and subscribed the oath of allegiance, and subscribed the assurance, in manner appointed by another act of this present session of Parliament, made thereanent: Do also subscribe the Confession of Faith, ratified in the foresaid fifth act of the second session of this Parliament, declaring the same to be the confession of his faith, and that he owns the doctrine therein contained to be the true doctrine which he will constantly adhere to: As likewise, that he owns and acknowledges Presbyterian Church government, as settled by the foresaid fifth act of the second session of this Parliament, to be the only government of this Church, and that he will submit thereto, and concur therewith, and never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the prejudice or subversion thereof. And their Majesties, with advice and consent foresaid, statute and ordain, that uniformity of wor-

ship, and of the administration of all public ordinances within this Church, be observed by all the saids ministers and preachers, as the same are at present performed and allowed therein, or shall be hereafter declared by the authority of the same; and that no minister or preacher be admitted or continued for hereafter, unless that he subscribe to observe, and do actually observe, the foresaid uniformity: And for the more effectual settling the quiet and peace of this Church, the estates of Parliament do hereby make a humble address to their Majesties, that they would be pleased to call a General Assembly, for the ordering the affairs of the Church, and to the end that all the present ministers possessing churches, not yet admitted to the exercise of the foresaid Church government, conform to the said Act, and who shall qualify themselves in manner foresaid, and shall apply to the said Assembly, or the other Church judicatures competent, in an orderly way, each man for himself, be received to partake with them in the government thereof: Certifying such as shall not qualify themselves, and apply to the said Assembly, or other judicatures, within the space of thirty days after meeting of the said first Assembly, in manner foresaid, that they may be deposed by the sentence of the said Assembly and other judicatures *tam ab officio quam a beneficio* (as from the office, so also from the benefice); and withal declaring, that if any of the said ministers who have not hitherto been received into the government of the Church, shall offer to qualify themselves, and to apply in manner foresaid, they shall have their Majesties' full protection, aye and until they shall be admitted and received in manner foresaid; providing always that this Act, and the benefit thereof, shall no ways be extended to such of the said ministers as are scandalous, erroneous, negligent, or insufficient, and against whom the same shall be verified, within the space of thirty days after the said application: but these and all others in like manner guilty, are hereby declared to be liable and subject to the power and censure of the Church, as accords: And to the effect that the representation of this Church, in its General Assemblies, may be the more equal in all time coming, recommends it to the first Assembly that shall be called, to appoint ministers to be sent as Commissioners from every Presbytery, not in equal numbers, which is manifestly unequal where Presbyteries are so; but in a due proportion to the churches and parishes within every Presbytery, as they shall judge convenient; and it is hereby declared, that all schoolmasters, and teachers of youth in schools, are and shall be liable to the trial, judgment, and censure of the Presbyteries of the bounds, for their sufficiency, qualifications, and deportment in the said office. And lastly, their Majesties, with advice and consent foresaid, do hereby statute and ordain, that the Lords of their Majesties' Privy Council, and all other magistrates, judges, and officers of justice, give all due assistance for making the sentences and censures of the Church and judicatures thereof to be obeyed, or otherwise effectual, as accords.

[The circumstances preceding and accompanying the Treaty of Union are related in the body of the work: no more is necessary than to insert here the Act of Security:—]

Act for Securing the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Church Government, which was the basis of the Treaty of Union, at Edinburgh, January 16, 1707.

Our Sovereign Lady, and the Estates of Parliament, considering, That by the late Act of Parliament for a treaty with England, for an union of both kingdoms, it is provided, that the commissioners for that treaty should not treat of or concerning any alteration of the worship, discipline, and government of the Church in this kingdom as now by law established: which treaty being now reported to the Parliament, and it being reasonable and necessary, that *the true Protestant religion, as presently professed within this kingdom, with the worship, discipline, and government of this Church, should be effectually and unalterably secured*, therefore, her Majesty, with advice and consent of the said Estates of Parliament, do thereby establish and confirm the said true Protestant religion, and the worship, discipline, and government of this Church, to continue without any alteration to the people of this land in all succeeding generations: and more especially, her Majesty, with advice and consent aforesaid, ratifies, approves, and for ever confirms the fifth act of the first Parliament of King William and Queen Mary, entitled, “An Act ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling Presbyterian Church Government, with the hail other Acts of Parliament relating thereto, in prosecution of the declaration of the estates of this kingdom, containing the Claim of Right, bearing date the 11th of April 1689.” And her Majesty, with advice and consent foreshaid, expressly provides and declares, that the foreshaid true Protestant religion, contained in the above mentioned Confession of Faith, with the form and purity of worship presently in use within this Church, and its Presbyterian church government and discipline; that is to say, the government of the Church by Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assembly, all established by the foreshaid acts of Parliament, pursuant to the Claim of Right—*shall remain and continue unalterable; and that the said Presbyterian government shall be the only government of the Church within the kingdom of Scotland.*

And further, for the greater security of the foreshaid Protestant religion, and of the worship, discipline, and government of this Church, as above established, her Majesty, with advice and consent foreshaid, statutes and ordains, That the universities and colleges of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, as now established by law, shall continue within this kingdom for ever: and that in all time coming, no professors, principals, regents, masters, or others, bearing office in any university, college, or school, within this kingdom, be capable, or be admitted, or allowed to continue in the exercise of their said functions, but such as shall own and acknowledge the civil government in manner prescribed, or to be prescribed by the acts of Parliament: as also, that before or at their admissions, they do and shall acknowledge, and profess, and shall subscribe to the foreshaid Confession of Faith, as the confession of their faith; and that they will practise and conform themselves to the worship presently in use in this Church, and submit themselves to the government and discipline thereof; and never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the prejudice or sub-

version of the same; and that before the respective Presbyteries of their bounds, by whatsoever gift, presentation, or provision they may be thereto provided.

And further, her Majesty, with advice foresaid, expressly declares and statutes, that none of the subjects of this kingdom shall be liable to, but all and every one of them for ever free of, any oath, test, or subscription within this kingdom, contrary to, or inconsistent with, the foresaid true Protestant religion and Presbyterian church government, worship, and discipline, as above established; and that the same within the bounds of this Church and kingdom, shall never be imposed upon or required of them, in any sort.

And lastly, that after the decease of her present Majesty (whom God long preserve), the sovereign succeeding to her in the royal government of the kingdom of Great Britain, shall in all time coming, at his or her accession to the crown, swear and subscribe, that they shall inviolably maintain and preserve the foresaid settlement of the true Protestant religion, with the government, worship, discipline, rights and privileges of this Church, as above established by the laws of this kingdom, in prosecution of the Claim of Right: and it is hereby statute and ordained, that this act of Parliament, with the establishment therein contained, shall be held and observed in all time coming, as a fundamental and essential condition of any treaty or union to be concluded betwixt the two kingdoms, without any alteration thereof, or derogation thereto, in any sort for ever; as also, that this act of Parliament, and settlement therein contained, shall be insert and repeated in any act of Parliament that shall pass for agreeing and concluding the foresaid treaty or union betwixt the two kingdoms; and that the same shall be therein expressly declared to be a fundamental and essential condition of the said treaty or union in all time coming.

Act Ratifying and Approving the Treaty of Union of the two Kingdoms of Scotland and England, January 16, 1707, founded on the foresaid Act of Security.

The Estates of Parliament considering that Articles of Union of the kingdoms of Scotland and England were agreed on the 22d of July 1706 years, &c. * * * and sicklike, her Majesty, with advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament, resolving to establish the Protestant religion and Presbyterian church government, has passed in this session of Parliament an "Act for securing of the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Church Government," which, by the tenor thereof, is appointed to be insert in any act ratifying the treaty, and expressly declared to be a fundamental and essential condition of the said treaty of union in all time coming," &c.

[After embodying the Act of Security, the document proceeds as follows:—]

Which Articles of Union, and act immediately above written, her Majesty, with advice and consent aforesaid, statutes, enacts, and ordains to be and continue in all time coming the sure and perpetual foundation of a complete and entire union of the two kingdoms of Scotland and England, under the express condition and provision, That this approbation

and ratification of the foresaid articles and act shall be noways binding on this kingdom, until the said articles and act be ratified, approved, and confirmed by her Majesty, with and by the authority of the Parliament of England, as they are now agreed to, approved and confirmed by her Majesty, with and by the authority of the Parliament of Scotland. Declaring, nevertheless, That the Parliament of England may provide for the security of the Church of England, as they think it expedient, to take place within the bounds of the said kingdom of England, and not derogating from the security above provided for establishing of the Church of Scotland within the bounds of this kingdom. As also, the said Parliament of England may extend the additions and other provisions contained in the Articles of Union, as above insert, in favours of the subjects of Scotland, to and in favours of the subjects of England, which shall not suspend or derogate from the force and effect of this present ratification, but shall be understood as herein included, without the necessity of any new ratification in the Parliament of Scotland. And lastly, her Majesty enacts and declares, That all laws and statutes in this kingdom, so far as they are contrary to, or inconsistent with, the terms of these articles, as above mentioned, shall from and after the Union cease and become void.

[The insertion of the perfidious act of Queen Anne's Jacobite ministry, immediately after the Revolution Settlement and the Act of Security, is enough to show how completely the Patronage Act is a violation of national faith, and contrary to the inviolable Act of Security.]

Act 10, Q. Anne, ch. 12, 1711. An Act to restore the Patrons to their ancient Rights of presenting Ministers to the Churches vacant in that part of Great Britain called Scotland.

I. Whereas, by the antient laws and constitutions of that part of Great Britain called Scotland, the presenting of ministers to vacant churches did of right belong to the patrons, until, by the twenty-third Act of the second session of the first Parliament of the late King William and Queen Mary, held in the year one thousand six hundred and ninety, intituled, "Act concerning Patronages," the presentation was taken from the patrons, and given to the heritors and elders of the respective parishes; and, in place of the right of presentation, the heritors and liferenters of every parish were to pay to the respective patrons a small and inconsiderable sum of money, for which the patrons were to renounce their right of presentation in all times thereafter. And whereas by the fifteenth act of the fifth session, and by the thirteenth act of the sixth session, of the first Parliament of the said King William, the one intituled "An Act for encouraging of Preachers at vacant Churches benorth Forth," and the other intituled, "Act in favour of Preachers benorth Forth;" there are several burdens imposed upon vacant stipends, to the prejudice of the patron's right of disposing thereof. And whereas that way of calling ministers has proved inconvenient, and has not only occasioned great heats and divisions among those who, by the foresaid act, were entitled and authorized to call ministers, but likewise has been a great hardship upon the patrons, whose predecessors had founded and endowed those

churches, and who had not received payment or satisfaction for their right of patronage from the aforesaid heritors or liferenters of the respective parishes, nor have granted renunciations of their said rights on that account : Be it therefore enacted, by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the aforesaid act, made in the year one thousand six hundred and ninety, intituled, " Act concerning Patronages," in so far as the same relates to the presentation of ministers by heritors and others therein mentioned, be, and is hereby repealed and made void; and that the aforesaid fifteenth act of the fifth session, and thirteenth act of the sixth session, of the first Parliament of King William, be, and are hereby likewise repealed and made void : and that in all time coming, the right of all and every patron or patrons to the presentation of ministers to churches and benefices, and the disposing of the vacant stipends for pious uses within the parish, be restored, settled, and confirmed to them, the aforesaid acts, or any other act, statute, or custom to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding; and that from and after the first day of May one thousand seven hundred and twelve, it shall and may be lawful for her Majesty, her heirs and successors, and for every other person or persons who have right to any patronage or patronages of any church or churches whatsoever, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland (and who have not made and subscribed a formal renunciation thereof under their hands), to present a qualified minister or ministers to any church or churches whereof they are patrons, which shall, after the first day of May, happen to be vacant; and the Presbytery of the respective bounds shall, and is hereby obliged to receive and admit, in the same manner, such qualified person or persons, minister or ministers, as shall be presented by the respective patrons, as the persons or ministers presented before the making of this act ought to have been admitted.

II. Provided always, that in case any patron or patrons have accepted of and received any sum or sums of money from the heritors or liferenters of any parish, or from the Magistrates or Town Council of any borough, in satisfaction of their right of presentation, and have discharged or renounced the same under their hand, that nothing herein shall be construed to restore such patron or patrons to their right of presentation; any thing in this present act to the contrary notwithstanding.

III. Provided also, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that in case the patron of any church aforesaid shall neglect or refuse to present any qualified minister to such church that shall be vacant the said first day of May, or shall happen to be vacant at any time thereafter, for the space of six months after the said first day of May, or after such vacancy shall happen, that the right of presentation shall accrue and belong for that time to the Presbytery of the bounds where such church is, who are to present a qualified person for that vacancy, *tanquam jure devoluto*.

IV. And be it further enacted and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the patronage and right of presentations of ministers to all churches

which belonged to archbishops, bishops, or other dignified persons, in the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine, before Episcopacy was abolished, as well as those which formerly belonged to the Crown, shall and do of right belong to her Majesty, her heirs and successors, who may present qualified ministers to such church or churches, and dispose of the vacant stipends thereof for pious uses, in the same way and manner as her Majesty, her heirs and successors, may do in the case of other patronages belonging to the Crown.

V. Declaring always, that nothing in this present act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to repeal and make void the aforesaid twenty-third act of the second session of the first Parliament of the late King William and Queen Mary, excepting so far as relates to the calling and presenting of ministers, and to the disposing of vacant stipends, in prejudice of the patrons only.

[Although no real benefit arose from the Act 1719, yet it may be inserted, to show that in a purer and more faithful state of the Church it might have been of some avail.]

Excerpt from Act 5th, Geo. I. cap. 29, 1719, entitled "An Act for making more effectual the Laws appointing the Oaths for Security of the Government, to be taken by Ministers and Preachers in Churches and Meeting-houses in Scotland."

VIII. And whereas great obstructions have been made to the planting, supplying, or filling up of vacant churches in Scotland, with ministers qualified according to law, patrons presenting persons to churches who are not qualified, by taking the oaths appointed by law, or who, being settled in other churches, cannot or will not accept of such presentations: To the end that such inconveniences may be prevented for the future, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any patron shall present any person to a vacant church, from and after the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and nineteen, who shall not be qualified by taking and subscribing the said oath in manner aforesaid, or shall present a person to any vacancy who is then or shall be pastor or minister of any other church or parish, or any person who shall not accept, or declare his willingness to accept of the presentation and charge to which he is presented, within the said time, such presentation shall not be accounted any interruption of the course of time allowed to the patron for presenting; but the *jus devolutum* shall take place, as if no presentation had been offered; any law or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

IX. And be it also further declared and enacted, that nothing herein contained shall prejudice or diminish the right of the Church, as the same now stands by law established, as to the trying of the qualities of any person presented to any church or benefice.

Excerpt from Act 4 and 5 William IV. c. 41.

Be it enacted, &c., that where any church, chapel, or other place of worship, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, built or acquired and endowed by voluntary contribution, shall be erected into a parochial church, either as an additional church within a parish already provided

with a parochial church, or as the church of a separate parish to be erected out of the part or parts of any existing parish or parishes, whether the same be established and erected *quoad spiritualia*, by authority of the Church courts of the Established Church of Scotland, or also *quoad temporalia*, by authority of the Commissioners of Teinds, neither the King's Majesty, nor any private person, nor any body politic or corporate, having right to the patronage of the parish or parishes within which such additional churches shall be established, or out of which such new parishes shall be erected, shall have any claim, right, or title whatsoever, to the patronage of such newly established churches, or newly erected parishes; but the right of presenting ministers thereto shall be exercised according to the manner, and subject to the conditions, which shall be provided or sanctioned by the Church courts establishing the said churches, or where new parishes shall be erected, as shall be prescribed and regulated by the said Church courts erecting such new parishes into separate spiritual jurisdictions, subject always to such alterations as shall be made by the said courts, according to the laws of the Church from time to time.

[The object of this act was to relieve new churches from a peculiar operation of the Patronage Act, which had proved a great obstacle to their erection. It had been found, as in the case of Whitburn, for example, that when a church had been built and endowed by voluntary contribution, and a district assigned to it as a new parish, the patron of the original parish might seize upon the patronage of the new erection, even though there had been inserted into its constitution an article expressly excluding patronage, and restoring the original principle of popular election. The people would not build churches to be immediately seized by patrons, who, following the usual policy of patronage without its usual fallacious plea, usurped a supremacy where they could not even pretend a patrimonial right. The above act put an end to all such usurpation, and tended greatly to promote the great Church Extension scheme of the reforming and reviving Church of Scotland. But Moderate policy, hating these new churches because they were popular and evangelical, and free from patronage, devised methods to crush them if possible. The legality of the admission into Church courts of the ministers of such churches has been strenuously denied, and protested against; yet with strange inconsistency the Moderate party placed one of these ministers in the moderator's chair. In some instances the heritors have claimed the collections made at the doors of these new churches, as belonging to the parochial funds for the support of the poor, and the Court of Session has sanctioned the unjust claim, with the perfect certainty that the attempt to enforce it would put an end to the collections, without any benefit to the heritors. In other instances the heritors have applied to the Court of Session for an interdict to prevent the Presbytery of the bounds where a new church had been erected, from assigning to it a parochial district *quoad spiritualia*, and have obtained the interdict, on the strange plea, that every man in the original parish had a right to the religious services of the parish minister, and that, therefore, to give him the additional services of another, was an *illegal interference with his civil rights*! But the most formidable aspect which

the fierce hostility of Moderatism against the new churches has assumed, is that which asserts that Church courts are so completely vitiated by the admission of their ministers, that no measure in which they have taken a part is legal and valid. This, too, the Court of Session has sanctioned, notwithstanding the legislative recognition of these churches in the above act of Parliament, by granting interdicts to prevent the execution of sentences of deposition pronounced by Presbyteries, Synods, and the General Assembly itself, in the case of ministers convicted of heresy and theft, expressly on the ground that these sentences are invalid because pronounced by Church courts in which ministers of new churches and *quoad sacra* parishes deliberated and acted as constituent members. If this decision of the civil court could be carried into full effect, it would be equivalent to a new Act Recissory, as it would nullify the whole judicial procedure of the Church of Scotland since the year 1834. In this, doubtless, Moderatism would rejoice, but for one consideration: not a few Moderate ministers would immediately lose all legal claim to their stipends, their ordination and induction being rendered void, as the illegal act of a vitiated Church court. They will, therefore, probably adhere to their latest policy, and strive to procure the ejection of the whole Evangelical party, that they may themselves enjoy the civil emoluments of the Church, so long as the righteous retribution of Providence will permit, till their cup is full. *Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*]

No. IV.

PRINCIPLES, ACTS, AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, RESPECTING THE APPOINTMENT OF MINISTERS, AND PATRONAGE.

The principles of the Church of Scotland, with regard to the proper method of appointing ministers to the pastoral office, have been much misrepresented, and yet it appears absolutely impossible for any candid and unprejudiced person to read her standards and acts of Assembly, and to mark her general procedure, without clearly perceiving that patronage is essentially contrary to the spirit, the fundamental principles, and the constitution, of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. There is not the slightest doubt that kings, governments, politicians, and worldly-minded men in general, whether without the Church or within it, have always striven to enact or to enforce patronage, because they expected through its influence to render the Church subservient to their purposes as a mere political engine; but the true subject of inquiry is, *not* what rulers and politicians have always striven to effect—that would only be an inquiry into *their* opinions, about which there is no doubt—but what the Church has always declared, maintained in theory, and striven to realize in practice, as the scriptural, and, therefore, the best method of appointing ministers to the pastoral office.

Beginning with the great and sacred principle, "That the Lord Jesus Christ is the only Head and King of the Church," the Presbyterian Church holds as self-evident, that the appointment of office-bearers in his spiritual kingdom must necessarily belong exclusively to its Divine King, and be regulated solely by his precepts and commands, either as given in his own words, or as embodied in the proceedings of his inspired apostles. Applying to the Scriptures to ascertain from them the mind and will of the King of Zion in this matter, it is found, that he distinctly declares the responsibility of his people in the exercise of their private judgment what pastor they are to hear and follow. The apostles use similar but still more explicit language; and in the few instances of the appointment of office-bearers which are recorded in the Scriptures, this at least is evident, that they were either directly chosen by the people themselves or with their consent and approval. Hence the principle, that there cannot be a scriptural appointment to the pastoral office without the consent and approval of the Christian people; that is, of those who compose the true flock, having been admitted to the privileges of Christian communion, and thereby made citizens of Zion and members of Christ's spiritual body, the Church, of which he is the only Head. But this principle may come into operation in either of two different ways—either by the Christian flock directly choosing their own pastor, or by expressing their consent, approval of, and willingness to receive in that relation the person offered to them. The first of these modes the Church of Scotland has always regarded as the best, because the most scriptural, natural, and direct; but when that could not be obtained, she has been willing to act upon the second, because not unscriptural, and capable, if properly administered, of securing the important objects in view, namely, the affectionate regard and confidence of the Christian people, and the appointment of an equally acceptable and efficient ministry, whom the Lord might bless in their labours for the extension of his kingdom and the edification of his people. And because the Church has believed that either of these methods of appointing ministers might be employed, though preferring the former, she has in different periods employed the one or the other, according to the force of circumstances; from which has arisen the varying aspects which this great principle has from time to time assumed; but never has she abandoned the principle itself, and never can she abandon it without ceasing to be the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, or rather, without ceasing to be a Christian Church, and becoming a mere secular institution.

A few extracts will show the truth of the preceding statement:—

"It appertaineth to the people, and to every several congregation, to elect their minister."—*First Book of Discipline*, Fourth Head, chap. iv. sect. 2. [See page 410 of Appendix.]

"For altogether this is to be avoided, that any man be violently intruded, or thrust in upon any congregation; but this liberty with all care must be reserved to every several Church, to have their votes and suffrages in election of their ministers."—*Ibid.*, chap. iv. sect. 4. [See page 410 of Appendix.]

"The admission of ministers to their offices must consist in [the] consent

of the people and church whereto they shall be appointed, and approbation of the learned ministers appointed for their examination."—*Ibid.*, chap. iv. sect. 8. [See page 411 of Appendix.]

"This ordinary and outward calling has two parts—election and ordination. Election is the choosing out of a person or persons, most able for the office that vaikes, by the judgment of the eldership, and consent of the congregation to whom the person or persons are appointed. . . . In this ordinary election it is to be eschewed that any person be intruded into any of the offices of the kirk contrary to the will of the congregation to which they are appointed, or without the voice of the eldership."—*Second Book of Discipline*, chap. iii. sects. 4, 5. [See page 459 of Appendix.]

"The liberty of the election of persons called to the ecclesiastical functions, and observed without interruption, so long as the Kirk was not corrupted by Antichrist, we desire to be restored and retained within this realm; so that none be intruded upon any congregation, either by the prince or any inferior person, without lawful election, and the assent of the people over whom the person is placed,—as the practice of the apostolic and primitive Kirk, and good order, crave.

"And because this order, which God's Word craves, cannot stand with patronages and presentations to benefices used in the Pope's Kirk, we desire all them that truly fear God, earnestly to consider, that forasmuch as the names of patronages and benefices, together with the effect thereof, have flowed from the Pope and corruption of the canon law only, in so far as thereby any person was intruded or placed over kirks having *curam animarum*; and forasmuch as that manner of proceeding hath no ground in the Word of God, but is contrary to the same, and to the said liberty of election, they ought not now to have place in this light of reformation; and, therefore, whosoever will embrace God's Word, and desire the kingdom of his Son Christ Jesus to be advanced, they will also embrace that policy and order which the Word of God and upright estate of this Kirk crave; otherwise it is in vain that they have professed the same."—*Ibid.*, chap. xii. pars. 9, 10. [See pages 471, 472 of Appendix.]

It will be observed that the language of the Second Book of Discipline varies a little from that of the First, chiefly in the precedence which it seems to give to "the judgment of the eldership," or Presbytery, in the election of ministers. The very slightest acquaintance with the history of the period is sufficient to explain that apparent difference. The people of Scotland were at that period little better than serfs and bondmen; the Presbyterian Church had indeed struck off the fetters and broken the yoke of Popery, and given them religious liberty; but they were still groaning beneath an oppressive civil despotism. The Church of Scotland, on the other hand, had obtained the sanction of the Legislature to its principles so far, that it was rather perilous for the king to assail its recognised liberties, which his own hand had ratified. Holding fast her own principle, that the Christian people have a sacred right to the choice of their pastor, the Church adopted the generous part of placing herself in the front of the conflict, throwing over the people the shield of her own admitted rights and privileges, and encountering the royal despot's hostility, that

and ordination of the person elected; yet all possible diligence and tenderness must be used to bring all parties to an harmonious agreement.

“ It is to be understood that no person under the censure of the Kirk because of any scandalous offence, is to be admitted to have a hand in the election of a minister.

“ Where the congregation is disaffected and malignant, in that case the Presbytery is to provide them with a minister.”

When Charles II., by an act at once of perfidy and of tyranny, overthrew the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, patronage was reintroduced. When the Revolution drove the perfidious and despotic family of Stuart from the throne, patronage was abolished, and the rights and privileges of the Church and people restored and confirmed by the Revolution Settlement and the Act of Security, as is fully shown in the body of the work, and in these acts themselves in the Appendix. The opposition made by the Church of Scotland to the perfidious act of 1712, which violated the Union, if it be considered valid, and, at least, violated national faith in the attempt to reimpose patronage upon the Scottish Church, is also sufficiently stated. A strong desire to avoid prolixity alone prevents us from transcribing the Address of the Scottish Commissioners to the House of Lords against that bill; and the same reason causes us to withhold both the Address of the General Assembly to Queen Anne, and a subsequent memorial to King George I., imploring redress from the grievance of patronage. Neither shall we insert the Address of the General Assembly to King George II. in 1735, nor the Resolution of the Assembly in 1736, though these documents most strongly express the earnest desire of the Church of Scotland to obtain the repeal of the Patronage Act.

But the Act of Assembly 1736 must be given, for the purpose of showing the view entertained by that reforming Assembly, during the temporary ascendancy of the Evangelical and Constitutional body in the Church, with regard to their own duty and in conformity with their own principles, even though the desired redress had not been obtained.

“ Act 1736 against Intrusion of Ministers into vacant Congregations, and Recommendations to Presbyteries concerning Settlements.

“ The General Assembly, considering, from Act of Assembly, August 6, 1575, Second Book of Discipline, chap. iii. pars. 4, 6, and 8, registrate in the Assembly books, and appointed to be subscribed by all ministers, and ratified by Acts of Parliament, and likewise by the Act of Assembly, 1638, December 17 and 18, and Assembly, 1715, act 9, that it is, and has been since the Reformation, the principle of this Church, ‘ that no minister be intruded into any parish contrary to the will of the congregation;’ do therefore seriously recommend to all the judicatories of the Church, to have a due regard to the said principle in planting vacant congregations; and that all Presbyteries be at pains to bring about harmony and unanimity in congregations, and to avoid every thing that may excite or encourage unreasonable exceptions in people against a worthy person that may be proposed to be their minister in the present situation and circumstances

of the Church, so as none be intruded into such parishes, as they regard the glory of God and edification of the body of Christ."

At the same time the following instruction was given to the Commission of that Assembly, and repeated to every succeeding Commission till the year 1784:—

"And the Assembly do further empower and direct the said Commission to make due application to the King and Parliament, for redress of the grievance of patronage, in case a favourable opportunity for so doing shall occur during the subsistence of this Commission."

Extreme Moderate policy, having reduced the constitutional principles of the Church and the rights of the people to a mere form, proposed in 1782 to abolish the form itself, which still survived in the call. This attempt, however, was resisted, and the following act was passed:—

"Upon a motion that the resolution of Assembly respecting the moderation of calls should, for the satisfaction of all concerned, be converted into a declaratory act, and printed amongst the Acts of Assembly, the General Assembly agreed thereto without a vote; and in terms of said resolution did, and hereby do declare, that the moderation of a call, in the settlement of ministers, is agreeable to the immemorial and constitutional practice of this Church, and ought to be continued."

Nothing further need be stated respecting the proceedings of the Church, till the passing of the act on calls, commonly called the Veto Act, which is as follows:—

"*Edinburgh, May 29, 1835.*—The General Assembly declare, That it is a fundamental law of this Church, that no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people; and, in order that this principle may be carried into full effect, the General Assembly, with the consent of a majority of the Presbyteries of this Church, do declare, enact, and ordain, That it shall be an instruction to Presbyteries, that if, at the moderating in a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with the Church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the Presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly, and due notice thereof forthwith given to all concerned; but that, if the major part of the said heads of families shall not disapprove of such person to be their pastor, the Presbytery shall proceed with the settlement according to the rules of the Church: And further declare, that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove as aforesaid, who shall refuse, if required, solemnly to declare, in presence of the Presbytery, that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interest of himself or the congregation."

It may be expedient to transcribe the usual form of a Call.

"We, the Heritors, Elders, Heads of Families, and Parishioners of the Parish of —, within the bounds of the Presbytery of —, and county of —, taking into consideration the present destitute state of the said Parish, through the want of a Gospel ministry among us, occasioned by

and ordination of the person elected; yet all possible diligence and tenderness must be used to bring all parties to an harmonious agreement.

“ It is to be understood that no person under the censure of the Kirk because of any scandalous offence, is to be admitted to have a hand in the election of a minister.

“ Where the congregation is disaffected and malignant, in that case the Presbytery is to provide them with a minister.”

When Charles II., by an act at once of perfidy and of tyranny, overthrew the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, patronage was reintroduced. When the Revolution drove the perfidious and despotic family of Stuart from the throne, patronage was abolished, and the rights and privileges of the Church and people restored and confirmed by the Revolution Settlement and the Act of Security, as is fully shown in the body of the work, and in these acts themselves in the Appendix. The opposition made by the Church of Scotland to the perfidious act of 1712, which violated the Union, if it be considered valid, and, at least, violated national faith in the attempt to reimpose patronage upon the Scottish Church, is also sufficiently stated. A strong desire to avoid prolixity alone prevents us from transcribing the Address of the Scottish Commissioners to the House of Lords against that bill; and the same reason causes us to withhold both the Address of the General Assembly to Queen Anne, and a subsequent memorial to King George I., imploring redress from the grievance of patronage. Neither shall we insert the Address of the General Assembly to King George II. in 1735, nor the Resolution of the Assembly in 1736, though these documents most strongly express the earnest desire of the Church of Scotland to obtain the repeal of the Patronage Act.

But the Act of Assembly 1736 must be given, for the purpose of showing the view entertained by that reforming Assembly, during the temporary ascendancy of the Evangelical and Constitutional body in the Church, with regard to their own duty and in conformity with their own principles, even though the desired redress had not been obtained.

“ Act 1736 against Intrusion of Ministers into vacant Congregations, and Recommendations to Presbyteries concerning Settlements.”

“ The General Assembly, considering, from Act of Assembly, August 6, 1575, Second Book of Discipline, chap. iii. pars. 4, 6, and 8, registrate in the Assembly books, and appointed to be subscribed by all ministers, and ratified by Acts of Parliament, and likewise by the Act of Assembly, 1638, December 17 and 18, and Assembly, 1715, act 9, that it is, and has been since the Reformation, the principle of this Church, ‘ that no minister be intruded into any parish contrary to the will of the congregation;’ do therefore seriously recommend to all the judicatories of the Church, to have a due regard to the said principle in planting vacant congregations; and that all Presbyteries be at pains to bring about harmony and unanimity in congregations, and to avoid every thing that may excite or encourage unreasonable exceptions in people against a worthy person that may be proposed to be their minister in the present situation and circumstances

of the Church, so as none be intruded into such parishes, as they regard the glory of God and edification of the body of Christ."

At the same time the following instruction was given to the Commission of that Assembly, and repeated to every succeeding Commission till the year 1784:—

"And the Assembly do further empower and direct the said Commission to make due application to the King and Parliament, for redress of the grievance of patronage, in case a favourable opportunity for so doing shall occur during the subsistence of this Commission."

Extreme Moderate policy, having reduced the constitutional principles of the Church and the rights of the people to a mere form, proposed in 1782 to abolish the form itself, which still survived in the call. This attempt, however, was resisted, and the following act was passed:—

"Upon a motion that the resolution of Assembly respecting the moderation of calls should, for the satisfaction of all concerned, be converted into a declaratory act, and printed amongst the Acts of Assembly, the General Assembly agreed thereto without a vote; and in terms of said resolution did, and hereby do declare, that the moderation of a call, in the settlement of ministers, is agreeable to the immemorial and constitutional practice of this Church, and ought to be continued."

Nothing further need be stated respecting the proceedings of the Church, till the passing of the act on calls, commonly called the Veto Act, which is as follows:—

"*Edinburgh, May 29, 1835.*—The General Assembly declare, That it is a fundamental law of this Church, that no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people; and, in order that this principle may be carried into full effect, the General Assembly, with the consent of a majority of the Presbyteries of this Church, do declare, enact, and ordain, That it shall be an instruction to Presbyteries, that if, at the moderating in a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with the Church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the Presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly, and due notice thereof forthwith given to all concerned; but that, if the major part of the said heads of families shall not disapprove of such person to be their pastor, the Presbytery shall proceed with the settlement according to the rules of the Church: And further declare, that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove as aforesaid, who shall refuse, if required, solemnly to declare, in presence of the Presbytery, that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interest of himself or the congregation."

It may be expedient to transcribe the usual form of a Call.

"We, the Heritors, Elders, Heads of Families, and Parishioners of the Parish of —, within the bounds of the Presbytery of —, and county of —, taking into consideration the present destitute state of the said Parish, through the want of a Gospel ministry among us, occasioned by

the death of our late pastor, the Rev. ———, being satisfied with the learning, abilities, and other good qualifications of you, Mr ———, Preacher of the Gospel, and having heard you preach to our satisfaction and edification, do hereby invite and call you, the said Mr. ———, to take charge and oversight of this Parish, and to come and labour among us in the work of the Gospel ministry, hereby promising to you all due respect and encouragement in the Lord. We likewise entreat the Reverend Presbytery of ——— to approve and concur with this our most cordial call, and to use all the proper means for making the same effectual, by your ordination and settlement among us, as soon as the steps necessary thereto will admit. In witness whereof, we subscribe these presents, at the Church of ———, on the ——— day of ———, ——— years."

That a document of such a solemn character should be held to be sufficiently subscribed by the signatures of one or two persons; and that a Church court would proceed to intrude a person who could obtain but one or two signatures, upon a whole parish and congregation, in spite of their respectful, and finally of their determined opposition, even at the hazard of compelling them all to quit for ever the Church of their fathers, is so strangely unnatural, oppressive, and contrary to both reason and religion, that it would not readily be thought possible, if it did not stand recorded as having actually taken place times innumerable, and if Auchterarder, Lethendy, and Marnoch could be forgotten. Still more portentously strange will it be, if the majority of the Evangelical ministers in the Church of Scotland be driven out of the Church, because they will not consent to become bound to perpetrate such atrocious tyranny and profanation at the command of a civil court, although contrary to the principles of the Church, contrary to the law of the land, contrary to the British Constitution, and contrary to the precepts of the Lord Jesus Christ.

7 m m

44



**This book is under no circumstances to be
taken from the Building**

[illegible]



